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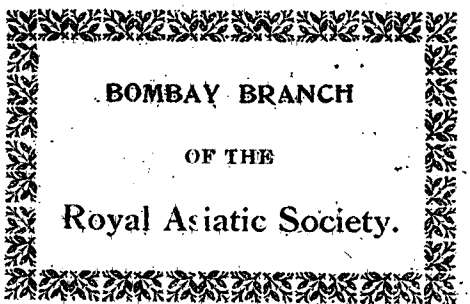

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THE WODROW SOCIETY

INSTITUTED MAY, 1841,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE

MISCELLANY

OF THE

WODROW SOCIETY:

CONTAINING

111582

TRACTS AND ORIGINAL LETTERS,

CHIEFLY RELATING TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

SELECTED AND EDITED

BY DAVID LAING, ESQ.

VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE WODROW SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.XLIV.

THE MISCELLANY

OF THE

WODROW SOCIETY.

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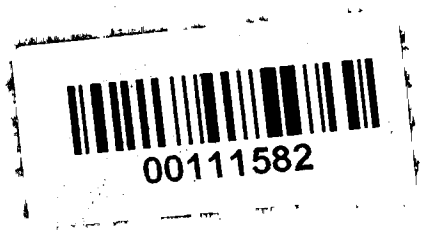

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PREFACE.

THE nature and peculiar character of this work will be sufficiently obvious from the title. Although the unpublished materials for illustrating the history of Scotland, whether civil or ecclesiastical, during the last three centuries, are far from being exhausted, it was not thought desirable, in a publication like the present, to limit the selections to inedited papers. This MISCELLANY will therefore be found to consist of a series of detached articles which were not of sufficient extent or importance for separate publication, and, along with original letters and papers, to include reprints of tracts of an early date, which, from their extreme rarity, are little known. It is scarcely necessary to add that the COUNCIL of the WODROW SOCIETY are not in any respect answerable either for the selection of the articles, or the mode in which they are illustrated.

The period which it is the plan of this collection to embrace, extends from the earliest dawn of the Reformation in Scotland, till soon after the Revolution, when the Presbyterian polity was finally re-established; and the principle of selection has been restricted to

such articles as either were illustrative of ecclesiastical matters, or might be deemed interesting as literary reliques of some of the most faithful and devoted Ministers of the Church of Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

According to the plan adopted, each article may be considered as complete in itself, and is accompanied with a short preliminary notice, and with explanatory notes. The only liberty taken by the Editor has been that of discarding such useless contractions as occur, as well in the old printed copies as in the manuscripts. It was also considered proper, for greater convenience in reference, to arrange the selections in something approaching to chronological order. The length of two or three of the earlier controversial tracts may appear disproportionate, and to some readers the tracts themselves may not be peculiarly inviting; but it was thought desirable to present the Members of the Society with some specimens of the religious disputations which took place at the era of the Reformation: and as every thing which tends to throw light on that great event must be deemed of importance, it seems at least highly expedient that the few productions which have escaped the injuries of time should be preserved in an accurate and accessible form.

Should the COUNCIL, at some future time, authorise the continuation of this MISCELLANY, it may extend to three volumes. The Editor therefore avails himself of this opportunity to suggest, that of the numerous Members of the WODROW SOCIETY, residing in all parts of the kingdom, some may be supposed to be in

possession, or have access to early printed tracts or manuscripts connected with the particular objects of the Society. Any communications, addressed to the Editor of this Miscellany, mentioning the titles of tracts printed in Scotland before the year 1625, or early ecclesiastical manuscripts with which he may be presumed to be unacquainted, will be very gratefully received.

The Editor has only farther to add, that, besides the gentlemen whose names are mentioned as having contributed the use of books and manuscripts for the present volume, he would express his best thanks for their friendly assistance in revising some of the sheets, to the Rev. Dr LEE, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, to WILLIAM M. GUNN, Esq., one of the Masters of the High School, to Mr DAVID MEEK, and, in a more particular manner, to Dr IRVING, the learned biographer of Buchanan.

D. L.

SIGNET LIBRARY, EDINBURGH,
November 1844.

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[1] By John Smith, Lithographer, Hanover Street.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

OF THE

CHURCHES OF SWITZERLAND;

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN,

BY GEORGE WISHART.

M.D.XXXVI.

In commencing this Miscellany, the Editor thinks he cannot render a more acceptable service than by reprinting a little tract, which there is reason to suppose is the only literary production extant of George Wishart the Martyr. It is a translation from the Latin of one of the earliest in the series of orthodox Confessions of the Protestant Church; and may be described as wholly unknown. The original tract indeed is so extremely scarce, that not more than a single copy can be traced in any collection. Respecting the history of the Confession itself, a few words may be added.

After the Reformation had been established in the Swiss Cantons, considerable diversity of opinion existed in regard to the Eucharist. With the view of effecting a more extensive union, not only among themselves, but with the Protestant Churches in other countries, it was proposed, at a Conference held at Basel in January 1536, to form a short General Confession, not only on the chief question then in dispute, but on all the principal points of the Christian religion. This task was committed to Bullinger, Myconius, and Grynæus;[1] to whom afterwards were joined Leo Juda and Grossmann. The Confession was composed in Latin, and is dated in February 1536. In the following month it was submitted to another Conference, likewise held at Basel, when, having been unanimously received and signed by the representatives of different Swiss churches, it was appointed to be translated into German, by Leo Juda, one of the ministers of Zürich.[2] It was afterwards

[1] Ruchat, Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse, edit. par Vulliemin, tom. iv. pp. 59, 60. Nyon, en Suisse, 1835–8, 7 tom. 8vo. See also Scott's Continuation of Milner's History of the Church of Christ, vol. iii. Lond. 1831, 8vo.

[2] Ruchat, in his valuable work, has given a translation from this German version of the Confession, and says, "Comme cette pièce n'est pas bien longue, et qu'elle est fort rare, je la mettrai ici tout au long, traduite fidèlement sur la copie Allemande." Hist. tom. iv. p. 61–77.

presented to an Assembly at Wittemberg by Bucer and Capito, and also to the Protestant princes at the meeting at Smalkald, in February 1537, and approved on both occasions.[1] This may in some measure explain the words on the title of Wishart's translation.

This CONFESSIO HELVETICA, usually styled the Former Confession of the Helvetian Churches, is quite distinct from the Latter Confession of Helvetia, which was formed by the pastors of Zürich in the year 1566, and which was so generally received and approved by the Protestant churches in various parts of Europe. "L'année 1566 (says Ruchat) peut être regardée comme l'époque de la clôture de notre Réformation, parce que ce fut alors que les Eglises réformées de Suisse publièrent leur grande Confession de Foi, qui est généralement connue sous le nom de Confession Helvetique."[2] According to Petrie, "the churches of Helvetia, Geneva, and other Reformed churches in France and Germany, sent unto the Church of Scotland the sum or Confession of Faith, desiring to know if wee agree in uniformity of doctrine. Wherefore the Superintendents, together with many other most qualified ministers, conveen in September [1566] at Santandrews, and having read the Letters and Confession, sent answer, that wee agree in all points with these Churches, and differ in nothing from them, except that wee assent not in keeping festival days, seeing the Sabbath-day only is keeped in Scotland."[3] When the Assembly met, at Edinburgh, on the 25th of December 1566, it is recorded, that "the Assemblie being advised with the interpretation of the Confession of the Kirk of Zürich, be Mr Robert

[1] The Confession, in German as well as in Latin, is contained in "Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicatarum. Edidit Dr H. A. Niemeyer." Lipsiæ, 1840, 8vo. Pp. 105-122. The Latin text is incorporated in the well known collections, entitled, "Harmonia Confessionum Fidei, Orthodoxarum et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum," &c. Genevæ, 1581, 4to, and the old translation, "An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, &c., translated out of Latin into English," Cambridge, 1586, sm. 8vo. There is an excellent republication of this volume, by the Rev. Peter Hall, Lond. 1842, 8vo, from which a few extracts are given in the foot notes to explain some obsolete words in the older translation of Wishart.

[2] Hist. tom. vii. p. 97.

[3] History of the Catholick Church, part ii. p. 347. Rotterdam, 1662, fol.

Pont, ordained the same to be printed, togither with an epistle sent to the Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, approving the same, providing a note be put in the margin, where mention is made of the remembrance of some holy days."[1] Whether Pont's version of this Confession was actually printed at the time is doubtful: I do not recollect of having ever seen a copy.

Of the life of GEORGE WISHART, it would be superfluous in this place to give any detailed account. He was born in the early part of the 16th century, and is believed to have been a younger son of James Wishart of Pittaro, who was admitted Justice-Clerk in December 1513, and continued till between 1520 and 1524. Respecting Wishart's early education, we possess no certain information. Petrie, the historian of the Church, says, "In the year 1544 came home that blessed servant of Christ, George Wishart, one of great learning, zeal, and modesty: As I, being young, have heard of very ancient men, he had been schoolmaster of Montrose, and there did teach his disciples the New Testament in Greek; for this fault he was delated unto the Bishop of Brechen, in time of the persecution, *anno* 1538. When he was summoned to appear, he fled; and after sixe years, returns with more knowledge of the truth, and more zeal."[2] During this interval, we find him, in 1539, at Bristol, preaching against the worship and mediation of the Virgin Mary; but having been accused of heresy, he made a public recantation, and burnt his faggot in the Church of St Nicholas in that city.[3] It must have been subsequent to this humiliating act that he went to the continent, where he re-

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, (Bannatyne Club edit.,) vol. i. p. 90. See also Calderwood's History, (Wodrow Society edit.,) vol. ii. p. 331.

[2] Hist. of the Cath. Church, part ii. p. 182. Bishop Lesley, in noticing his death, as the principal cause of that of Cardinal Beaton, describes him as "ane clerk called Maister George Wischert, quha had long remained in Germanie, and of new come in Scotland," Hist. of Scot. p. 191. Edinb. 1830, 4to. In his Latin History, Lesley designates him, "Georgius Vvschertus nobilis quidam, diu in Germania versatus." De Rebus gestis, &c., p. 480, Romæ, 1578, 4to. In the Treasurer's Accounts of Scotland, in March 1546, he is styled "Maister George Wischeart."

[3] See the interesting notices collected by Dr M'Crie, including extracts from the Registers at Bristol. Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 383.

mained for some years, and where he appears to have arrived at a more decided conviction of the errors of Popery. We next find him as residing in Corpus Christi, or Bene't College, Cambridge, in 1543. The letter of his pupil, John Tylney, preserved by Foxe, gives a most graphic and interesting description of Wishart's person and habits. It has indeed been alleged,[1] but upon the most slender evidence, that he was employed in the year 1543 as a messenger in carrying letters from England, plotting the destruction of Cardinal Beaton. He arrived in Scotland, and commenced his public career as a Reformer about the close of that year; and he suffered martyrdom at St Andrews on the 28th of March 1546.

The original tract, which is now reprinted, consists of fifteen leaves, small 8vo, in black letter, without either the name of printer, place, or date of printing. The first leaf exhibits only the general title, as given in fac-simile on the opposite page. The next leaf contains the fuller title, also here reprinted in fac-simile.[2] The printing, of course, must have been subsequent to 1546. On comparing it with two other tracts bound in the same volume,[3] there is no reason to doubt that it was printed at London by Thomas Raynalde, about the year 1548. The volume was purchased by the late Mr Heber in 1811; and at his sale in 1834, it was acquired by William Henry Miller of Craigentinny, Esq., to whose kindness the Editor is indebted for permission to reprint it in this Miscellany.

[1] By Mr Tytler and other writers. See the Rev. Thomas M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, from the Reformation to the Revolution, p. 47. Edinb., 1841, 12mo.

[2] The type in the original is not so large, but the arrangement of the lines, &c., is accurately copied in the reprinted title. "Sweuerland" should evidently have been "Swesserland."

[3] The tracts referred to are, (1.) "Newes concernynge the generall councell, holden at Trydent, &c. Translated oute of Germayne into Englysh by Jhon Holibush. Anno 1548. Imprinted at London in saynt Andrewes paryshe in the ware dropt, by Thomas Raynalde." (2.) "The Lamentacyon of a Christen against the Citye of London, for some certaine greate vyces vsed therin. Imprinted in the yere of our Lord m.d.xlviii."—This volume was purchased by Mr Heber, from Triphook's "Catalogue of Books and Tracts of uncommon occurrence." No. 512-514.

¶ The confescion

of the fayth of the Sweserlādes.

✠

¶ This confeſcion was fyrſte wrytten and ſet out by the miniſters of the churche and congregacion of Sweuerland/ where all godlynes is receyued/ and the worde hadde in moſte reuerence/ and from thence was ſent vnto the Emperours maieſtie/ then holdynge a gryat counſell or parliamēt in the yeare of our lord God/ M.v.C.xxxvii. in the moneth of February. Tranſlated out of laten by George Aſher/ a ſcotchman/ who was burned in Scotland/ the yeare of oure lorde M.v.C.xlvi.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

OF THE

CHURCHES OF SWITZERLAND.

I. OF THE HOLY SCRYPTURE.[1]

THE Canonycall or holy Scrypture, whiche is the Worde of God, taught and gyven by the Holy Spryte, and publyshed[2] unto the worlde by the prophetes and holy apostles, which also is the moost perfyte and auncient science[3] and doctryne of wysdome, it alone contayneth consumatly all godlynes and all sorte and maner of facyon of lyfe.

II. OF THE EXPOSICION OF SCRYPTURE.

The interpretacion, or exposicion of this holy wrytte, ought and shuld be sought out of it selfe, so that it shulde be the owne interpretour,[4] the rule of charite and faythe hauynge gouernaunce.

III. OF MANNES TRADICIONS.

As to other thynges, of Tradicions of men, howe bewtifull and how moch receyued soeuer they be, what so euer tradicions withdraweth us and stoppeth us fro the Scripture, of such do we an-

[1] The Articles are not numbered in the original: the numbers are here added for the convenience of reference.

[2] "Puplyshed," in the original.

[3] In the Harmony of Confessions, these words are thus rendered: "Of all others the most perfect and ancient philosophy, doth alone perfectly contain all piety and good ordering of life." —"Omnium perfectissima et antiquissima Philosophia, pietatem omnem, omnem vitæ rationem sola perfecte continet." Coll. Confess.

[4] "The interpreter of herself," Harm. of Confess. p. 4.

swere the sayenges of the Lord, as of thynges hurtfull and unprofytable, "They worshippe me in vayne, teachying the doctrynes of man." Mathi. xv.

IV. OF THE HOLY FATHERS.

For the whiche sorte of interpretacyon so farre as the Holy Fathers hathe not gone fro it, not onely do we receyue them as interpretours of the Scripture, but also we honour and worshyp them as chosen and beloued instrumentes of God.[1]

V. THE ENDE AND ENTENT OF THE SCRYPTURE.

The pryncypal entent of al the Scripture canonicall is, to declare that God is beniuolent and frendly mynded to mankynde; and that he hathe declared that kyndnes in and throughe Jesu Chryste his onely sone; the which kyndnes is receyuyd by fayth; but this fayth is effectuous through charitie,[2] and expressed in an innocent lyfe.

VI. OF GOD.

Of God we bylcue in this sorte: that he is almyghtie, beynge one in substance and thre in persones: which euen as he hathe created by his Worde, that is his Sone, all thynges of nothynge; so by his Spirite and prouydence gouerns he, preserues[3] and norysheth he, most truly, ryghtously, and wysely all thynges.

VII. OF MAN.

Man, whiche is the perfectest image of God in earthe, and also is the chefe dignite and honoure amonge all creatures visible, beynge made of soule and body; of the whiche twayne the body is mortall, the soule immortall; whan he was creat of God holy, by fallynge in vyce and synne throughe his owne fal, drew with hym in that same ruen and fal, and so subjected all mankynde to the same calamitie and wretchydnes that he fell in.

[1] "Ut organa Dei electa veneramur." Collectio Confess. p. 106.

[2] "Effectual through love." Harm. of Confess. p. 5.

[3] "Preserue," in orig.

VIII. OF ORIGINALL SYNNE.

And so this pestiferous infection whiche men calleth Originall, hathe infecte and ouerspred the whole kynde of man, so far that by no helpe (he beynge the sone of wrathe and vengaunce[1] and enemye of God) coulde be healed by any meanes but by the helpe of God onely: for yf there be any good that remayneth in man after the fall, that same beynge joyntelie made weaker and weaker by our vyce tournes to the worse; because the strengthe and power of euyll ouercometh it, and nother suffereth it us to folowe reason nor yet to exersyse the godlynes of our mynde.

IX. OF FREWYLL.

Wherfore we attribute so free wyll to man as we whiche wyttynge and wyllynge to do good, fele experience of euyll. Also euyll trewly we maye do of oure owne wyll, but to enbrace and folowe good (except we be elluminat, styred up and mounted, by the grace of Chryst) we maye not: for, "God is he whiche worketh in us bothe to wyll, to performe, and to accomplyshe for his owne good wyll sake;"[2] and of "God commeth our helth and saluacion, but of our selfe commeth perdicion."[3]

X. OF THE ETERNALL MYNDE OF GOD TO RESTORE MAN.

And howbeit that through his fault man was subjecte unto dampnacion, and also was runne under the juste indingnacion of God to take vengeaunce of hym, yet God the father neuer seaced to take a mercyfull cure ouer hym: The whiche thynge is manifest not onely of the fyrst promyses[4] and the whole lawe, whiche as it is holy and good, teaching us the wyll of God, ryghtuousnes, and truthe, so worketh it wrath and storeth up synne within us, and slacketh it not, and that not through any faulte of it selfe, but

[1] "Vengaunge," in orig.
[2] Phil. ii. 13.
[3] Hos. xiii. 9.
[4] "Prynces," an evident misprint in orig.—"Ex primis promissionibus." Coll. Confess.—"The first promises." Harm. of Confess. p. 90.

through our vyce, but also clerely appereth it through Christ, whiche was ordayned and geuen for that purpose.

XI. OF JESUS CHRIST AND THAT IS DONE BY HYM.

This Christ, the very Sone of God, and very God and very man also, was made our brother, at the tyme appoynted he toke upon him whole man, made of soule and body, hauynge two natures unpermyxte and one deuyne person,[1] to the intent that he shoulde restore unto lyfe us that were deed, and make us aryse of God annexte with hym selfe. He also after that he had taken upon him of the immaculate Virgin, by operacion of the Holy Goost, fleshe, whiche was holy bycause of the union of the Godhed, which is, and also was lyke to our fleshe in all thynges excepte in synfulnes: And that bycause it behoued the sacrefice for synne to be cleane and immaculate, gaue that same fleshe to death for to expell all our synne by that meanes. And he also, to the entent that we shuld have one full and perfecte hope and trust of our immortalitie, hath raysed up agayne fro death to lyfe his owne fleshe, and hathe set it and placed it in heauen at the ryghte hande of his Almyghty Father.

And there he sytteth our victorious champion, our gyder, our capitayne, and heed, also our hyghest bysshop[2] in dede, synne, death, and hell, beynge victoriously ouercome by him, and defendeth oure cause, and pleadeth[3] it perpetually untyll he shall reforme and fascion us to that lykenes to whiche we were create, and brynge us to be partakers of eternall lyfe. And we loke for hym, and beleueth that he shall come at the ende of all ages to be our trewe ryghtuous just Judge, and shall pronounce sentence agaynst all fleshe, whiche shal be raysed up before to that judgement, and that he shall exalte the godly aboue the heauens, but the ungodly shall he condempne bothe body and soule to eternal distruction.

[1] "Parsone," in orig.—"And in one indivisible person, united two natures." Harm. of Confess. p. 98.

[2] "An pontifex vere summus." Coll. Confess.—"Our high priest." Harm. of Confess. p. 90.

[3] "Pleateth," in orig.

And as he onely is oure mediatour and entercessour, hoste and sacrifice, bysshop,[1] lorde, and our kynge; also do we acknowlage and confesse hym onely to be our attonement and raunsome, satisfaction, expiacion, or wysdome, our defence, and our onely deliuerer: refusyng utterly all other meane of lyfe and saluacion, excepte thus by Chryst onely.

XII. THE ENDE OF THE PREACHYNGE OF THE GOSPELL.

And therefore in the whole doctryne of the Euangelystes annunciat and shew to be the fyrste, and chefely to be inculcated and taught, that we are safe[2] onely by the marcie of God, and merite of our Sauiour Christ. And that men may perceyue and understande the better, howe necessary is the mercie of God and Christes merites for them, theyr synnes shuld be clerely shewed to them by the lawe, and remission by Christes death.

XIII. OF FAYTH AND OF THE POWER OF IT.[3]

And these so godly benifites, with the very sanctificacion of the Holy Spirite, do we optayne by fayth, the very trewe gyfte of God, and not throughe any other power or strength of oureselues or merytes.

Whiche faythe is one certayne and undouted substance and aprehensyon of all thynges that we hope for to come of the kyndnes of God, and it cometh firste out of the selfe charitie, it worketh noble frutes of al vertues: yet notwithstandynge we attribute no thyng to the dedes, althoughe they be godly, yet be they mennes workes and actes; but the helthe and saluacion that is optayned, we attribute to the grace of God onely: And truely this worshypynge alone is the very trewe worshypynge of God; faythe I meane mooste pryngnaunt and plentifull of good workes, without any confydence in the workes.

[1] "High Priest." Harm. of Confess. p. 90.

[2] "Are saved." *Ib.* p. 111.

[3] In the Latin text this Article is divided into two, viz., "xiii. Christianus et Officia ejus," and "xiv. De Fide." The Articles are thus extended from 27 to 28. The Harmony corresponds with the present arrangement.

XIV. OF THE CONGREGACION OR CHURCHE.

Also we holde, and beleue, that the Churche, whiche is the congregacion and eleccion of all holy men,[1] whiche also is the spouse of Christ, whom he shall presente without spot unto his Father, washynge it in his owne blode, is of suche lyuely stones aforesayd layde upon this lyuely rock on this maner.

The whiche Churche, howbeit it be euydently knowne onely to the eyes of God, yet be certayne externall rytes,[2] institute by Christ, and be one publyke and lawful teachynge, teachynge of the Worde of God, not onely is it spyed and knowen, but it is also so constituted by them, that without the cerimonies there is no man reconed to be of it, excepte it be by a synguler preuilege of God.

XV. THE MINISTERS OF THE WORD OF GOD.

And for this cause we graunte the Ministers of the Church to be cooperators of God, as Paule calleth them, by whome God geueth and ministreth both knowledge of our selfe, and remission of synne, and conuerteth men to hym selfe, rayseth them up and comforteth them, affrayeth them also, and judgeth them; but so that the vertue and efficacie therof we ascrybe also to the Lorde, and the ministracion of the sacramentes. For it is manifest that this efficacie and powre is not bounde nor knytte to any creature, but is dyspensed lyberally and frely, whosoever, and whensoever, he shall please, for, "He that watereth is nothyng, nor yet is he that planteth any thynge, but he that geueth the encreasment, whiche is God."[3]

XVI. THE POWER OF THE CHURCHE.

The aucthoritie to preache Goddes Worde, and to feede the Lordes flocke, the whiche properly is the Power of the Keyes,

[1] "The holy gathering together of all the Saints." Harm. of Confess. p. 217.

[2] "Eternal ryghtes," an evident misprint. in orig.—"Externis tamen quibusdam ritibus." Coll. Confess.—"Outward rites." Harm. of Confess. p. 217.

[3] 1 Cor. iii. 7.

prescribynge and commaundyng all men, bothe hye and lowe, all lyke, shulde be holy and inuiolat; and shulde be committed onely to them that are mete therfore: and chosen other by the eleccion of God,[1] or elles by a sure and aduysed eleccion of the Churche; or by theyr wyll, to whom the Churches depute and apoynt that offyce of chosynge.

XVII. THE CHOSYNG OF MINISTERS OR OFFICERS.

This ministracion and offyce shulde be graunted to no man but to him whom the ministers of the Churche, and they unto whom the charge is gyuen by the Churches, and found judged to be of knowlage in the law of God and of innocent lyfe. The whiche seynge it is the very eleccion of God, it is well and justlye approued by the voyce of the Churche, and the imposicion of handes of the heedes of the preestes.

XVIII. THE HEED AND SHEPERD OF THE CHURCHE.

Christe, verely, hym selfe is the very trewe heed of his churche and congregacion, and the onely pastor and heed;[2] and he also geueth presydentes, heedes, and teachers,[3] to the entent that in the externall administracion they shulde use the power of the churche well and lawfully: Wherfore we knowe not them that are heedes and pastors in name onely, nor yet the Romenishe heedes.

XIX. THE DUTIE OF MINISTERS OR OFFICERS.

The chefe and pryncypall offyce of this ministracion is to preache repentaunce and remission of synne through Jesu Christe; to praye continually for the people; to geue diligence wholy to holy stodyes and to the Worde of God, and resyst and pursue the deuyll alway with the Word of God, as with the sworde of the Spirite, and that with a deadly hatered, and by all meanes to chasten him awaye; to defende the holy citezens of Christe. And by all

[1] "The divine appointment of God." Harm. of Confess. p. 253.

[2] "Heerd," in orig.

[3] "Is Ecclesiæ suæ pastores dat et doctores." Coll. Confess.—"Governors, pastors, and teachers." Harm. of Confess. p. 253.

meanes compell and reproue the fautie and vicious; and to exclude from the churche them that stereth to farre, and that by a godly consente and agrement of them whiche are chosen of the ministers and magistrates for correcyon, or to ponyshe them by any other waye conuenient and profytable meanes, so longe untyll they come to a mendement, and so be safe: for this is the returnynge of the churche agayne, for one suche citezen of Chryst, yf he acknowlage and confesse his erroure with conuerted mynde and lyfe, for all this doctryne seketh and wylleth, that we requyre wyllynge and helthefull correccion, exhilarite, or comforte all godly by a newe studdy of godlynes.

XX. OF THE POWER OR STRENGTHE OF SACRAMENTES.

There is twayne whiche are named in the Church of God Sacramentes, Baptyme, and Howslynge:[1] these be tokens of secrete thynges, that is, of godly and spirituall thynges, of whiche thynges they take the name, are not of naked sygnes,[2] but they are of sygnes and verities together. For in Baptisme the water is the sygne, but the thynge and verytie is regeneracyon, and adopcion in the people of God. In the Howslynge[3] and Thankes gyuynge,[4] the bread and the wyne are sygnes,[5] but the thynge and veritie is the communion of the body of our Lorde; helthe and saluacion founde, and remyssyon of synnes; the which are receyuyed by faythe, even as the sygnes and tokens are receyued by the bodely mouth.

Wherfore, we affyrme the Sacramentes not onely to be badges and tokens of Christian societie,[6] but to be also sygnes of the grace of God, by the whiche the ministers worketh withe God, to the ende that the promyse bryngeth the worke to passe; but so as is aforesayde of the ministracion of the worde, that all the same powre[7] be ascribed to the Lorde.

[1] "Baptismus et Eucharistia." Coll. Confess.—"Baptism and the Lord's Supper." Harm. of Confess. p. 287.

[2] "Syngnes," misprint in orig.

[3] "*Howslynge*," (from *Housel*, Angl.-Sax.) the Holy Eucharist, the giving or receiving the Sacrament.

[4] "In the Lord's Supper, bread and wine." Harm. of Confess. p. 287.

[5] "Synes," in orig., also in 6th line below.

[6] "Of human society." Harm. p. 287.

[7] "All the saving power." *Ib.*

XXI. OF BAPTYM.

We affyrme Baptym to be by the institucion of the Lorde, the lauer[1] of regeneracion, the whiche regeneracion the Lorde exhibiteth to his chosen by a visible sygne by the ministracion of the congregacion, as is aforesayde. In the which holy lauer we wasshe oure infantes,[2] for this cause, because it is wyckednes to rejecte and cast out of the felowshyp and company of the people of God them that are borne of us, whiche are the people of God, excepte them that are expressely commaunded to be rejected by the voyce of God; and for this cause chefely, bycause we shulde not presume ungodly of theyr election.

XXII. OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE AULTER.[3]

But the misticall supper is in the whiche the Lorde offereth his body and his blode, that is, his owne selfe, verely, to his owne, for this entent he myghte lyue more and more in them, and they in hym. Not so that the body and blode of the Lorde are communed naturally to the bread and wyne,[4] or closed in them as in one place; or put in them by any carnal or meruelous presence; but bycause the body and blode of oure Lorde are receyued verely of one faythful soule, and because the bread and the wyne by the institucion of the Lorde, are tokens be whiche the very communion or participacyon of the Lordes body and blode are exhibited of the Lorde himselfe, through the mynistracion of the churche, not to be a meat corruptible of the belly, but to be a noryshemente and meat of eternal lyfe.

And this holy meat do we use ofte for this cause, for when through the monicion and rememberaunce of it, we beholde withe the eye of our fayth the death and blode of hym that was cruci-

[1] "Lavacrum."—"The font." Harm. of Confess. p. 303.

[2] "In which holy font we do therefore dip our infants." *Ib.*

[3] "In the Latin Confession, the title of this Article is simply "Eucharistia." In the Harmony, p. 321, it is, "Of the Lord's Supper."

[4] "Are naturally united to bread and wine." Harm. of Confess. p. 321.

fied, and remember oure saluacyon and helthe, not with out a taste of heauenly lyfe, and very trewe felynge of eternall lyfe; when we do this we are wonderfully refreshed throughe this spiritual lyuynge and eternall foode. And that with an unspeakeable swetnes we exulte and rejoyce with a myrth unexpressable in wordes, for the saluacion that is founde; and we all and whole are effused with all our power and strength, utterly in doynge of thankes for so wonderful a benefyte of Christ toward us.

Therefore, it is greatly without oure deseruynges, that some aleges and sayeth of us, that we attrybute lyttell to the Holy Sacramentes; for they are holy thynges and honorable, bycause they are institute and ordayned by our hye preest Christ, and receyued; exhibiting the thinges that they syngnifie in theyr owne maner as is aforesayd; beynge wytnes to the thinge that is done in dede; representynge so hye and harde thynges, and bryngeth by wonderfull corespondence and lykenes of similitude, a lyght and a clerenes to the mynysters that they syngnifie: so wholy is oure beleue and estimacion of the Sacramentes, but verely appropriattynge the vertue of quickenynge and sanctifienge to hym onely whiche is lyfe, to whom be all honoure and prayse for ever. Amen.[1]

XXIII. OF COMYNGE TO CHURCHE.

We beleue and thynke the holy conuencions and gatherynges shulde be holden on this maner and sorte; so that fyrst, chefely, and before all thynges, the worde of God be preached to the people openlie in an open and publyke place, and that daylie; and the secrete and the obscure places of the Scripture be opened and declared by mete and competent men: And that by the Holy Supper of thankes, called Howselynge, the faithe of the godly be ofte exersysed, and that they shulde be contynually in prayer for all men, and for the necessities of all men.

[1] To Articles 19, 20, 21, and 22, in the Harmony of Confessions, there are added various paragraphs on similar Heads, "From the Declaration of the same Confession, which Luther himself approved by his Letters in the year 1537."—Pp. 254, 255, 287-290, 303, 322-324.

But the rest of ceremonies which, as they are unprofitable, so are they innumerable, as vescels, garmentes, waxe, lyghtes, alters, golde, sylver, in so moch as they serue to subuerte the trewe relygion of God: and chefely Idols and Images, that stande open to be worshyped, and geue offence and slaunder, and all suche prophane and ungodly thynges do we abandon, rejecte, and put awaye from the holy congregacion and conuencion.

XXIV. OF HERETYCKES AND SYSMATTYCKES.

We also abandon and rejecte from our holy conuencions, all them that departeth from the societie and fellowshyp of the holy Churche, and bryngeth in straunge or ungodly sectes and opinions: With the whiche euyll the Anabaptistes[1] are chefely infecte this tyme; the whiche we judge shuld be constrayned and punished by the majestrates [2] and hye powers, yf they obstinatly do resyst and wyll not obeye the monission of the Church, and that for the entent that they shulde not infecte and corrupte the flocke of God throughe theyr wycked euyll.

XXV. OF THYNGES INDYFFERENT.

The thynges that are called, and in dede also are indifferent, howbeit a godly man may use them frely, and in euery place, and at all tymes, yet not withstandynge, he shulde use them with knowlage, and of charitie, to the glory of God trewly, and the edification of the churche and congregacion.

XXVI. OF MAGISTRATES OR GOUERNOURS.

And seynge euery magistrate and hyghe powre is of God, his chefe and pryncipall office is, (excepte he wolde rather use tyranny,) to defende the trewe worshipinge of God from all blasfemy, and

[1] In the Latin Confession, "Cataoaptistæ."

[2] "Bridled by the magistrate." Harm. of Confess. p. 372.

to procure trewe religion,[1] and, as the prophete dothe teache of the voyce of God, to execute for his power. In whiche part a trewe and syncere preaching of the worde of God remayneth with a ryghte and diligent institucion of the discipline of citezens,[2] and of the scooles; just correccion, and nurture, with liberalitie towarde the mynysters of the churche, with a solicitat and thoughtfull charge of the poore, to the whiche ende all the rychesse of the churche is referred. This, I saye, hathe the fyrst and chefe place in the execucion of the magistrat.

Then after to judge the people by equall and godly lawes, to excersyce and mayntayne judgement and justice, to defende the commune welthe, and punyshe transgressours accordynge to theyr faulte, outher in goodes, theyr bodies, or theyr lyues. And when the majestrate executeth these thynges he honoreth God as he shuld in his vocacion, and we (howebeit we be free bothe in our body and all oure goodes, and in the studies of oure mynde and thought also with a trewe faythe) knoweth that we shulde be subjecte in holynes to the majestrate, and shulde kepe fydelitie and promes to hym, so longe as his commandementes, statutes, and imperes evidently repungneth not with Him for whose sake we honour and worshyp the majestrates.

XXVII. OF HOLY MATRIMONY.

We judge Mariage, whiche was instytute of God for all men apte and mete therfor, whiche are not called from it by any other vocacion, to repugne to holynes of no ordre; the which mariage as the Churche auctoriseth it and celebrates, and solempniseth it with orison and prayer. And, therefore, we rejecte and refuse this monckely chastite, and all hole this slouthful and slouggishe sorte of lyfe of supersticious men, as abominablye invented and excogitat thynge, and abandon it as a thinge repugnant bothe to the comune weale and to the Churche. And so confyrmeth and sta-

[1] "To defend and protect religion." Harm. of Confess. p. 475.

[2] "The instruction of the youth of citizens." *Ib.*

blissheth it, so it belongeth to the magistrate to se that it be worthely bothe begonne and worshypped, and not broken[1] but for a just cause.

A DECLARACION OR WYTNESSYNGE OF OUR MYNDE.[2]

It is not our mynde for to prescribe by this breefe chapters a certayne rule of the Faythe to all churches and congregacyons, for we knowe no other rule of faythe but the Holy Scripture: and, therefore, we are well contented with them that agreeth with these thynges, howebeit they use an other maner of speakynge, or Confession dyfferent apartly to this of ours in wordes, for rather shulde the matter be consydered then the wordes.

And therfore we make it free for all men to use theyr owne sorte of speaking as they shall perceyue most profitable for theyr churches, and we shall use the same libertie.

And yf any man wyll attempte to corrupte the trewe meanynge of this oure Confession, he shall heare bothe a confession and a defence of the veritie and truth.

It was our pleasure to use these wordes at this present tyme, that we myght declare our opinion in our religion and worshypenge of God.

FINIS.

THE TRUTH WYL HAVE THE UPPER HANDE.[3]

[1] This "Declaracion" is not added, either to the Latin text, or to any of the German, French, or English versions of this Confession.

[2] "Dissolved." Harm. of Confess. p. 439.

[3] The German translation has this colophon, intimating that the Confession, which is dated 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of February 1536, had been examined and approved at a meeting of the Estates, on the 26th March that year:—"Ist durch obgemelter Stetten botten bestätet vnd einhälleklich angenomen Basiliæ 1536, 26 Martij."

CERTAMEN

CUM LUTHERANIS, SAXONIAE HABITUM, PER JACOBUM MELVIL SCOTUM.

THE preceding leaf contains the entire title-page of the little tract which is now reprinted. It is a small 8vo, of fifteen leaves, in Roman letter, printed, as appears from the colophon, (see page 48,) at Bononia, or Bologna, in January 1530. No other copy is known than one which was purchased by the late Mr Heber, for a considerable price, at the Lucca sale, in London, several years previous to the dispersion of his own extraordinary collection. It is now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates.

This tract supplies the name of an Author, JAMES MELVILLE, wholly unknown to Scotish Bibliographers; although it furnishes no information either as to his parentage, education, or mode of life. Whether, therefore, he might have been connected with the Melvilles of Raith, or the Melvilles of Dysart and Baldowy, the two chief families of that name during the sixteenth century, cannot be stated; but it is most probable that he was intended for the Church, and that he received his education at St Andrews.

In the dedication to Calixtus de Amadeis, Apostolical Protonotary, and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Verona, the author says, that, inflamed by his zeal for the Catholic faith, he had withdrawn himself from the society of his friends, and that, not contented with the perusal of the works published by the supporters of Luther, he had personally visited their schools and investigated their doctrines and arguments. This tract exhibits a proof of such zeal, as we must infer from the title at p. 31, that he had entered into a public disputation at Wittemberg, with the followers of Luther, (the great Reformer himself being addressed only by way of apostrophe,) respecting the doctrine that man is jus-

tified by faith alone. As the author speaks of accumulated favours having been bestowed on him by the Vicar-General Calixtus, we may infer that he had taken orders in the Church of Rome. Melville further mentions, (page 38,) that he had prepared another controversial tract, on the subject of Free Will, dedicated to the Cardinal de Cesio, which he intended to publish. It is scarcely necessary to add, that no such treatise by the author is known.

Of Melville's subsequent history, and whether, in his search after truth, he might have obtained any clearer views of the nature of Saving Faith than this Disputation exhibits, it would be idle to offer any conjectures. Immediately after the Reformation in Scotland, there appear to have been two persons of the same name in the office of the ministry.[1] It is, however, not at all probable, that either of them could have been the author of the following tract, even if we had any evidence to show that he subsequently professed an adherence to the Protestant faith.

[1] Mr James Melville was minister of the united parishes of Feirne, Menmure, and Kynnell, in Angus, 1567. (Register of Ministers, p. 14, Edinb. 1830, 4to.) The name of Mr James Melville, minister of Tannadice, also occurs in the same year. (Buik of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 97; Calderwood's Hist., vol. ii. p. 370.) The first of these we imagine to have been the same person as 'Mr James Mailvile,' minister of Arbroath, in 1573, and uncle of James-Melville, minister of Kilrenny and Anstruther, whose interesting Autobiography was lately reprinted for the Wodrow Society. Dr M'Crie, in his Life of Andrew Melville, (vol. i. p. 3,) has shown that James Melville, minister of Arbroath, was alive in 1596.

JACOBUS MELVIL, NATIONE SCOTUS,

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO DOMINO CALIXTO DE AMADEIS, PROTONOTARIO APOSTOLICO, UTRIUSQUE JURIS DOCTORI ERUDITISSIMO, AC REVERENDISSIMI VERONENSIS ANTISTITIS VICARIO GENERALI MERITISSIMO, PRO SALUTE REVERENTIAM DICIT, CUM PERPETUO FAMULATU.

REVERENDE PATER, fidei zelo accensus, ac peregrina veste circumamictus, notis omnibus me subtrahens, perlustrando Lutheranorum actus et studia, duos extraxi annos, parum esse arbitratus eorundem revolvere libellos, nisi actores (nec citra vitæ discrimen) publico aggrederer agone, quo eorum non modo labefactæ vitæ, verumetiam ex quibus fontibus Scripturæ, in suam perniciem distortæ, hereticæ pravitatis venenum hauserint, certior efficerer, et inde frugem demeterem, eorum novitates, ut magnificentur, introductas cum monstruosissima deformitate, a speciosissima unione ecclesiastica disquadrantes, in procinctu carpere queam. Quis Paulo Pharisæos, Augustino Manichæos, efficacius contundere valuit? Proinde quod sermonis venustati adimitur, id experimento redemptum esse sufficiat. Tandem, almi Numinis ductu, ad tuæ magnificentiæ notitiam feliciter[1] perveni, cui ob meritorum præstantiam, multiplicium præterea virtutum, ac pluriformium scientiarum prærogativam, hoc dedicavi opusculum; vehementer contendens pro tua solita clementia, ac incredibili probitate, ne mihi tantis per te beneficiis accumulato succenseas, sed hoc munusculum,[2] tuæ exemplari ac integræ vitæ arcem tenenti

[1] In the original *fœliciter*. [2] In orig. *munusclum*.

impar, propenso accipias animo, qui humilitatem in honoribus, mansuetudinem in potestate, castimoniam in delitiis, (quod naturam vincit, et rarum in terra cernitur,) illibate tenes. Tuam abstinentiam, qua universos superas, ac justitiam, unde Veronensis Diocesis scatet pacatissima practica, cætera quoque divina virtutum dona, quæ verbis consequi nequeo, omitto his, ne assentationis notæ arguar, quibus elaboratius disquirere de hujusmodi congruit. Vale. .

ARGUMENTA VITTEMBERGÆ PUBLICE DISPUTATA PER JACOBUM MELVIL CONTRA LUTHERANOS,

NOSTRIS CONATIBUS HAUD QUICQUAM ATTRIBUENTES, SED ALIORUM VOTIS CAUTERIATAS HABENTIUM CONSCIENTIAS, AC HÆRETICA PRAVITATE HALLUCINATAS, MOREM GERENTES.[1]

O Germanorum Apollo, Luthere, contra tui erroris fundamentum sacrarum literarum fulmina jaciam, quo quidem fundamento e medio lato, integrum tuum opificium in præcipitium ibit, ac inde de ineruditionis tuæ mendacio publice per orbem terrarum confunderis. Et dum sacris cuncta libres proprio suffossus concides ense.[2]

In exordio tamen precor, ne quisquam rudem nostrum contemnat stylum, qui plus temporis trivimus in rerum agnitione, quam in politione linguæ; nostramque præterea solis desolatis simplicibus impertimur solicitudinem qui ad hoc assumendum onus (etsi nostris humeris impar) nos suppliciter rogarunt, quatenus in Christiana religione proficientes vires resumant, contradictores convincere.

Sequitur Fundamentum: Sola Fide justificatur Homo.

Primum te urgens est illud, Roma. i. 'Justus ex fide vivit,' vitam soli fidei attribuens.[3]

Cur non una animadvertis illud, Ezechiæ xviii., 'Si impius averterit se ab impietate sua, et fecerit judicium, et justitiam, vita vivet,' etc.; ubi, recensitis plerisque[4] bonis operibus, sequitur,

[1] In the original, *Vittemberge*, and *hallicinatas*. From *Nostris* to *Gerentes*, is there given in unbroken connection with *O Germanorum Apollo*.

[2] This seems to be the adaptation of a hexameter, reading *concidis*.

[3] This contains the supposed language of a Lutheran Controversialist. Then follows Melvill's reply. The quotations from Scripture are, of course, from the Vulgate, with occasional alterations arising from various causes.

[4] In the original, here, and wherever the word occurs, *plærisque*.

'animam suam vivificabit.' Præterea Levit. xviii., 'Custodite leges meas, atque judicia, quæ faciens homo vivet in eis.' Item, Matth. iv., 'Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo,' etc., per verba intelligens legis præcepta. Ergo, vita conjunctim est ex fide et operibus. In signum cujus, Moses quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus in monte vixit, legis mandata recipiendo.

Proximo te cogens est illud, Rom. iii., 'Arbitramur hominem fide justificari, et non ex operibus legis.'[1]

Quod autem loquatur de operibus Legis Mosaycæ claret illico per sequentia; 'An Judæorum solum Deus est, an et gentium?' subjecit 'immo et gentium,' quæ, legalia non servantes, a salute, tamen, et redemptione per Christum minime excludebantur. Tu ibidem extendis opera Legis Mosaycæ ad opera nostra bona, non advertens Apostolum satagere errorem tantum de legalium observantia ex Romanorum cordibus removere, eis illatum per quosdam Prophetas, qui venerant ex Judæa, juxta illud Matth. xxiii., 'Qui circuitis mare, ut faciatis unum proselytum.' Proinde, exigentibus exiguitate fidei eorum et nimia in operibus fiducia inculcavit illis ita fidem, ut assereret legem in decretis sitam esse abrogatam; Hebr. vi. Non attendis quibus, aut qua occasione scripserit, ut unam partem humanæ justificationis pro totali ratione assignaret. Ut Deut. x., 'In septuaginta animabus descenderunt patres tui in Aegyptum;'[2] item, 'Septuaginta animæ egressæ sunt de femore Iacob,'[3] ubi anima pro integro homine accipitur. Ita Paulus fidem pro integra justificationis ratione, licet sit tantum partialis ratio, ex quibus verbis tu ansam sumpsisti abolere fiduciam in bonis operibus ex nostris pectoribus. Unde plerique, opera deserentes bona, dicunt 'Cur operabimur recte, quum nobis nihil prosit?' Ita Germania ad altissimum malignitatis gradum devenit, juxta illud Joan. suæ Cano. v. cap.,[4] 'Mundus in maligno positus est,' unde necessum est decrescere; hinc brevi tantæ malitiæ succedet reformatio, quia tam violentæ rugæ diuturnitas contravenire dignoscitur.[5]

[1] Another supposed statement of a Lutheran, similarly replied to.
[2] In orig. *Aegiptum.*
[3] Exod. i. 5. In orig. *fœmore.*
[4] The reference is to 1 John v. 19.
[5] In orig. *dinoscitur.*

Et si igitur operæ precium sit nos fateri inutiles servos, quicquid boni fecerimus jubente Christo, qui nobis tribuit velle, et perficere, nec quicquam boni ex nobis tantum cogitare sufficimus, attestante Paulo, nihilominus credimus universali patrum et ecclesiæ decreto nos, ex divina bonitate, nostris quoque operibus bonis a fide et charitate prodeuntibus, aliquid premii recepturos. Dixeris forte hæc opera fidei tantum justificanti esse connexa, ceu fructus arbori. Nunquid arbor cum fructibus plus valet, quam sola arbor? Igitur plus premii respondet fidei cum operibus, quam fidei tantum, et, per consequens, humanæ justificationis opera sunt efficacia. Miror illam arborem in pueris non fructificare, in quibus est fides justificans, ex qua opera naturaliter procedunt, ut calor ab igne. Igitur connexionem fidei et operum negabis, vel in errorem Anabaptistarum incides. Præterea, quum fides, et, per te asserti, fructus sint positiva realiter distincta, quorum unum non dependet essentialiter ab alio, igitur eorum non est necessaria connexio.

Præterea, forma arguendi Christi usus, qui inter disceptandum cum Pharisæis quæstiones interseruit, sciscitor te, 'Quid intelligis per fidem solum justificantem?' Non habitum arbitror, cui a Peripateticorum schola minime attribuitur laus. Si actum credendi intelligis, qui paritur a credente et credito, tunc intentum habeo de opere justificante, quum talis actus sit nostrum opus, licet Dei sit velut causæ principalis, et specialiter influentis, Joan. vi. 'Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem misit Pater.' Sed ambagibus iis seorsum positis, ore tenus mihi dixisti te, per fidem solum justificantem, intelligere fiduciam in Deum, et firmam divinæ promissionis expectationem. Nunquid talis fiducia, et expectatio opera sunt expectantis et fidentis, et, per consequens, opere justificamur? Respondebis forsitan, solius 'Dei virtute hujusmodi nobis concreari, et in nobis nihil esse, præter capacitatem,' ut quidam astruunt de fruitione beatifica, ad quam vires nostræ non ascendunt. Ex tuo responso sequitur Deum esse personarum acceptorem, contra Paulinam doctrinam, et illud, Act. x. 'In veritate comperi, quia non est acceptor personarum Deus.' Sequela probatur, quia uni tribuit hujusmodi fiduciam, et alteri negat, quem, quia eadem destituitur, quæ

nequaquam in suis consistit conatibus, perpetuis deputatur Gehennalibus tormentis. Sed non vereris patula asserere doctrina Deum præscivisse hominem peccaturum, creasse peccatorem, præcepisse illi non peccare, cui impossibile est non peccare, (quod est anathema, juxta Hieronymum, Deum præcepisse impossibile,) cujus omnia opera sunt peccata, nec quicquam boni operari poterit aut legem sibi jussam implere—et juste condemnari pro privatione illius fiduciæ, et pro non observantia legis, quæ minime consistunt in suis viribus, contra sacræ scripturæ authoritatem, et rationem? Authoritas hæc est Deut. xxx., 'Mandatum, quod ego præcipio tibi, non supra te est, non procul positum, nec in cœlo situm, ut possis dicere, 'quis nostrum in cœlum valet conscendere?" Ratio talis. Si homo, cujus obsequio, testibus sacris et gentilium eloquiis, cuncta creata mancipavit orbis conditor, non posset bene operari, bruto par esset in negatione boni operis, asino quoque deterior in perpetratione mali operis, quia asinus non potest bene aut male operari. Nos quidem, juxta tuam sententiam, malum perpetramus continue, sed nec quicquam boni operari valemus. Præterea, divinam justitiam vertis in tyrannidem, quæ nos perpetuo cruciat ob opera a nobis naturaliter producta, dimissis[1] brutis qui ejusdem generis actus nobiscum operantur, nisi in nobis aliquid admiseris, quod non est in brutis, scilicet vim operativam boni, id est potentiam illam contradictionis cujus meminit Arist. in Periher.,[2] aut virtutem liberam omittendi mala.

Si primam vim negaveris contra philosophicam, universalem Theologorum scholæ, communem quoque ecclesiæ opinionem, scio te admissurum libertatem omittendi mala. Tunc patientiam habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi, et arguitur sic. Si malum est committere quicquam contra præcepta negativa, ergo bonum est omittere idem, mediante hac libertate omissiva quam admisisti. Alias, datis duobus incredulis, quorum unus non est occisor, non adulter, nec cætera quoque Secundæ Tabulæ præcepta (saltem extrinsece) transgreditur, sed sola incredulitate occœcatus est; alter vero latro, homicida, adulter omnibus præterea vitiis irretitus, tamen pri-

[1] In orig. *demissis.*

[2] Aristotelis *Libri Perhermenias, de Interpretatione.*

ori in incredulitate par; si sola fides justificaret, et per argumentum, a contrario sensu, sola incredulitas damnaret, prior, per casum positum, æquale lueret supplicium cum secundo; quod ratio abhorret. Nullibi igitur vales te vertere, quin oporteat concedere hominem posse bene agere; sed Sathan ipse, qui incredulorum sensus excœcavit, tuæ factionis sequaces in hoc negocio libertatis peccandi discrepantes effecit, sicut te, et Andream Oziandri primas tenentem apud Nurnbergenses, in officio celebrationis missæ. 'Nefas,' dicis, 'et contra naturam institutionis sacramenti, celebrare (etiam Dominicis) nisi affuerint communicaturi,' et e contra ex decreto Oziandri Nurnbergæ, octo quotidie celebrantur missæ, etsi nullus communicat. Hæc controversia non poterit esse ab unitate divini flaminis, sed a diversitate principum tenebrarum. Ita, in materia libertatis peccandi, illæ sectæ Lutheranæ columnæ, Philippus Melanthon, et Franciscus Lamberti[1] dissident. Primus libertatem peccandi admittit ad salvandum divinam justitiam, quia, si naturaliter, et non libere peccaremus, inique nos damnaret. Secundus libertatem illam negat propter sequentes scripturæ authoritates, Rom. ix., 'Quem vult, indurat.' Et ibidem, Isa. lxiii., 'Quare nos fecisti errare, Domine, a viis tuis, et indurasti cor nostrum ne timeremus te?' Item, Hiere. xx., 'Seduxisti me Domine, et seductus sum.' Roma. i., 'Tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum;' Amos iii., 'Non est malum in civitate quod non fecerit Dominus.' Item, Isa. liv., 'Ego creavi interfectorem ad disperdendum.' 2 Reg. xvi., 'David[2] dixit, dimittite eum, ut maledicat juxta præceptum Domini.' Job i., 'Dominus abstulit.' O! brutalia grossissima Lutheranorum ingenia, quæ nedum cognitori naturæ distinguenti inter agens a proposito et naturale (2. Physi.[3]) contravenitis, verum etiam uniformi catholicorum decreto concordiæ studentium, qui pacem in omnibus his Scripturæ sententiis curaverunt, asserentes Deum excœcare, indurare, malum peccati facere permissive tantum, subtrahendo

[1] The names of these two eminent Reformers are so in the original.

[2] In orig. *Davit.*

[3] This and the similar reference at the top of the next page are to the *Octo libri Physicorum* of Aristotle. Occasional references to other treatises of Aristotle are made in this tract, but the titles quoted will be easily recognized.

suam gratiam, et assistentiam ob nostra demerita, unde reddimur a natura cæci, quia nobis desinit cooperari; cujus opinionis erat Philosophus. (8. Physi. De creatura nil valente efficere, non cooperante causa prima.) Non aliter Deus præcepit Semei maledicere David, quam interfecerit prolem Job per Sathanam, id est permisit utrumque; nec aliter induravit Pharaonem propter inobedientiam, quam excœcaverit Pharisæos ob malitiam, i. e. deseruerit utrosque. Haud nosti distinguere (quantum ad illud, Amos iii.,) inter malum pœnæ, cujus Deus est causa positiva, et malum culpæ, cujus est tantum causa permissiva? Et, si propter verba Pauli ad Rom. ix., de Jacob et Esau, antequam quicquam boni aut mali egissent, necessum est soli divinæ libertati, opus prædestinationis, (quæ est actus positivus divinæ voluntatis circa bonos,) et præscientiam, (quæ est malorum dimissio negativa,) tribuere, tanquam non habentia causam ex parte creaturarum, ex hoc tum minime sequitur Deum effective indurare vel excœcare homines; alias esset causa mali præcipua, et peccatorum maximus. Respondebis, forsitan, percunctando qua authoritate glossemata hæc adduxi contra scripturam, Gal. iii., ubi cavetur, testamento divino nihil debere addi, sed cuncta accipienda ad literam. Contra, 2 Cor. iii., 'Litera occidit,' per metonymiam, id est, ipse, qui literaliter tantum legem observat, se occidit, quum Deus præcipuum quærat cordis affectus, ut ex corde faciamus ea, quæ legis sunt, quam exaratam pectore gerimus, quamvis nulla lex esset posita, quæ ponitur tantum ad cognitionem peccati, et propter impios; et hæc est vera libertas Christiana a charitate Dei et proximi procedens, qua, non timore servili, sed filiali amore ferimur ad amplectenda cuncta, quæ lex jubet perpeti et operari. Si ad literam tantum, cur non realiter præcidis tibi manus scribentes, (qui totus offendiculo es ecclesiæ Dei,) juxta illud, Mar. ix., 'Si manus tua scandalizat,' etc.? Præterea divus Augustinus grande volumen in lucem dedit de concordia Evangelistarum, quod fuit operæ precium, quia plæraque in Evangelistis prima fronte videntur contraria. Nec authoritas adducta, Gal. iii., ad tuam conducit intentionem, quia a simili arguit Paulus ad Galatas. Igitur sicut superioris arbitrio ipsius humani testamenti plura indi-

scriminenter creduntur, modo non mutaverit illa quæ specificantur in testamento, nisi verisimiliter putaverit defunctum hoc velle facere, (sicut Ezechias ii., Reg. xviii., cernens populum ex serpente aëneo, divino jussu erecto, idolatriæ occasionem cepisse, ipsum delevit,) ita Paulus (etsi Christus circumcisus fuit) perspiciens gentes nimio fidere in operibus legis, scripsit 'Si circumcidamini,' etc. Christus erit omnino vobis ociosus. Ita arbitror Dei ecclesiam legitime collectam non modo posse leges condere ex divina elicibiles ac eidem conformes, verum etiam pro temporum varietate, si ex divinæ legis observantia aliquid mali emergere viderit, cum ipsa dispensare, authoritate ecclesiæ ministris per Christum attributa, Matthei. xvi. et xviii. Nec puto Paulum, qui, ut prælatus, plura nova in ecclesia instituit, prima Cor. xvii., circa matrimonium, de cohabitatione fidelis fratris cum infideli conjuge, etsi divinæ misericordiæ vas electum, Act. ix., majoris authoritatis fuisse, quam hujus temporis ecclesiæ ministros in cathedra Moysi[1] sedentes, i. e. recta docentes et jubentes. Illud etiam, Act. xv.,[2] in fine, quod Apostolus jussit fidelibus in decessu 'custodire præcepta Apostolorum et seniorum,' huc maxime spectat propter vocabulum seniorum. Nec crederem illas ad Roma. et ad Gala., quibus tantum inniteris, Paulinas esse epistolas, nisi ecclesia ipsas ut tales recepisset. Quia a scopo nimis digressi, (quamvis non infrugifere,) veniam precamur, sequentibus telis signum compendiosius appetituri.

Præterea, contra fundamentum, demiror te latere fidei ac operum connexionem. Satis patet idolatris et necromanticis[3] Sathanam divini cultus avidum a suis cultoribus fidem et opera exigere, et propter utrumque præstare, quem promittit, maleficum effectum. Demiror, inquam, te latere fidei et bonorum operum ubique locorum in scriptura connexionem. Perinde atque homo ex corpore conflatur et anima, ita adulti hominis justificatio, licet effectivè sit ex solo Deo, (juxta illud, Isa. xliii., 'Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates,') mediantibus tamen, fide in Jesum redemptorem, et bonis operibus. Hæc connexio probatur, Heb. vi., 'Efficiamini imitatores eorum qui

[1] So in the original, in this place and elsewhere, as in the Vulgate.

[2] Act. xvi. 4.

[3] In orig. *negromanticis*.

per fidem, et patientiam hæreditabunt promissiones;'—opus patientiæ adjungitur fidei. Item, Hierem. v., 'Circuite Hierusalem, et si inveneritis hominem tenentem fidem, et judicium, parcam illi.' In judicio fidei adjecto, adverte opus. Item, Joan. v., 'Qui verbum meum audit et credit ei, habet vitam æternam.' Item, Joan. primo, 'Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, quotquot crediderunt et receperunt.' Item, Mar. ult., 'Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.' Item, Ro. x., 'Corde enim creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.' Nonne audire, recipere, baptizari, et confiteri sunt opera? Item, licet Christus, Matth. xvii., responderit Apostolis sciscitantibus, cur non valuissent dæmonium ejicere? 'Propter vestram incredulitatem,' adjunxit tamen opera necessaria, dicens, 'Hoc dæmoniorum genus non ejicitur nisi in jejunio, et oratione.' Attende diligenter in his authoritatibus opera fidei connexa; et quum nullibi in scriptura legatur fide tantum justificari hominem, et ubique in scriptura fidei et operum connexionem offendas, qua fronte adjecisti signum exclusivum tantum? nisi quia, si opera a charitate procedentia conjustificare concesseris, tum (ut antea) jejunio corpus afficerent, erigendis restaurandisque ecclesiis, abstinentiæ a Venere, celebrandis canonicis laudibus, aliis quoque pietatis operibus homines incumberent, apostatæ ad monasteria remearent, quæ necessario concomitaretur tuæ carnalis sectæ interitus. Ex quibus liquet 'Hominem sola fide justificari' esse tui erroris radicem, fundamentum, et fontem, quod profusius clarebit in quodam libello Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali de Cæsis[1] dedicando, complectente totius sacræ scripturæ auctoritates pro Servo Arbitrio, una cum earundem genuinis sententiis adjiciendis.

Etsi Christus primæ gratiæ integra sit de condigno meritoria causa, juxta illud Roma. iii., 'Justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius,' arguitur tamen pro operibus justificantibus respectu augmenti gratiæ. Sic Lucæ xiv., 'Quum facis convivium, voca claudos, &c. Re-

[1] Paul Emilius Cesio was promoted to the Cardinalate of St Eustachius, by Pope Leo X., in the year 1517. He died in 1537. (Moreri, Dict. Hist., vol. iii. p. 218, 413.) As stated in the introductory notice, this treatise by Melville is not known to exist.

tribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione justorem.' Item, Job xii., 'Eleemosyna[1] purgat peccata, et facit invenire vitam æternam.' Quid clarius quam, 'Peccata tua eleemosynis redime?' Dan. iv. Item, Matth. xxv., 'Percipite regnum, quia esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare,' et infra, 'Qui autem mala in ignem æternum.' Luc. xi., 'Beati, qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud.' Ad Ephe. vi., 'Scientes quod unusquisque, quod fecerit bonum, hoc recipiet a Deo.' Ita Matth. vi., 'Si dimiseritis hominibus errata eorum, dimittet et vobis pater cœlestis peccata vestra.' Quid apertius in scriptura auditur, quam Abraham, Jacobi ii., 'Ex fide tantum minime justificari?' quam si negaveris canonicam Jacobi, et ego illam epistolam Pauli: 'Arbitramur, &c.' Præterea, Abdemelech Sedechiæ impiissimo regi e carceris ergastulo Hieremiam libertati restituere persuasit, hinc misericordiam a Domino angustiæ tempore consecutus est. Hiere. xxxviii. Item, 'Respexit Deus ad Abel, et munera ejus.'[2] Item, 'Reddet unicuique juxta opera ejus,' Matth. xvi.; Psal. lx. Item, Ninivitis pepercit,[3] quia penitentiam egerunt ad vocem Jonæ. Præterea, contrarium causarum contrarii sunt effectus: sed omissio bonorum operum, quantum ad præcepta affirmativa, est causa pœnæ, ergo eorum operatio, a charitate procedens, erit causa gloriæ. Minor probatur, Deute. xxviii., 'Nisi custodieris verba legis, apprehendent te maledictiones eæ; si autem audieris et custodieris, faciet te Dominus Deus tuus excelsiorem cunctis gentibus.' Si hæc[4] intellexeris cum illo Davitico, 'Si custodierint filii tui, &c. et filii eorum, usque in seculum, sedebunt super sedem tuam,'[5] de premio temporali, sequitur, quod si ipsi, virtute passionis prævisæ, temporaneum, nos virtute tanti beneficii exhibiti, præmium merebimur æternum. Confirmatur argumentum de contrariis causis, Cayn[6] propter homicidium, Cham ob impudentissimam genitori illatam contumeliam, et Ismahel ob sævitiam, Dathan et Abiron ob seditiosam inobedientiam, sortem inter obscuros habent scripturæ viros; ita Job propter patientiam, Moses et Samuel propter man-

[1] This word in the original is uniformly *elemosyna*.
[2] Gen. iv. 4.
[3] In orig. *pepepercit*.
[4] In orig. *hac*.
[5] Ps. cxxxii. 12.
[6] In orig. *Caym*.

suetudinem, inter candidos. Quid hujus minoris confirmamento propius accedit illo, Gen. viii., 'Totum pene orbem luxu deperiisse deluvio?' nec te fugit Gomorreæ subversionis causa. Igitur licet fides inter humanæ justificationis rationes discernatur præcipua, et semper necessaria, velut sine qua nemo poterit placere Deo, exigatur, non tamen affirmes ipsam solam justificare; alias contradices Christo, qui Matth. xxv. 'Superlucrantem alia quinque talenta supra multa bona constituit, et in paternum gaudium admisit.'

Sed quia ipse subtilis Scotus, virtuose medians inter duo extrema in Quolibetis,[1] nihil bonitatis, aut malitiæ extrinsecis operibus (in quantum hujusmodi) attribuerit, nec fidei (licet necessario exactæ) sed totam ardenti in corde charitati adscribit; proinde pro charitate justificante sic arguitur. Si Deus ad conjustificandum aliquod suorum donorum exegerit, nobilius inter cætera elegit, sed charitas, quæ sola discernit inter filios Dei et perditionis, juxta Augustinum, est longe excellentior fide; igitur ad justificationis officium excellentissimum charitas præstantissimum donum assumi debet. Minor probatur illo, Paul. 1 Cor. xiii., 'Major horum est charitas.' Ratione sic probatur: Quod est nobilioris potentiæ et nobilioris objecti actus vel habitus, est excellentius, ut patet de visione respectu auditionis; sed charitas est hujusmodi collative ad fidem. De potentia patet, conferendo voluntatem, in qua est charitas, ad intellectum, in quo est fides. De objecto probatur sic: Quamvis veritatis et bonitatis divinæ, quas respiciunt fides et charitas, et cujuslibet perfectionis simpliciter in Deo, (ut ibidem in immensitate,) non admittatur excessus, ratio tamen absolute considerata unius, scilicet bonitatis, est perfectior ratione alterius, scilicet veritatis. Inde asseveramus hominem cœlo nobiliorem, qui Deo similior est in excellentiori perfectione, scilicet in intellectualitate, quæ absolute superat incorruptibilitatem. Confirmo minorem: finis est præstantior his quæ sunt ad finem, teste Christo, Matth. vi., 'Nunquid corpus plus est,

[1] The *Quæstiones Quodlibeticæ* of John Duns Scotus, surnamed "Doctor Subtilis," were first printed at Venice in the year 1474, and passed through many subsequent editions.

quam indumentum ordinatum propter corpus?' Etiam si negaveris Aristotelem in Poste. Propter unumquodque tale, et illud magis, patet tamen de anima rationali, propter quam infundendam, aliæ formæ imperfectiores præcedunt: sed fides est propter dilectionem, ut cognitio prævia propter affectum cordis; igitur charitas fide est excellentior. Ad propositum de charitate justificante, quæ est vera arbor omnium bonorum operum, cui tu surripis vires, et inferiori, scilicet fidei attribuis,[1] alludit illud, Prover. x., 'Charitas operit multitudinem peccatorem;' et illud, Lucæ vii., 'Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum;' et illud ad Ephe. ii., 'Gratiâ enim estis salvati,' tenendo gratiam, et charitatem idem esse donum.

Præterea in eisdem, saltem genere, consistit beatitudo viæ et patriæ, sive justificatio et glorificatio, licet, specie, ratione obscuritatis enigmaticæ et claritatis facialis,[2] intuitionis et abstractionis, distinguuntur. Sed beatitudo patriæ consistit nedum in clara visione, sed et perfecta fruitione. Ergo beatitudo viæ, sive justificatio, consistit in actibus fidei et charitatis acceptis, quibus succedunt in patria clara visio et perfecta fruitio. Major patet cuilibet animæ potentias essentialiter beatificabiles contemplanti. Minor probatur; nam, postquam, Joan. xvii., scriptum fuerat, 'Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut cognoscant te Deum verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum;' scripsit idem, Joannes 1, Cano. iv.,[3] 'Qui non diligit, Deum non novit;' liquide declarans tam sapientiam viæ, quam sapientiam patriæ quibus justificamur, gratificamur, et glorificamur, in utroque actu, scilicet fidei et charitatis, consistere, vel in actibus eis succedentibus. Sed puto tuum ingenium carnalibus immersum hujusmodi argumenti vires minime comprehendere, quia Mosaycæ faciei tegmine tuus velatur intellectus, quo intelligens non intelligat.

Præterea, legem implens juxta intentionem legislatoris justificatur, sed charitatem habens est hujusmodi, per illud Pauli ad Ro. xiii.,

[1] In orig. *attribui.*

[2] In the original, *facili*—some one has with a pen made it *faciali.* The allusion is evidently to 1 Cor. xiii. 12, and *obscuritas enigmatica*, in this life, is contrasted with *claritas facialis*, in a state of glory.

[3] 1 John iv. 8.

'Qui diligit, legem implevit. Hæc est lex et prophetæ; hoc fac, et vives.' Nulla alia fuit ratio non admissionis quinque fatuarum virginum fidem confitentium, ut patet 'Domine, Domine,' &c. nisi quia destitutæ oleo, per quod charitas, omnibus supereminens, significatur.

Præterea si sola fides justificet, quæro, an intelligis de fide formata vel informi? Qua distinctione oportet uti, propter illud, Jac. ii., 'Fides sine operibus mortua est;' et propter illud Pauli, 1 Cor. xiii., 'Si habuero fidem, ita ut montes transferam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil sum.' Si de fide formata intelligis, habeo intentum de superexcellentia charitatis justificantis, quia ubicunque sunt forma et formatum, actuans et actuatum (modo ubicunque sit substantiale, vel utrunque accidentale) forma præstat informato, ut patet de anima respectu corporis, et qualitate respectu quantitatis: sed charitas est forma fidei, ergo illa excellentior est. Scio te jam recursurum ad Hebræas literas, asserendo 'fidem accipi pro dono vel pro fide historiæ' in authoritatibus allegatis, nolens nobiscum communicare in distinctionibus nostris. Tu dicis Papistas distinctionibus et æquivocationibus refertos; ego tamen te adduxi, quod oporteat distinctione et æquivocatione hujus vocabuli 'fide' uti, eadem labe maculatum, qua alios notas. Ego, siquidem ipsis argutiis tuam magnificentiam expergefeci quo respondeas, et inde materiam replicandi sumam, firma mente credens, cum veterana religione, Deum solum principaliter et effective justificare,—Christum vero, mediante illo odorifero sacrificio, meritorie de condigno;—(juxta illud Rom. v., 'Multo magis justificati sanguine ipsius, servabimur per ipsum ab ira;' item, 1 Petri i., 'Redempti precioso sanguine quasi agni immaculati;')—nostris autem operibus nedum intrinsecis, aliis ab actu (modo actui credendi connectantur) ut actibus charitatis, et spei:—de Charitate satis dictum est; de Spe patet, Rom. viii. 'Spe salvi facti sumus:' si spem ibidem pro fiducia acceperis, qua temeritate donorum Dei naturam confundis, dualitatem tantum ponendo, ubi Paulus trinitatem, 'Fides, Spes, Charitas, tria hæc?'—verumetiam extrinsecis operibus tanquam meritoriis de congruo, ut baptismo, &c., juxta illud, Gal. iii.,

'Quicunque baptizati estis, Christum induistis,' sed Christum induere est vere justificari, ergo, &c. Confirmatur Act. ix. Paulo prius in via credenti, quum diceret, 'Domine, quid me vis facere,' dixit Ananias, 'Saule, frater,' &c. per impositionem manuum, impletionem Spiritus Sancti promeruit. Quis inficias ibit Spiritus Sancti impletionem fuisse Pauli justificationem saltem partialem? ponendo, quod prius in itinere primitias spiritus, mediante fide, susceperit, dicendo 'Domine,' &c. (quia, 1 Cor. xii., 'Nemo potest dicere Dominus Jesus, nisi in Spiritu Sancto,') licet non plenitudinem, quam baptismo percepit vel manuum impositione, dicente textu, 'Ut implearis Spiritu Sancto.' Dixeris forte, ut, 'capi concomitanter, et non causaliter; sed totalem causam dispositivam, ipsius Pauli fuisse actualem fiduciam, seu fidem.' Cujus oppositum luculentius panditur in distracto baptizato, qui Spiritus Sancti dona percipit baptismo ex virtuali fide, illa actuali fiducia pro tunc orbatus. Quid enim divinæ derogasset majestati, humanæ naturæ, quam nonabhorruit ad personæ unionem assumere, vim dispositivam ad bonum tribuisse?

Quamvis non ratione ductus, sed saltem sacris litteris coactus hanc virtutem dispositivam in nobis admittas, propter verba Solomonis, Prover. xvi., 'Hominis est præparare cor,' item, 'Paulus plantavit, Apollo rigavit,' 1 Corin. iii., et infra, 'Dei enim adjutores sumus.' (Forsitan dixeris cooperatores istos idem efficere quod securis in manu artificis; alienum satis cernitur, agens intellectuale non majoris efficaciæ, quam agens instrumentale omnino inanimatum.) Item, 'Regnum cœlorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud.'[1] Frustra enim dixisset Paulus, 'Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri,' &c.[2] scilicet, voluntate antecedente—id est remedia salutis omnibus tribuit, —nisi ex parte nostra dispositio requireretur propter cujus dispositionis privationem, plerique in interitum eunt. Et si nos creavit sine nostra ope, creatos salvare minime debuit sine nostra[3] ad salutem dispositione. Nec talia asserere, quæ omnibus scripturæ sententiis collective acceptis quadrant, licet tuo haud consonent rosario, et

[1] Matth. xi. 12.
[2] 1 Tim. ii. 4, 3.
[3] In orig. *vestra*.

similibus rationibus sacris munitis uti, est scrutari majestatem, aut divina humanis metiri rationibus—sed antecessorum nostrorum eruditissimorum divi. scilicet, Augustini et Ambrosii, et ecclesiasticæ practicæ vestigiis inhærere, qui sacras litteras non humanæ sapientiæ, cujus meminit Paulus ad Roma. 'Humano more loquor,'[1] dicens, sed affectioni justitiæ, cujus meminit Anselmus, proclivissime in bonum concordes efficere sategerunt.[2]

Dixeris forte, quid tibi cum Augustino et Ambrosio,[3] ecclesiæ quoque practica, dummodo his, quæ in Biblia continentur, firmiter adhæseris, allegans illud, Gala. i., 'Si quis aliud Evangelium prædicaverit præter id quod accepistis, (etiam si angelus,) anathema sit,' inde inferens omnes anathematizatos, qui humanis incumbunt constitutionibus servandis, licet non contra sed præter divinam legem editis, non intelligens præpositionem *præter*, in præallegata authoritate accipi pro, *contra;* ut apud Terentium, 'Præter civium morem,' &c. Cur non advertis eundem Paulum præcepisse Thessalonicensibus, 2 Thes. ii., 'Obedire his, quæ acceperunt ab illo sive per sermonem, sive per epistolam?' Frustra adjecisset conjunctionem disjunctivam, *sive*, nisi quædam prædicasset necessario servanda, quæ scriptis non mandaverit. Nunquid licet servare et predicare signa et facta, quæ Christus prædicavi, et fecit? sed, 'Multa alia signa, et facta fecit Jesus, quod non sunt scripta in libro hoc,' Joan. ult., ut luculentius patet in Evangelio Nicodemi, cui non credit Augustinus, quia Ecclesia illud non recepit. Proinde necessum est veræ ecclesiæ in nomine Christi collectæ, præceptis inhærere atque doctrinæ divino ore proditæ. O! igitur Luthere, vano labore consumpte! quia Dominus tibi non coædificat, memento, unde cecideris, et a tuo perverso desiste proposito, in sinum ecclesiæ rediens. Alioqui, ac ut tu modo scita patrum et humana spernis statuta, populum in carnis libertatem alliciens, ita verisimiliter in posterum lupi dominicum intrabunt ovile, qui, contempta Evangelica et Apostolica doctrina, mundum in paganitatem pervertent, novissime,[4] negato Deo, ad idolatria deflectentes sine lege peribunt; sicuti

[1] Rom. iii. 5.
[2] In orig. *satogerunt.*
[3] In orig. *et Augustino cum.*
[4] In orig. *novissimo.*

ex temporis decursu ad sensum quodammodo patet de Carolos-adio tibi succedente longe tamen deteriora de sacrosanctis Eucharistiæ mysteriis[1] affirmante.

Ecce sudorum tuorum fructus, quibus quilibet, teste Christo, agnoscitur, quorum multitudinem taciturnitate transiliens, magis exorbitantes obiter recensebo.

Primum, videlicet, quod fons misericordiæ, et viscera pietatis in Germania desiccentur, quod defunctis et vivis, suffragia et misericordiæ opera, contra Dominicam doctrinam, in eadem denegentur; ubi quondam effluxerit in pauperes pietas, modo superabundet in immensum ipsa crudelitas; ubi plus misericordiæ impenditur feroci sævienti militi, quam monachorum patri propter Deum mendicanti; contra illud, Roma. xv. et xvi., 'Cura debet esse de pauperibus, præsertim ecclesiæ ministris, qui tua pestifera doctrina eleemosynis, quibus victitare solebant, destituuntur. Unde monicida efficeris, Ecclesiastici xxxiv., 'Panis egentium vita pauperis est; qui defraudat illum, homo sanguinis est.' Sed tu inde gloriaris, et Germanorum Hercules depingeris grandi fuste monachos prosternens, quorum factitias (ut asseris) sectas a Sathana, in Marbugensi[2] consilio, originem traxisse decreveris, etsi distinctis in cœlesti militia hierarchiis et angelorum ordinibus, saltem, (quod oculis patet,) creaturarum diversitate distinctissima decoroque ordine conditarum, et, ex sacris litteris, Rechabitarum jussu paterno a Baccho abstinentium, celebrata obedientia, possit ordinum varietas tutari. Ipsis tamen monachis, in Evangelium Dei cum Paulo a tumultuanti seculo segregatis, Rom. i., me longe eruditioribus,[3] rem illis propriam missam facio.

Secundo, ubi pridem, juxta Paulum, mortale corpus spiritum aggravans castigabant, et in spiritus servitutem redigebant, modo, (proh dolor!) ipsi etiam Deo dicati vacillantes[4] monachi lumbis, et

[1] In orig. *misteriis*.

[2] Rather *Marpugensi*. A conference was held at Marpurg in 1529, (the year before the date of this treatise,) with a view to accommodate certain differences among the leading Reformers, chiefly regarding the real presence.

[3] In orig. *eruditionibus*.

[4] In orig. *nacillantes*.

ventri inserviunt. Quid memorem rusticorum[1] ruinam tam patulam, tua (ut aiunt) pestifera doctrina ratione orbatorum, et in brutalem naturam quodammodo conversorum? quorum bona pars bestialissime interiit.

Tertio, quod tuæ doctrinæ ignarum ingenium parum illustrastis unctione;[2] membrorum ecclesiæ compago, tot sanctorum patrum scitis roborata, a capite dissolvatur, nemo est, qui ignoret.

Postremo, quod per te, secundum Adamum, novam originantem lineam ex monachorum filiis, amarum virus atque in delectabili pomo propinatum in vineam Domini Sabaoth fundatur, quis dubitet? et hoc sub prætextu dulcis Evangelii, quo stultum populum efficacius in tuam sententiam trahas. De quo Evangelio identidem colligis, quod aranea ex odoriferis herbis, quod tibi tuisque sequacibus pro vexillo et insignibus approprias, Lutheranorum brachiis inscribens, "Verbum Domini manet in æternum," atque tu solus esses sanctus, quod est hypocritam agere, licet, revera, teste Paulo, sit in salutem omni credenti.[3]

O Homo sectarum, evitande, tecum portans damnationem, insuper observande, quia offendicula in agro Dominico sevisti: qui per blandiloquentiam corda simplicium decepisti, Roma. xvi. Licet necesse sit te in ecclesia esse, Matth. xviii., ut qui probati sunt, manifesti fiant; Abel quoque per Cayn exerceatur; (et inde Deus optimus, maximusque suæ sponsæ reformationem eliciat!) tibi tamen divino ore maledicitur eodem cap. Matthei, 'Væ tamen,' etc., 'quia orditus es telam, et non spiritum ejus,' Isa. xxx. Tuis præterea nefandissimis principiis, radicitus ex ecclesia evellendis, obstandum esse censeo,[4] ne Germanis contingat, quod olim Græcis, ab obedientia Romanæ ecclesiæ cadentibus, evenit: scilicet apostasia, excœcatio, contemptus et desertio a Deo factore suo. Calamum præterea tuum tantis terge blasphemia et sævitia, quibus in Papam et inclytum Angliæ Principem[5] hactenus insævisti. Flamma de ore tuo, quod

[1] In orig. *ruiuam.*

[2] So in the original. It has been suggested that the true reading of this somewhat unintelligible passage should be *Parum illustras disjunctione membrorum ecclesiæ; compago, &c.*

[3] Rom. i. 15.

[4] In orig. *senseo.*

[5] Alluding to Luther's reply to Henry VIII. of England. Clement VI. was Pope at this time.

aperuisti sine termino, illud in cœlum extendens, non evaporet, ne aer inde ultra intemperetur. Fratres tuos in lenitate spiritus argue, ne transgressionis legis arguaris, Levit. xix., 'Proximum arguendo, non afficies opprobrio.' Si vero (quod absit) contumacem pertinaciam adhuc prorogare curaveris, si ascenderit superbia tua in cœlum, juxta illud, Isa. xiv., et caput tuum nubes tetigerit, detraheris adveniente indignationis turbine[1] ipsius Cæsaris,[2] quem apertis oculis[3] contemplor Germaniam, cooperante Altissimo, reformaturum; contra cujus nutum, et voluntatem, cui humanum genus colla summittere debet, Ro. xiii., alienam doctrinam in lucem temerarie dedisti, provinciam (citra vocationem) assumens novam instituendi ecclesiam. Me latet profecto, quibus tergiversationibus te excusare poteris, nisi forte dixeris te missum a Deo; cujus oppositum aperte patet, quia quilibet a Deo missus ut Moyses, et prophetæ pro veteris legis decursu,—Christus, Joannes Baptista, et Apostoli pro decursu novæ legis, in sacris habebant literis firmissimum suæ missionis testimonium, cum quibusdam prodigiis naturam superantibus, ut patet de somniis[4] Joseph, de virga Moysi in colubrum conversa, de surditate Zachariæ; quorum seriem, hoc agone nostro, compendio studentes silentio præterimus, aliis hujuscemodi credentes, qui elegantiori stylorem dilatare norunt. Tuæ revera missionis in sacris nulla fit mentio, nec quicquam insoliti cum tuis operaris, nisi forte prodigiosum censueris tuam monialem,[5] seu potius dæmonialem, una nocte parere gemellos. Vale resipiscens.

IMPRESSUM BONON. Anno. M.D.XXX.

Mense Januario.

FINIS.

[1] In orig. *turbinc.*
[2] The Emperor Charles V
[3] In orig. *ovilis.*
[4] In orig. *somnis.*
[5] Catherine de Bore, the wife of Luther, of whom the most monstrous stories were propagated by the opponents of the Reformed doctrines.

A HISTORIE

OF THE ESTATE OF SCOTLAND

FROM JULY M.D.LVIII.

TO APRIL M.D.LX.

Dr M'Crie, in the Appendix to his Life of Knox, inserted some "Extracts from 'A Historie of the Estate of Scotland from the year 1559 to the year 1566.'—MS. belonging to Thomas Thomson, Esq."[1] He introduces these extracts with the following notice:—

"This is the MS. to which I have frequently referred in the account which I have given of the differences between the Queen Regent and the Protestants, in the years 1558 and 1559. At the beginning of it is the date, '7th January 1663,' most probably the day on which the writing was begun. It is undoubtedly a transcript from a more ancient MS., and the transcriber has not been well acquainted with the old hand. Accordingly, he has sometimes left blanks, and at other times has evidently given a false reading. Only a small part of the original MS. seems to have been transcribed by him. In making the following extracts from it, I have endeavoured to select such passages as contain facts or circumstances not mentioned in other histories; and I am not without hopes that the publication of these may contribute to the discovery of the original MS., which may be preserved in some public library or private repository."

The hope thus expressed by Dr M'Crie has not been realized, as no copy of the entire work has yet been discovered. The existing portion may, however, be considered of some importance; while it relates a number of minute circumstances at the period of the Reformation not elsewhere to be met with, it also serves to corroborate the statements of other writers. It was therefore thought

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 419-427, Fifth edit. Edinb. 1831, 2 vols. 8vo.

desirable to have it preserved in an accessible form; and for this purpose, Mr Thomson has most obligingly favoured the Editor with the use of the MS.

The volume is a thin folio, with the autograph of John Lord Balmerinoch, 28th August 1651, and is chiefly occupied with a transcript of an unpublished work in Latin by Archibald Symson, Minister of Dalkeith, being a compendious History of the Church of Scotland from the time of the Reformation, to the year 1625. In other MSS. the same work has the title of "Annales Ecclesiæ Scotorum, a tempore Reformationis ad obitum Jacobi Regis VI. Authore Arch. Simsono pastore Dalkethensi." The portion of the following History is copied on some blank leaves at the end of the volume, and the date, 7th of January 1663, as Dr M'Crie suggests, evidently marks the time when this transcript was commenced. It breaks off abruptly at the top of page 31, in April 1560.

This fragment contains nothing that enables us to identify the writer; and it may be considered as somewhat doubtful, whether he was a person living at the time, and describing events as an eye-witness, or whether he may have written at a later period, and have derived his information from some contemporary authority. I am inclined to think that the latter is the most probable supposition.

7th January 1663.

A HISTORIE OF THE ESTATE OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE YEAR 1559 TO THE YEAR 1566.

In the moneth of Julij *anno* 1558, conveened in Edinburgh a certen number of the professours of Christ's Evangell. The cause of their meeting wes partly to assist certen brethren of Dundie who were summoned to underly the law by instigation of the Bishops. And after consultation and advice taken, they[1] presented a Suplication in the Palace of Halyrud house to the Queene Regent, conteining in effect these Articles ffollowing:—

In the first, desyring, That it might be lawfull to all such as pleased to meete publiquely, in[2] any part within this realme of Scotland, to read comon prayers in the mother tongue. Secondly, That it should be lawfull to all persons, haveing knowledge, to preach the word of God without the leaven of men's traditions. Thirdly, That it should be lawfull for the sayd persons, ministers of God's word, to minister the Sacraments, to witt, of Baptisme and the Lord's Supper, according to the true institution commanded by Christ and his Apostels, and to the faithfull to receave the same. The which Supplication the said Queene Regent receaved, with a joyfull countenance, forth of the hands of the Laird of Cadder, in the presence of a great part of the nobilitie, the Papist Bishops also being present. And at that tyme shee gave ane indifferent answere, saying, alwayes shee would advise in the matter. But soone after shee delivered the sayd Supplication to the Bishopp of St Andrewes, to be advised with him what[3] wes to be done, as

[1] "The," in MS. [2] "That in," ib. [3] "That," ib.

the yssue of the said matter did declare. Alwayes the faithfull rejoiced and gave condigne[1] thanks to the Eternall our God, for that it had pleased him to give them the boldnes to utter themselves to be such as desyred the advancement of his glory, notwithstanding the multitude of their enemies.

At the same meeting ther wer certen brethren of Dundie, who were summoned to underly the law for the cause of Religion. They were releived upon securitie to enter upon eight dayes warning. Finally departing from Edenburgh, everie man in their owne shyrs and townes, they beganne to proceed according to the effect of the said Articles privatly, and publickly where they might without occasion of sedition or greate trouble: The greatest fervencie appeared in the Mearns and Angus, and Kyle, and Fyfe or Lothian; but cheifely the faithfull in Dundie exceeded all the rest in zeall and boldnes, preferring the true religion to all things temporall. But in Edenburgh their meeting wes but in privat houses.

It chanced in the sayd moneth of Julij, or a little before, that the image of St Giles wes taken out of the High Kirke of Edenburgh privatly in the night. And because the wicked custome wes that the said idole wes borne through the toune the first day of September everie yeare; and perceaving the said day approach, the Bishop of St Andrewes admonished the Magistrates and Counsell of Edenburgh to cause make a new idoll against the sayd day, under pain of his greate cursing. And because they obeyed him not, he caused his curate, Tod, to curse them as black as cole; from the which they appealed to his unholy father the Pope. Always the said first of September, called St Giles' day, loath to want any jott of the devill's service, [they] borrowed of the Gray Friers a little Idoll of St Giles, and putt on a golden coate upon the same, and presented it in that guise[2] according to the wicked custome, to be caried through the toune. It wes soone taken up by the blind ignorant, and carried in procession through the most part of the Toune, till at length it wes pulled downe and

[1] "Contigne," in MS. [2] "In the quince," ib.

broken by some brethren of the towne, who, moved with zeall, could not suffer such manifest idolatrie, (the Queene Regent being neere by,) notwithstanding no man receaved any harme; albeit the number of people wes exceeding great; bot the Papists, priests, ffriers, and Bishops, were altogether dashed and confused and their array broken: Alwayes the Queene discembled the matter for the tyme.

Soone after, in October, the minister of God's word, John Willok, came into this countrie, by whose godly sermons the brethren were strengthened in all places where the faithfull came, and the number increased dayly: bot Sathan never ceases to suppress by all meanes the truth where he perceaves the same truely to increase. In the end of December following, the Bishopp of St Andrewes caused summone the preachers, viz., John Willok, John Douglas, William Harlaw, Paull Meffan, and John [Christison,[1]] to appeare before him at St Andrewes, the second of February following; wherof the brethren being advertised, advised what wes to be done, and after consultation taken in the matter, caused informe the Queene Regent that the said preachers would appear with such multitude of men professing their doctrine, as wes never seene befor in such like cases in this countrie. Then the Queene fearing some uproare or sedition, desyred the Bishopp to continue the matter, and declared that shee would send for the nobilitie and estates of the realme to advise for some reformation in Religion; and for the same purpose, assigned the seventh of March following for a Convention to be holden at Edinburgh. Bot the Bishopp of St Andrewes caused warne all the sects of the Papists to the said day, to hold a Provinciall Counsell at Edenburgh; wher they, being mett, after some commoneing by the principall Bishopps with the Nobles, wherof nothing in effect followed; then the sayd Bishopps, after their old manner, offered themselves to the Queene to doe all that shee would command them, proveiding that they might be mainteined in their dignitie for the suppressing of the truth; and

[1] In the MS. the name is left blank. Frier John Cristesoune was one of the preachers who were declared rebels, at the same time with Methven and Harlaw. (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 10th May, 1559, vol. i.* p. 407.)

after they wer aggreed with her upon the summe, which wes within 15,000 lib., they sate them downe in the Blackfryers of Edenburgh, in their usuall Councell;[1] where the 7th day wes devised; and the next Sunday, the 15th of March, the said Bishopp sang a magnifick Mass of the Holy Spirit, as they tearmed it, for a beginning of the deformation. On the other part, the commissioners of the Faithfull mett by themselves at the same tyme in Edenburgh, and everie day consulted for the furtherance of the Gospell. And, finally, perceaving that the Queene Regent and the Papists were agreed by reasone of the said summe promised by them to her, they departed, leaving the Papists still at their Provinciall Councell: Where, amongst others of the statuts, the 23d of March, the Queene Regent caused proclaime this at the markett crosses at Edenburgh and other places, conteining in effect, that no manner of persone should take upon hands to preach or minister the sacrament, except they were therto admitted by the ordinarie or Bishopp under no lesse paine then death. And because they understood perfectly of the aforesaid proclamation, that it wes disobeyed and contemned by the preachers, in Aprill following [they were summoned[2]] for contravening of the said acts and proclamations, under the paine of rebellion, and putting to the horne; which thing wes done expresse against the lawes and practice of the countrie.

In the end of this moneth of Aprill, the minister of God's Word, John Knox, arrived at Leith, and on the next day after his commeing, which wes called Philipp and Jacob's day,[3] the Papists meeting at the Councell being well sett downe in the Blackfryers of Edenburgh, one ranne in and assured them that John Knox, [who] wes new come out of France, had beine all that night in the towne: at the which newes, they being all astonished, leaving the Councell, rose suddenly from the board where they satt,

[1] On the 2d of March, (Keith's Hist. p. 81.)

[2] Some words require to be supplied here.

[3] The 1st of May, being the festival day of the two Apostles, St Philip and St James the Less. But, as Dr M'Crie says, "There is a mistake here as to the date. Knox arrived on the 2d of May, 1559." See vol. i. pp. 246, 256.

and passing forth to the yeard, altogether abashed, fearing the thing which came suddenly to pass. In the meane tyme that court wes cast so that they never mett there againe to this day. Nevertheles, they sent incontinent a post to Glasgow to the Queene, acquainting her of the matter, who caused him to be blowne loud to the horne the third day after. Bot in the mean tyme, the faithfull being informed of his commeing, and therwith encouraged, ceased not to give praise to God. And, finally, he being convoyed to Dundie incontinent, preached the Word publicquely; and soone after past to St Johnston,[1] where the whole number of the faithfull intended to conveene to pass forward to Sterling with the preachers, there to consult what wes to be done. And albeit the Queene Regent wes most earnestly requested and persuaded to continue, nevertheles shee remained wilfull and obstinat, soe that the councell of God must needs take effect. Shortly, the day being come, because they appeared not, their sureties were outlawed, and the preachers ordered to be putt to the horne. The Laird of Dunne, who wes sent from St Johnston, by the brethren, to speake to the Queene, perceaving her obstinacie, they turned from Sterling, and commeing to St Johnston, declared to the brethren the extremitie they found in the Queene; which thing they hearing, after that they had purged the principall kirk of St Johnston of idolatrie, . . . [2] when they had broken downe and burned the idolls and imagerie which wes therein, they pass incontinent to the Fryers Gray and Black, and then to the doctor's house, and putting forth the idle[3] bellies, broke downe the idolls and altars, and all the monuments of idolatrie, and within twenty-four houres they made bare buildings.

Incontinent the Fryers[4] came from St Johnstone as if it had beene in procession, to shew to the Queene that they were dislodged, and made a grievous complaint as they had thought they had cause, albeit they were lawfully warned. For in the end of October preceeding, there wes ticketts of warning, at the instance

[1] The old name of the town of Perth.
[2] A blank in the MS.
[3] "Idoll," in MS.
[4] "Freyers," and "Freiers," ib.

of the whole poore people of this realme, affixt upon the doores of everie place of Friers within this cuntrey. The Queene hearing thes newes, wes nothing contented, but her displeasance wes greater, wherein shee thought shee had gotten her will of the Preachers: alwayes shee sends for the most part of the nobillitie with whome shee consulted; and shortly after, caused warne the most part of Clidsdale, Lowthian, and Sterlingshire, to be at Sterling with xv. dayes victuall, the 25th of May following; and so with the whole Frenchmen, they being in this country together, with fower bands of Scotts souldiers, intended to passe from Sterling to St Johnstone there to doe her pleasure.

In the mean tyme, the faithfull brethren being advertised, they ceased not to make readie with all possible diligence, and to jeopard their lives with all that they had in that cause. And so departing forth of the Mearnes, Angus, Fyfe, and Stratherne, came to St Johnstone before the said appointment: they were esteemed to four or five thousand men. Further, my Lord of Glencarne with exceeding labour and travell, convoyed forth of Cunningham, Kyle, and Renthrew, 2500 men, on foote and horse, by verie evill wayes and passages, for the support and releife of the rest of the brethren. In the mean tyme, as the Lord Duke with his companie and the Frenchmen were in readiness to passe forward to St Johnston, ther wes some noble men that laboured to bring the matter to quiettness. Finally, by meanes of my Lord Argyle and my Lord James, (then called Prior of St Andrewes,) the matter wes paciefied at that tyme; so that the Congregation (beginning to be stiled the Faithfull) should leave the towne of St Johnston to the Queene, who would remaine there so long as shee pleased, provyded that shee should leave no men of warr within the towne behind her. And so shee came forward to St Johnston, and the Congregation departing everie man to his owne house; and as they past, where they found in their way any kirks or chappells, incontinent they purged them, brekin downe the altars and idolls in all places where they come. And soe praising God continually, in singing of

psalmes and spirituall songs, they rejoiced that the Lord wrought thus happily with them.

The Queene being come to St Johnstone, caused her French men lodge within the towne. A souldier slew a young child with the shot of a hagbutt, which being compleaned to the Queene, she made but a light matter thereof; wherat my Lord Argyle and Lord James were offended, and shew unto the Queene that they had promised in her name, that the men of warr should not remaine within the towne, and therefore desyred her to cause them remove, otherwise they thought their honor wes hourt. The Queene declared to them shee wes discontent with their request, and further, commanded to my Lord to cause his men depart forth of the towne, for he had with him 50 or 60 men; to whom my Lord Argyle answered, That if his men departed,[1] he must needs depart himselfe likewise. Then began the Queene to shew forth her coller and rage; which my Lord of Argyle and my Lord James perceaving, departed quietly forth of the towne, and the next day came to St Andrewes. And within two dayes after, there resorted to them divers gentlemen and others in great number, furth of the Mearnes, Angus, Fiffe, and Lowthian. The Bishopp of St Andrewes perceaving that the kingdome of the Antichrist wes utterly like to decay, if the Evangell were truely preached in St Andrewes, therefore, commeing hether the 12th of June, after his arrivell, sends to the Lords, exhorting them that they would not suffer John Knox to preach so long as he wes in the towne, seing the towne wes under his jurisdictione, whereunto they answered, That they would not stopp the Word of God to be preached; but rather, they would further and mainteane the same.

On the morrow, John Knox passing to the parish[2] Kirk, made a sermon, where wes a great number of auditors with the whole Clergie. His text wes of the first of St John's Evangell, where it is mentioned that our Saviour[3] Christ drave forth the buyers and sellers out of the temple, which he applied, that likewise the

[1] "Depted," in MS. [2] "Perish," ib. [3] "In," ib.

Papists and Idolaters should be whipt and driven forth of the Kirk of God. The sermon wes scarcely downe, when they fell to work to purge the kirk and break downe the altars and images, and all kynd of idolatrie; passed to the Friers Black and Gray, who wes fledd before, being guiltie apparently in their consciences; and before the sunn wes downe, there wes never inch standing bot bare walls. Bot the idols that were in the Abbay were brought to the north part of the said Abbay, in the same place where Walter Milne wes burned,[1] (a yeare or thereabout before,) and there they burned[2] the whole idols.

On the next day, which wes the 14th of June, the Lords, with as many as might be, past to Couper, for they were advertised that the Queene wes comeing from St Johnston to [Falkland,[3]] purposeing to come the next day to St Andrews. Which purpose the Lords pretended to resist soe farr as God would give them grace, and themselves offering boldly in that cause which wes as well for the defence of the Evangell, as for the libertie of the cuntrie, they putt their men in order to the number of 4000 men, upon Cooper Moor. It is said, that the Queene commanded her folks to lay it fair in field, and upon that condition, drunke to the Captaines before they come out of Faulkland. Alwayes they were within a mile[4] the one of the other, when the Earle Marshall, with some of her noblemen, laboured earnestly to redresse the matter. At the last, it wes appointed in this manner, that the Frenchmen should incontinent remove forth of Fyffe, and that the congregation should enterprise nothing, nor make no invasion for the space of six dayes following, for the Lords and principalls of the Congregation read the rest on another peece of paper: which thing being concluded, the Queene ordained[5] the Frenchmen incontinent to passe to the coast side, and the nixt day over the water.

At this tyme ther were many that joyned to the Congregation, amongst whom wes the Bishopp of Murray, notwithstanding

[1 & 2] "Buried," in MS.—Walter Myll, or Mylne, suffered martyrdom at St Andrews on the 28th of August 1558.

[3] "Frankland," in MS.

[4] "Milne," ib.

[5] "Ordined," ib.

his house at Scone[1] wes sackit and burned, albeit the Lords were nothing content therwith at this tyme. The Queene caused fower ensignes of Scotts men to remaine at St Johnston, contrarie to the appointment taken by my Lord Duke in her name, before her comeing to St Johnston, which wes the occasion in part of a new busines; for the 23d of the said moneth of June, the Lords conveened with the men of warr, and so to sett the towne at libertie, notwithstanding ther men of warr held the towne the space of fower dayes, during which[2] tyme the Queene Regent sent to them the Earle of Huntley, with some of hers, to persuade them to leave of and stay their purpose; which they would no wayes doe. Shortly after, the towne wes rendered without greate herme; the next day they came to Sterling, whereof the Queene being advertised, shee[3] passed incontinent to Dunbarr with all Frenchmen, twoe dayes after the Lords of the Congregation came [to] Edenburgh. Alwayes when they had purged the Kirks in Sterling, and ordered the Friers, as they had done with them in St Johnstone and St Andrewes, destroying the Altars and Idolls, caused the Evangell to be publicquely preached in the Parish Kirk, then they came to Edenburgh the penult day of June, not above 1000 horse in companie, att the first commeing, with some men of warr about 300 men.

But before their commeing to Edenburgh, the Friers takeing the fray, for their master my Lord Seyton, then Provost, who wes appointed them, wes wearie of his office, the Friers then begane to dispose amongst their acquaintance the best of their goods which were left at that tyme; which thing the rascall people perceaving, went in, finding the yates open, and suddenly fell to work and saked all. So that before the arriveing of the Congregation, neither Altars, nor Idolls, nor any thing pertaining to Idolatrie in the Friers wes left standing: Soe that the whole churches about Edenburgh, as well as within the towne, being purged, the faithfull rejoiced, giving condigne thanks to the Eternall God, who

[1] "Skin," in MS. [2] "With," ib. [3] "He," ib.

of his mercie had wrought so great things without the expectation of all men.

The minister of God's word, John Knox, the same day that the Congregation came to Edenburgh, made a sermone in St Giles's Church, and the next day in the Abbay, soe that the dumbe idolls, and all darknes being taken away, the clear light-shineing of God's word wes truely preached. The third day after the arriveing of the Congregation at Edenburgh, my Lord of Glenkarne, with the gentlemen of the West Countrie, came there,[1] after that they had purged[2] the churches in Glasgow of idolatrie. The names of the Lords of the Congregation wes the Earle of Argyle, the Lord James, the Earle of Glenkarne, the Earle of Menteeth, the Earle Rothes. The same day after their comeing to Edenburgh, the Lords and principalls of the Congregation send to the Queene Regent, being at Dunbar, my Lord of Glencarne, the Lairds of Cunninghamhead and Pittarro, declaring to her that the whole prætence wes for the suppressing of Idolatrie, and advancement of the glory of God, desyreing her to release the Preachers from the horne, so that they might publicquely preach the word of God: The Lords in that case[3] offered to doe obedience and service, protesting that they meant nothing but the setting furth of true Religion, and suppressing idolatrie and superstition, and advancing the glory of God by preaching of the word. Att that tyme they obteined of the Queene that the Preachers should be released from the horne, so that they might preach freely to all such as pleased to heare them; which wes put in execution the nixt day after, when they were released.[4]

After this there were divers communings,[5] for appointment in Haddington and other places; the Earle of Huntley, being present for the Queene and others such as shee pleased to appoint. The things that the Lords demanded consisted only of these two

[1] "To her," in MS.
[2] "Purchased," ib. [3] "Cause," ib.
[4] Dr M'Crie remarks on this passage, "Are we to infer from this that the Protestant ministers had desisted from preaching while they were outlawed? I do not, indeed, recollect of an instance of any of them, except Knox, preaching during that time."
[5] "Commeings," in MS.

heads, that the Word of God might be publiquely preached, and the Frenchmen sent forth of the countrie; but her mind wes to drive tyme with them, as well appeared. For shee had sent alreadie to France for more men of warr. During the tyme this Congregation of Edenburgh elected and chose John Knox publiquely in the Tolbooth of Edenburgh for their minister, the 7th of July.

In this moneth deceased King Henry of France, of the stroak of a spear running at the List, to whom succeeded his sonne Francis, who 12 moneth before had espoused our Soveraigne, by which the house of Guise were greater then before. The Lords of the Congregation perceaving that the Queene could not be persuaded by no good way, took purpose to remaine still at Edenburgh; but in the mean tyme their people begann to disperse. Whereof the Queene haveing notice, begann to be high minded, and therefore desisted from commoneing. Finallie, shee being informed that the Lords of the Congregation had taken the printting goods of the coinye-house, mynding thereby to stopp the coine, and taking occasion thereby to aggravate their fall, saying, That it wes against her authoritie that they pretended; where shee gott a good ansuer, as seemed to her. Shee declared to the Duke and the rest of the Councell, that they sought only her ruine, and the subversion of the commonwealth, and therefore desyred speedie remedie. At length shee took purpose at Dumbarr, by conclusion of the Councell, the 22d of Julij, being assuredly informed that the number of the Congregation wes verie small, [that shee] should come to Edenburgh, and compell the Congregation to dislodge. And for this purpose they made all readie that night, to depart in the morning following. The Lords of the Congregation being advertissed hereof, (notwithstanding theire small number,) resolved constantly to resist the[1] violencie of their adversaries, putting their trust in God, whose cause they maintained,[2] præferring the equitie of their cause before the power and strength of men. In the mean tyme, there was greate feare in the towne, everie man wundring what end and successe the matter should take. Shortly, so soone as the Lords

[1] "Their," in MS.

[2] "Meantyned," ib.

were advertissed that the men of warr commeing from Dumbarr drew neere the towne, the 25th of Julij,[1] airly in the morning, at the sound of the commoon bell, they went[2] forth of Edinburgh, with soe money as God had moved their herts to assist them: The whole number of the Congregation exceeded not 1500 men. Which small number being putt in order on the east side of Craigingate, incontinent the horse men being with my Lord Duke and Monsieur D'Ossell, appeared to them upon the sands of Leith, north-west from Lestellrigg, moving towards Leith. And so soone as they come neere the east part of Gouburnes house that wes, they shott from the said place a peece of ordinance, which dispersed the said horse men; but soone after they yeelded[3] themselves, perceaving the whole number approaching neere, which were about 3000 men, horse and foote. The Congregation stood still in order on the east side of the Craig, and perceaving the adversaries north, halfe a mile, they prepared themselves to battell, not mynding to remove out of that place. And albeit the Lords had desyred the Captaine of the Castell, the Lord Erskin, to be on their side, nevertheles they could not persuade him to shew them any favour; yet after the principall Lords had spoken with him, they sent from the Craigs, desyreing him, that, in respect in his conscience he favored the Evangell, and that the matter depended fully hereupon, that he would assist them with such help as he might; which thing he refused utterly, assureing them that if they would not[4] now take such appointment as they might have, he would declare himself their enemie, as he had promised to the Queene in Dumbarr. In the mean tyme, rideing on either side, they began to spake to appoint the matter which wes agreed upon; whereof the speciall heads were,—That the Congregation should depart, with all their companies, within 24 howers, leaving the towne of Edenburgh; that no Frenchmen should lodge within the towne; that the Ministers might preach God's word freely without hindrance; that the inha-

[1] "June," in MS.
[2] "Where," ib.
[3] "They yielded," *i.e.*, as Dr M'Crie explains it, the Lords of the Congregation retired themselves.
[4] "Not," omitted in MS.

bitants of Edenburgh should use what religion they pleased: the said appointment being subscribed on the one side by my Lord Duke, the Earle of Huntley, and Monsieur D'Ossell; and on the other side, by my Lord Argyle, my Lord James, and the rest of the principall.[1] Incontinent the Duke, with all that were in his companie, past to Leith; bot the Congregation retired from the Craige into the towne; where the Lords adviseing in councell what wes to be done, would not suffer John Knox to remaine in Edenburgh, albeit he wes elected to be their minister. Alwayes John Willock, being earnestly requested by the brethren, was content to remaine, which wes to the faithfull a singular comfort. He preached the word of God with all constancie and boldnes the next day, which wes the 25th of July 1559.

The Lords of the Congregation, with all their companie, departed forth[2] of Edenburgh to Linlithgow, and afterwards everie one past to his owne house or place. In the mean tyme, it wes thought expedient with the principall of their Councell, that seing the Queene Regent, by most craftie and subtill meanes, sought nothing soe much as the advancement and glorie of the House of Guise, and for the same purpose pretended to keep the Frenchmen still in this countrie, and had alreadie sent to France for greater power, her pretence tended only to the subversion of the Word of God and maintainers thereof, and the utter overthrow of the common wealth of this realme; therefore, considering their owne power wes not of so great strength as wes required, seing they had allreadie concluded that they would expell the Frenchmen out of this countrie, they sent to Ingland to some of their friends that favoured their actions, desyring assistance and support in this cause. The next day, after the meeting of the Congregation, the Queene came from Dumbarr to the Palace of Halyrudhouse, intending, by all the meanes shee could, to erect Papistrie againe in Edenburgh. Cheifely, she sent for some of the principall of the Congregation of Edenburgh, but would not speak with them her selfe, but directed my Lord Duke and the Earle of Huntley to shew her mind to them; the Earle of

[1] That is, of the Congregation. [2] "For," in MS.

Huntley taking the speech propounded to them, that it wes the Queene's will to mind that the ould Religioun should be used in the Edenburgh [kirks;] or, at the least, according to the appointment taken before them upon the Craggs by the Lords of the Congregation, that the inhabitants of Edenburgh should choose and use what Religione they pleased, and so have their libertie. To the which they answered as before, that the Religion which they had chosen already, and used publiquely, wes in all points according to the trueth of God's Word, and that they had chosen the same alreadie, and, therefore, it wes not necessarie that they should choose againe. To the which the Earle Huntley said, that they that were of the Religion were but of a small number, in respect of the whole towne, and that it wes one of the speciall Articles of the late appointment that the towne of Edenburgh should choose of new what Religion they pleased, and so have their libertie. To the which they answered as before, that the Religion which they had chosen wes according to the trueth of God's Word; and, therefore, would not change. Finally, after long reasoning, one of the brethren, without advise of the rest, said to the Lords, that they would be content to choose againe. And suddenly, the Earle of Huntley takeing him with the word, and beleeving it should be as the Queene would, desyred that the next day the Towne should be warned to come to the Tolbooth. And so, on the morrow, at the comeing of the Lords to the Tolbooth for the cause aforesaid, the brethren assembled thither in small number at the beginning, fearing greatly that the matter should not have taken soe good success as he did. The Lords sitting in the Tolbuith demanded if the whole neighbours were mett. It wes answered by some of the brethren, that the whole Towne was warned by the bell. The Earle of Huntley insisted still, as he had done the day before, upon the Queene's desyre, alleadging that the Towne ought to have libertie to choose what Religion they pleased.

Bot God moved the herts of the Congregation of Edenburgh in such sort that they remained constantly with the trueth; and for no means and persuasion that the Queene, or the Lords could make,

especially the Earle of Huntley, who insisted, that according to the Article of the appointment, that the inhabitants of Edenburgh should choose and use what Religion they pleased. Not withstanding, they utterly refused to choose againe; alledging that they had chosen allready; and thus convoying the Preacher to the sermone, they mett likewise at Common Prayer, so that the number of the Faithfull increased dayly.

Dureing this tyme, the Queene Regent mantained still the Masse in the Palace of Hallyrudhouse, wher the Papists resorted to her, and amongst the rest the Bishopp of St Andrewes; who, upon a day in this moneth of August, past to the pulpitt in the Abbay, shewing his[1] commeing; and after he had vomited a little of his superstition, he declared that he had not bein weill[2] exercised in that profession; therefore desyred the auditors to hold him excused. In the meane tyme, he shewed unto them that there wes a lerned man, meaning Fryer Blake, who wes to come immediately after him into the pulpitt, who would declare unto them the trueth; and therefore desyred them to lett him cease. About this tyme the Queene sent to Ingland to persuade the Queene of Ingland.

In the end of the same moneth of August, there arrived at Leith fower ensignes[3] of Frenchmen. About the same tyme the communion wes publicquely administred in St Giles Church, John Willox[4] being minister, whereat the Queene wes highly offended. About this tyme my Lord of Arrane arrived in this countrie; and soone after the first of September the Lords and principall of the Congregation mett at Sterling, where they were advised, the second day after their meeting, the Queene had begune to fortifie Leith. The third day, they past to my Lord Duke to Hamilton, and[5] there sate in counsell; and after he and his sonne, my Lord of Arran, agreed themselves with the Lords, they sent a writting to the Queene, containing in effect that they were informed that shee was fortifieing Leith with walls and block-houses, in-

[1] "Hes," in MS. [2] "Well," ib. [3] "Hawstines," ib.
[4] "Wollox," ib. [5] "To," ib.

tending to putt her Frenchmen therein, and thereafter to oppresse the countrie and leiges thereof, and so to make conquest, and putt the same in thraldome to strangers. Which things, as the principalls of the nobilitie and Lords of the Queene's Secrett Councell could not suffer, therefore, they willed her to desist from the said worke, and immediately to dismiss her Frenchmen out of the countrie. Which writing being directed from the said Lords to the Queene, they conclude that they would meet at Lithgow the 11th of October following, with[1] provision of victualls and others necessaries as wes needfull.

Immediatly after the Queene had receaved the aforesaid writing, shee wes moved with great displeasure, and in her rage shee called out Treasone; calling them all treators. Notwithstanding, shee ceased not continually, by all the meanes shee could, to divide them, and to hinder their interprice, sometymes sending to the Duke, another tyme to my Lord James, persuadeing them by faire promises; yet shee could not prevaile. About this tyme the Bishopp of Amiens and Dela Broche arrived in this countrie. The meane tyme the fortifying of Leith increased dayly by continuall labour, whereof appearantly the Congregation tooke no greate care; for they supposed no force should resist them, seing they had gotten the Lord Duke one their side, with divers others. Att the day appointed they came to Lithgow, where the Queene sent to them Sir Robert Carnegie, with others, desyring them to desist from their interprice, which availed not. On the next day they came to Edenburgh, twoe howers after the Queene departed from Hallyruidhouse to Leith, accompained with the Bishopps of St Andrewes and Glasgow, the Lord Seaton, the Abbot of Dumfermling, with three thowsand souldiers, whereof there wes about five hundred Scottsmen, the rest Frenchmen. The number which wes with the Lords wes eight thowsand, (whereof there wes one thowsand souldiers.) The first twoe dayes after their commeing there wes greate quietness on either side.[2] The third day they sent to the Queene a letter, conteining in effect, that they, as the princi-

[1] "Which," in MS. [2] "One either sides," ib.

palls of the nobilitie and of the Privie Counsel, were at that present assembled, considering among themselves that the Frenchmen of warr could not be intertained within this kingdome without the utter decay and ruine hereof; therefore they intended, by all meanes possible, to compell them to avoid the countrie. In the mean tyme shee her selfe desyred, that, for the respect and reverence they had to her owne persone, they would retyre from Leith. The next day shee sent to them commanding them to depart from Edenburgh. The same day there wes assembled a great number of people upon Craigingate.[1] They begunne to shoot forth of the west blok-house of Leith, which putt a fray amongst the people when they retyred from the Craggs there, beginning some skirmishing where some were hurt. It wes reported that the Queene being upon the said blok-house, caused the cannons to be shott, which wes the first begining of bloodshed betwixt the Congregation and the Frenchmen; notwithstanding they were often assembled before, and were near matching as at St Johnston, Cooper moore, and upon the said Craggs, as is before exprest. The sixth day after the arriving of the Congregation in Edenburgh, which wes the 20th of October, there wes a proclamation made at the Cross, commanded be the Lords of Secret Counsell, understanding that the Queene, then being in Leith, which shee had caused to be fortified, pretending nothing but the subversion of the commone-wealth, oppressing of the leiges, commone conquering of the countrie, and to putt the same into the hands of strangers, and thereby to meanteane the Frenchmen for the effect aforesaid; and, finally, to meanteane all kinde of superstition and idolatrie, and not to suffer the Word of God passe fordward and to be established within this realme. Wherefor, the said cause being considered, the said Lords, with the assistence and advice of the barones of the Congregation, suspended her authoritie, commanding all the liedges of the realme, that none of them take upon them to assist, defend, or meanteane her authoritie, from that day foreward. This beine done,[2] the Lords perceaving that it behooved

[1] "Graigiegate," in MS. [2] "Downe," ib.

them to venter the lives of many men before Leith could be wonn, therefore, they wer forced to meanteane the men of warr, and to raise[1] more companies; therefore, they sent to sick moyen for money, and first of noblemen, and others, according to their habilitie. So everie[2] one contributing some silver for the same effect, and because they could not be served by the bailiffs that were putt in by the Queene, and not elected and chosen by the towne, according to the order; therefore, after that they had caused the Congregation to meet in the Tolbooth of Edenburgh, the Lords desyred them to choose new provest and bailiffs, with whome they might be served, which wes done the 22d day of October, and thereafter desyred their support for the men of warr; which wes granted. Dureing this tyme there wes dayly skirmishing about Leith, and sudden frayes, with such hurlie-burlies, that there appeared rather confusion than any good order; and, notwithstanding, the ministers of God's Word ceased not dayly to preach and to exhort according to their duty, bot the most pairt apparantly tooke no great care of God's Word; for they begann to wearie, perceaving the matter to be difficult, and to draw to length.

In the meane tyme, as the Laird of Ormistone wes comeing with money for the support of the Congregation, the Earle Bothwell (being for the Queene) and the Frenchmen, with great force sett upon the said Laird, neere to Dunpendar-land, and after he wes hurt and in danger of his life spoiled him of the money, which extended to 4000 lib. Scotts, the last of October. Whereof the Lords being informed, there past my Lord of Arran and my Lord James, and with them in company 2000 men, to revenge the said injury, thinking to find the Earle Bothwell in Creichton. But a little before their commeing to the said place, he wes departed, and had left some men to keepe the same, notwithstanding it wes rendered incontinent. And after that it wes sacked by the souldiers they returned; bot the same day, which wes the first of November, there wes a great fray in Edenburgh. For the Queene and the Frenchmen being advertised of the trouble the Earle Bothwell

[1] "Rease," in MS. [2] "Severie," ib.

had done to the Laird of Ormistone, and that the most part of the Congregation wes gone to revenge the same, the French souldiers broke forth of Leith to the number of 1500 men, and marching boldly towards the east part of the [Craggs] by the way that past from Leith to the Abbay; there wes five or six peeces of ordinances mounted at the east part of the said Cragg, to shoote towards Leith, and with the said ordinance there wes 500 men, when the said Frenchmen invaded where there wes some [1] Notwithstanding the Frenchmen, with great force, moved the Scotts souldiers, whereof they slew and tooke a part, and the rest they chaced, pursueing continually till they came to the Neder Bow. In the mean tyme, the fray was verry great within the towne, where the number wes but few[2] that made their defence. Allwayes the Frenchmen retyred to Leith, carraying with them the artillerie that wes at the east part of the Craggs.

By thir[3] occasions the hearts of many of the Congregation begunn to faint, perceaving that the proceedings tooke not good success, and for the most part, being wearie, departed the towne; wherefore, the Lords, after consultation, thought it necessarie for the tyme, to seek appointment, and for the same purpose desyred the Earle of Mortone and Lord Erskin to passe to the Queene to compose the matter. But the day afore that they pretended to passe to the Queene for the cause aforesaid, which wes the 6th day of November, the Frenchmen yssueing forth of Leith, to the number of 2500, past eastward towards Musselbrough, to stay and hinder the victuall from comeing to Edenburgh. Whereof the Lords being informed, there past suddenly forth of the towne my Lord of Arrane and my Lord James, and with him on horse and foote to the number of 2000 men. And as they mett the Frenchmen east of Restalrig, it appeared that they should matched; but they of the Congregation that had the greatest experience in warr would not suffer them to hazard the matter. In soe comeing home neere the Abbay, the Frenchmen pursues sharply upon their backs; and, finally, with great force of

[1] A blank in the MS. [2] "Fieu," ib. [3] "Their," ib.

shotts, there wes some slain and hurt, and some taken of the Congregation; and so the Frenchmen retired to Leith, but the Lords after dinner, perceaving their owne inabilitie at that tyme, concluded in counsell that they would depart the night following; which they did about midnight, leaving the towne to the pleasure of the Queene and Frenchmen, after they had tarried twentie dayes in the towne of Edenburgh. But by their departing in this manner there came greate fear amongst the faithfull throughout this realme, so that their hearts were troubled with great sorrow. The Congregation of Edenburgh wes dispersed, soe that there appeared nothing to them, but that the wicked should have the upper hands, and soe they should be in extreme miserie. But God provided better for them than they could perceave at that instance; for the Lords came the nixt day to Sterling, where, as it were, takeing new courage, partly being persuaded by a godly sermon made by John Knox, they determined in counsell; that they would remaine constant to their first purpose, with the jeoparding of their lives and all that they had, considering that their pretence wes only for the advancement of the glory of God and establishing of his true Religion, and profit and utilitie of the commone wealth of this kingdome, which wes so oppressed and like to come in thraldome of strangers. Wherefore, seing[1] they were not able of themselves, by reason they laiked amunition and other force, which wes required for the expelling of the Frenchmen furth of this countrie, they concluded to send to the Queene of Ingland for support. And, finally, for the said purpose, they gave instantly their full comission to the young Laird of Lethington, as most meet and able therefore; who shortly thereafter past into Ingland.

On the morrow after the departing of the Lords forth of Edenburgh, there come twoe ensignes of Frenchmen from Leith to Edenburgh, about eight howers in the morning, in most awfull and warlike manner, to take, as it were, possession of the towne; and the next day the most part of all the rest of the captaines and souldiers come into the towne, where strikeing up doores with force,

[1] "Being," in MS.

and using such other insolencie, they lodged themselves where they best pleased, not spearing the Papists, who hoped to have favour; but the next day, which wes the third after the departure of the Lords, the Bishopp of St Andrewes, with his Balamites, came to St Giles Kirk to hallow[1] the same, which they alledged to be polluted, by reasone it had been purged of idolatrie in the moneth of July, as is before declared, and that the Evangell had beene preached in it, and the sacrament rightly administred; therefore the said Bishopp, with his masking-goods, cross, capp, and miter, after he had mumbled over some Latin words, he begunn to cast his holy water in all the parts of the said kirk, and then immediatly sett up their idolatrous Messe; for there wes altars already built. The Papist Friers ceased not in their sermons to blaspheme and cry out against the trueth which had beene lately preached there.

The third day after the departing of the Lords, the Queene sent Monsieur Rubin into France, who knew the bottome of her heart. In the meane tyme, after the Lords had concluded as is above speciefied, they departed from Sterling the 9th of November, and deviding themselves in this manner, my Lord Duke, my Lord of Argyle and Glencarne, Boyd and Ochiltrie, with some other barones, came to Glasgow; and my Lord of Arrane, my Lord James, my Lord Rothes and Ruthven, went to St Andrewes, with the Lairds of Dunn and Pittarro and others; and there[2] consulted on the affaires of the realme and the furthering of the Religion. And albeit, at their departing furth of Edenburgh in manner aforesaid, it appeared to the adversaries that there[3] should nothing follow but confusion amongst them; but nevertheles, God inspired the spirits of the preachers of the Word, in such [sort][4] that they were more earnestly given to all manner of godly doctrine, and exercise than ever they were before, and likewise the Congregation in all places more readie bent to heare, so that, by meanes of the trouble, the Religion wes in all places better reformed and established. Dureing this [time] the Queene ceased not to practice by all meanes shee could, to putt the Castle of Edenburgh

[1] "Hollow," in MS. [2 & 3] "Their," in MS. [4] A blank in the MS.

into the Frenchmen's hands, and for the same effect shee persuaded the captaine, (my Lord Arskin,) assureing, that the Frenchmen would pursue it with all force and extremitie. Howbeit the Lord Arskin had inclined more to her at that tyme than to the Lords, yet, though he himself wes of that Religion, perceaveing [1] the Queene's mind, and also being informed that the Queene ordered the Frenchmen to prepare themselves for assailing the said Castle, he sent for his freinds and servants, and beganne to take better head to the Castle than before, and pretended to jeopard his lyfe, and all that he might doe, in defence of the said Castle; and further, sent to the Lords requireing their support in case he were pursued. Wherefore the Lords caused proclamation to be made the last of November in all places where the same might availe, that all manner of persons should prepare themselves to be readie upon 24 howers warning, with 15 dayes victuall, for the support and releife of the said Castle.

In the beginning of the moneth of December, arrived at Leith certane French shipps, to the number of 18 or 19 sailes, laiden with munition, victualls, men of warr, and money, for the reinforceing of Leith, and furthereing of the pretended purpose of the Queene and the House of Guise, which appeared to be no other thing than conquering the countrie, and the utter subvertion and ruine of the professors of the Evangell, if [2] the Eternal God, of his mercie, had not provided remedie, which came at length beyond judgement and expectation of all men. For soone after the departing of the said shipps from France, the Marques of D'Albuef,[3] the subtill meanes of the Duke of Guise and Cardinall Loraigne his brother, who at that tyme governed not only our Queene and Mistris, but had the government of the whole realme of France as Vice Roy of Scotland, for soe wes he stiled at the Court and all places, embarquet at Deep, haveing in company with him certane gentlemen and souldiers, to the number of 500, with certane cannon and other munition. Notwithstanding God would not suffer their enterpryce to take effect, for after they had beene twelve dayes upon

[1] "Preaching," in MS. [2] "Of," ib. [3] "Dalbaes," ib.

the sea, they were constrained, by storme of weather and contrary winds, to returne againe to the said port of Deip. In the meane tyme the musters of the Frenchmen wes made at Leith, where all by past wages were payed, and moneys given for certane moneths to come, whereby they were encouraged to take some great enterprice.

About the 12th December the Lords receaved letters from the Laird of Lethingston, wherefore they mett at Sterling the 3d day thereafter to consult what wes to be done. They understood by the said writing that their ambassadour, the Laird of Lethingstone, wes thankfull receaved and well entertained, and that the Queene of Ingland, beeing advised with her Councell, would support and fortiefie them and their accords, whereof they should shortly have the experience since the same tended to the advancement to the glory of God, and union of the realmes [of England] and Scotland by meanes of Religion. Alwayes shee desyred to be assured of their constancie. The Lords being verie glad of the saids writtings, consulted how they might satisfie the Queene of England in this last clause; Finally, they concluded that they would send pleadges into England for the cause aforesaid. While they thus concluded at Sterling, tydeings came to them that the Frenchmen were departed forth of Leith and Edenburgh, to the number of 2500 men, and marched towards Lithgow the 23d of December, and being well informed that the same [wes] of veritie, they thought it not expedient to tarry, because they came to Sterling in quiet manner, not imagening that the Frenchmen durst have taken such ane enterprice, considering the tyme of yeare and other circumstances. Finally, they departed before the Frenchmen arrived at the said towne of Sterling halfe a day. Where after the said Frenchmen had remained three dayes, they past over the Firth, along the bridge, and so came to Bruntiland; but where ever they past, there wes greate harme donne to the poore by the men of warr.

The 29th of December, M. Martick arrived at Leith, and amongst others, the fourth day after his commeing, there wes a proclamation made in the King and Queene's name. When the French-

men that were in Leith were advertissed of the comeing of the rest to Dumfermling, they came forth of Leith to Bruntiland in boates, four or five hundreth men, but [1] before their landing, certen men of Kirckadie and Kinghorne came shortly to Bruntiland, intending to stop their landing, which apparantly they had done if they had nòt beene hindred; for immediately before they were aware, there wes at their backs 200 horsemen with culverings and speares that came from Dumferling before the rest. Wherefore they were constrained to goe back, albeit some were slaine and some taken. So the next day, which wes the 3d of January, after they came to Kinghorne and Kircadie, where they had remained the speace of twelve dayes, provideing for all things necessary for their purpose, which wes to pass along the coast-side of Fyffe to St Andrewes, which toune (wes supposed) they intended to fortiefie, and so to pass to Dundie and then to St Johnstone, and so to make plain conquest over the countrie. In the mean tyme the oppression and hurt which they did in the said places where they remained, and in all places on land within three miles, would be long to rehearse; for the Papists and others that were assured by the Queene's writt escaped not dureing this while. The Lord of Arran and my Lord James laboured, by all meanes possible, to resist them, although they were not of sufficient number; for they would gladely have hazarded themselves, howbeit they were never above 1000 horse and foote, where they were most in company, yet they were everie day neere them, so that their spulies were seldom. It chanced about the 8th of Januare, that there came forty French souldiers out of Kinghorne to spoile and rifle a place called [Glennis House,[2]] within halfe a mile to the said towne, whereof the Laird of Grange and Master of Lindsay haveing information, came [3] upon them boldly and slew some of them, and the rest were taken all save one, who past away by speed of foote, and declared the case to the captaine; which charge caused the rest to keep themselves more quiet. When the Frenchmen had provided for all things necessary for their journey, they departed from Kinghorne the 22d of Januarie

[1] "Bry," in MS. [2] Calderwood's Hist. vol. i. p. 565. [3] "Anent," in MS.

eastward. My Lord James and my Lord Arrane pretended they had hindered them, albeit they were not partie, for the countrie would not remaine together, for their hired men were not above 400 men and souldiers, whom the Lords could not retaine for[1] boasting nor praying at Dysard, where they had remained the speace of twelve dayes and durst scarcely shew themselves, therefore, they were forced to give place to the enemie, for there[2] appeared nothing bot extreame calamitie and destruction for all them that professed the Word of God in this countrie; for everie man that could, had provided themselves for the last remedie, which wes to flie from the apparant danger, because the Frenchmen used such cruelty[3] against them, that supposed to have freindship at their hands, therefore, they had already sent away their wives and childrene, leaving void their howses.

In the meane tyme, supplications and prayers were made to God by the faithfull in all places, that he would shew his mercie, so that God, that will never leave his owne destitute of comfort in tyme of greatest necessitie, begann suddenly to shew his favour and joyfull countenance for the Lords. About this tyme that the English shipps were in the Firth, the Frenchmen past east the coast-side, in their departing they espied some shipps commeing up the Forth, the most part begann to be merrie; but being finally informed that they were the Queene of England's shipps comeing for the support of the Congregation, their joy wes suddenly converted to greate feare. For so soone as the shipps drew neere they lett them know they were no freinds by shooting some great peeces of ordinance amongst them, being about the water of Levin about Langhands, and because the night drew neere they lodged about Largo; but upon the morrow betimes they retired towards Kinghorn, and soe marched with greate hast towards Sterling, being struken with such dread and feare, that appearantly if there had beine five hundred horsemen on their back they might have easily been defeated, for before they came to Clackmannan, they left much of their goods and baggage, which remained one whole night upon the

[1] "From," in MS. [2] "Their," ib. [3] "Cruelly," ib.

moore, twoe mile be-east the said towne; notwithstanding they tooke no rest till they came to Lithgow, where the most part lay and refrest themselves. The Queene being informed of this suddene change, shee wes troubled highly[1] with all her assistance and company; for shee had persuaded all men that would beleeve her, that the Congregation would get no support out of England, but perceaveing the shipps came to the Roade, and being informed that they had taken two or three barks, laden with amunition and victualls that should have waited upon the Frenchmen, dureing the tyme of their voiage, for their provision, shee wes abased and struke with greate feare, not knowing what wes to be done in such a dangerous case. Suddenly shee tooke purpose to pass to the Castle, for safetie of her owne persone, for the captaine and shee were aggreed before a litle space. On the other part the faithfull rejoiced highly, not without cause, throughout all the parts of this realme, and gave condigne thancks to the Eternall, our God, who had so merciefully declared his favour towards them at that tyme when all hope of comfort wes away, and so in all places their spirits began to revive,[2] and to take new courage, being assured of God's helpe. Perceaving this happie beginning they begann to meete in all places, and soe prepare themselves for the enterprice. The number of the English shipps were about fourtie saile, whereof there wes thirteen men of warr.

In the mean tyme, the English men landed for their refreshment. Especially in Fyfe they were thankfully receaved and well entreated, with such quietnes and gentle entertainement betwixt our nation and them, as no man would have thought that ever there had beine any variance. The first of Februare there landed 1200 English men upon Inch Keith, pretending to have taken the Forth, but they were repulsed. The fourth day of February the Lords mett at Glasgow, where it wes concluded that my Lord James should pass to Barwick, haveing commission of all the Lords to contract and bind up the matter betwixt the Queene of England and them, or any haveing her commission, and for the same pur-

[1] "Hightly," in MS. [2] "Reivice," ib.

pose that he should carrie with him pledge for assurance of their part conforme to her desire. About this tyme the English shipps which lay to keep the Forth, tooke some Scotts men's goods bound to Leith in Frenchmen's boats, which [1] goods they restored againe at the Lords' desyre. Dureing this tyme the Queene her Frenchmen caused greate labour to be made upon the Fort of Leith, which wes exceedingly increased in strenght, by reasone of the greate paines which wes exceedingly taken upon it from the beginning of December; for the Frenchmen thought well that if they were not able to make their pairtie good upon the feilds, they would resort to Leith for their refuge, which they thought themselves able to defend so long as they had victualls, against the power of England and Scotland both, as the yssue of the matter did declare. But when they were credibly informed that there wes no greate number of men of warr in the English shipps that were able to land besides the mariners, it is said, that they repented their goeing forth of Fyffe till they had done some greate act.

The 29th of February Lord James departed by sea, forth of Pettinween to Barrwick, and in his company being my Lord Ruthven, with divers other lords and gentlemen, together with the pledges which were in number [five.][2] The Duke of Norfolk wes then come from London with some noble men of the Queene of England's Councell to contract and end the matter. The Laird of Lethington, ambassadour for the Lords, wes also come to Barrwick, where, after banqueting and gentle entreating, it wes concluded as followeth, That the Queene of England should, with all possible diligence, send her armie into Scotland for the defence and assistance of the Lords, to expell the Frenchmen forth of this countrie, and maintaining of the true Religion; and with the said armie, extending to 10,000 men in horse and foote, shee should send amunition and artillerie, greate and small, sufficient number, with all their furniture; the wages of the souldiers and all the said furniture to come upon her expenses, and

[1] "With," in MS.

[2] A blank in the MS.—See their names, in the Wodrow Society edition of Calderwood, vol. i. p. 581.

to augment the number of men, (if need were,) untill the Frenchmen were defeated or compelled to depart forth of this realme. And the Lords oblidged themselves[1] that if the Queene of England should happen[2] to be invaded, by any strangers or others, that they should send to her into England, for her support and defence on her owne expences, [three][3] thousand men. *It wes printed that the English men would be in Scotland the 25th of March by land. After my Lord James had finally agreed with the Duke of Norfolke upon all things, he arrived againe at Pettenweeme, the 9th day after his departing.

In the meane tyme, the principalls of the Frenchmen being informed that the Queene's armie wes not in readiness to come in before the said day, they tooke a high enterprice; for the 7th of March they departed forth of Leith, and other places where they had beine in garrisone, to the greate destruction and loss of the countrie, the number of 2000 souldiers of the most able and best equipett, beside 300 horse men, and marched towards Lithgow, where they remained the first night. All the countrie wes in a fray, not knowing their purpose untill the nixt day at night, they came to Monebeth, and some of them lodged in Kirkintillock. The Duke being surely advertised that their purpose wes to come to Glasgow, he departed with small company the night before their arriving. There wes in my Lord Duke's company, the Earles of Arrane, Argyle, and Glencarne, with their howsholds only, for they suspected not, nor would not have thought that the Frenchmen durst at that tyme have taken such ane enterprice. Immediately there wes a proclamation made through Cliddesdale and other shires, and likewise privie writings sent by my Lord Duke, and the other Lords, to their freinds and servants, that they should incontinently come to him in Hamilton for their defence and resistance of the Frenchmen, and beacons[4] warr brunt upon the highest hills for the same effect; but indeed they gathered slowly, so that it appeared plainly if God would have suffered it, the

[1] "Them," in MS.
[2] "Shappen," ib.
[3] The number is left blank in the MS.
[4] "Because," ib.

Frenchmen might easily and without any resistance, have come up Clyde, and had done whatever it had pleased them throughout all that countrie. Notwithstanding, after that they had taken by force the Bishop's eastle,[1] and had cruelly hanged a part of the souldiers (Scottsmen) that were therein, and had chaced the rest that made resistance in the towne, the second day after their comeing to Glasgow, there came a writing to them[2] from the Queene, containing in effect, that shee wes surely informed that the English armie was alreadie come from Barrwick and within Scotland; wherefore shee willed them with all possible expedition to returne againe; which they did immediately. The damage which they did wes not so greate as men supposed; for they had no tyme sufficient.

When the Lords that were at Hamilton were advertissed of their departing, my Lord of Arrane, with soe many horsemen as were readie, past fordward to follow the Frenchmen, pretending, that if they had seen sufficient occasion, to have midled with them. The next day, they shewed themselves as the Frenchmen past by the Callender, but there wes noe appearance, for there wes no partie; alwayes they kept them closs together, for they exceeded not 300 men. Soe the Frenchmen came to Lithgow, where they lay the space of eight dayes, and made continuall spoile in all the countrie about, within the space of eight miles. The damage which they did, of all [sorts,[3]] especially of cattle, sheepe, and horse, wes exceeding great; and likewise killed and tooke diverse men prisoners.

Dureing this tyme the Congregation prepared themselves to meet the English armie, and for the same purpose there wes proclamation made in Cliddesdale, Fyfe, Angus, Mernes, and Strathearne. The Frenchmen being surely advertissed that the English armie wes in readiness, they came to Leith, the 29 of March, where all things were prepared that were necessarie for

[1] The 'Bishop's Castle' evidently means the Episcopal Palace, which was built by Bishop Cameron, before the middle of the fifteenth century, near the Cathedral Church of Glasgow.

[2] "Him," in MS.

[3] A word left blank in MS.

their defence, and every day they made spoil in the countrie. Finally, at the day appointed, my Lord Gray being Lieutenant, came forth of Barwick, haveing in his company 2000 horse men, and 5000 foote men. The next day after, my Lord James mett them at Heddington; and shortly after, my Lord Duke and the rest of the Lords mett them at Prestoun, and receaved them thankfully, and with greate humanity embraced each other as if there had never beine hatred or enmity. The Lords company wes 5000 horse men and 4[000] of footmen. They remained at Preston five dayes, for refresheing themselves and provideing things necessary. Alwayes the first day of Aprill, 1560, they removed their campe, and marched towards Leith. The Lords with their companie marched afore them, till they came neer Restalrigg towne, where the Frenchmen being gone forth of Leith to the number of 2000 men, remained about 2 howers after their comeing; and so soone as they had approched the moss[1] part of Restallrigg, they begann to skirmish, which increased hotly as the armie drew neere, so that little and little the Frenchmen drew neere their fort.

When they were busie, the Queene Dowrier sent forth a trumpett out of the Castle to the Lord Gray, desyreing commoneing, and for the same purpose that he would send for some gentlemen haveing his comission to her: therefore he sent Sir James Crofts and Sir George Howard, and for their assurance receaved pledges. The Queene propounded to the said [gentlemen[2]] some purpose of small importance, whereof nothing followed. The skirmish continued the space of five howers, while at length the horsemen, both English and Scottsmen, broke upon the Frenchmen, and slew and over-rid 150 men; wherefore the rest were compelled to retire to their fort. On the other part the horsemen, be reasone of the greate ordinance[3] that were shott forth of Leith, were constrained to retire to their campe which wes at Restalrigg. The French-

[1] "Approced the mos," in MS.—This probably refers to the ground to the west of Restalrig, in the hollow, or sward-meadow, extending towards Edinburgh, and not to the fields eastward, reaching to the sands near Portobello.

[2] The word is illegible in the MS.

[3] "Ordar," *ib.*

men lost that day 100 men, and many hurt and some taken. There wes not slaine of English and Scotts above twelve men, but there wes more then one hundred hurt. The most part of the horsemen lodged in Edenburgh and Cannongate, some horsemen past to Corstorphin,[1] and some lay at Mussilbrough, the Lord Duke in the Palace of the Abbay; all the rest, as well English as Scotts, camped about Restallrigg, with such quiett and peaceable enterteinment betwixt English and Scotts that it wes a wonder.

The same night, some gentlemen of the Congregation came to St Giles's Kirk, and broke downe the altars againe, and purged the said kirks of idolatrie, with the rest of the kirks. And incontinently the Gospell wes truely preached, from the first day of Aprill.

There wes every day new trenches cast fordward towards Leith: they made a little fort, called Mount [Falcone,[2]] by meanes of one Mr Pelham, who wes made captaine thereof: it wes scituate high neere unto Leith, about twoe fflight shott from the same; they past be-west the Haukhill, where there wes long trenches cast from the same north-west to the sea. Dureing this tyme they were discharging the cannon and other amunition forth of the shipps upon the sands east of Restalrigg.

The tenth day of Aprill, the Frenchmen broke forth of Leith, to the number of 1500 souldiers and 100 horsemen, about the noontide of the day, and marching bravely with greate celerity, came to the trenches where the English men lay, taking noe head of themselves, and sett feircely upon them, and slew above 200 men before they were stayed; but incontinently there strooke ane allarum in the campe, and came bravely fordward, wherefore the Frenchmen retired, and without greate herme, which wes done be the men of armes, of whome the Frenchmen tooke greate feare. The English men being thus warned to their damage, tooke better head afterwards to their affaires; wherefore they augmented the number of their watch,

[1] "Sors corptom," in MS.

[2] This name, and also that at the top of the next page, are left blank in the MS. They are supplied from the detailed account of the siege, inserted in Holinshed's Chronicles.

both in horse and foote, as well day as night. Soone after Mr Sadler came to the campe with 1500 souldiers and 400 horsemen. The 15th of Aprill, the fort of [Mount Somerset[1]] wes cast and performed, scituate upon the clay-hills, east from the Kirk of Leith, about twoe fflight shott. Where the greate ordinance being placed, they beganne to shoote at St Antonyes[2] steeple in Leith, upon the which steeple the Frenchmen had mounted some artillerie, which wes verie noisome to the campe; bot within few howers after, the said steeple was [broken] and shott downe, likewise they shott downe some part of the east end of the Kirk of Leith.

The 17th of Aprill,[3] arrived in the campe at Restallrigg, the Bishopp of Vallance, Ambassador from the King of France; who being humblie receaved by my Lord James, the Lord Duke, and the rest of the Lords of the Privie Councell, propounded in their presence the cause of his message; which in effect wes, That the King and Queene of France and Scotland, Soveraignes to the lieges of the said realmes, being informed of the greate troubles then in this their realme, wer highly offended, and that not without cause,[4] considering the like wes never seene before within this realme, notwithstanding desyred them, that all particular affection and private hetred laid asyde, they should be all meanes provide remedie; so that dew obedience being given to their Soveraignes, and the ancient league betwixt this realme and France meanteined, all other leagues newly made dissolved, and lawfull obedience given unto their Soveraignes, the poore leiges might be at rest.

To the which it wes answered, by the said Lords of Privie Councell, That on their part they had given noe occasion of the said trouble, and protested, that they would doe and offer all due obedience to their Soveraignes, like as they had done hitherto; bot the whole blame and charge ought to be laid upon the Queene

[1] See foot note to the preceding page.

[2] St Anthony's Kirk appears to have been contiguous to St Mary's, or the Parish Church of South Leith. The Church of North Leith was named after St Nicholas.

[3] On Sunday the 21st of April, according to Holinshed.

[4] "Case," in MS.

Dourier, who had abused her authoritie in meanteining strangers within this realme, especially men of warr in tyme of peace, whose oppression wes intolerable: Wherefore, they being the principall of the Nobility, could doe no less for their part, then by all meanes possible to provide releife for the countrie, which the said men of warr had cruelly[1] overrun and opprest, especially this [yeare;[2]] and so, finally, without they were removed, ther could be no rest within this realme but by strengthening the Bands lately made with the Queene of England.[3]

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[1] "Truelly," in MS.
[2] A word is torn away in the MS.
[3] Here the MS. unfortunately breaks off abruptly.

ANE

COMPENDIUS TRACTIVE.

BY

MR QUINTIN KENNEDY,

ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUELL.

M.D.LVIII.

QUINTIN KENNEDY, Commendator of the Abbey of Crossraguell, in Ayrshire, was the fourth son[1] of Gilbert, second Earl of Cassillis, and Isobel, daughter of Archibald Earl of Argyle. His father died in 1527, and as the elder son, on succeeding to the title, is said to have been aged 13, we may presume that Quintin was born about the year 1520. He was destined for the Church, and enjoyed the advantages of an academical education.

Dr Mackenzie says, "He was born in the reign of King James V., and had his education at the University of Glasgow; where, after he had finished his studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and philosophy, he was sent by his parents to the University of Paris, where he studied Theology, and the Civil and Canon Law. And having entered into Holy Orders, he returned to his native country, and was made Prior of Whithorn, and Abbot and Commendator of Cross-Raguell in Galloway."[2] Mackenzie's statements are usually very inaccurate, and can never be received without distrust. Thus it is sufficiently ascertained that Kennedy pursued his studies not at Glasgow, but at St Andrews; and as his name occurs in the Registers of that University, among the students incorporated in St Salvator's College, 1540, we may conjecture that, according to the ordinary course, he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1544. That from thence he went to Paris, is confirmed by the words of his antagonist, John Davidson, in 1563, who speaks of "the auld Parisiane kyndnes that was betuix us."

Kennedy, as might be expected from family influence, obtained speedy promotion in the Church after his return from France. But it is certain he never enjoyed the Priory of Whithorn, an office

[1] This appears from the order of succession, in a Charter under the Great Seal, dated at Edinburgh, 6th February 1540-1. See also Wood's edit. of Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 330.

[2] Lives of Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, vol. iii. p. 57.

usually held by the Bishop of Galloway. His first preferment was to the Vicarage of Girvan, in Carrick. His elder brother, Thomas Kennedy, had also been educated for the Church, and was Vicar of Penpont, in Nithsdale. He was killed at the battle of Pinkie, on the 10th of September 1547; and his brother Quintin, according to the ordinance to that effect, was presented to the vacant benefice, on the 4th of October 1547, when he resigned Girvan. In the beginning of 1549, Quintin Kennedy was promoted to the Abbacy of Crossraguell,[1] in consequence of which he resigned the Vicarage of Penpont, which was conferred on Sir John Scott, on the 8th of February 1548-9.[2] On the 27th of November 1549, "Quintinus Abbas Monasterii Crucis regalis," was one of the dignified clergy who sat in the Provincial Council at Edinburgh.[3]

Though Kennedy's talents, as Dr M'Crie remarks,[4] "were not of a superior order, the Abbot was certainly one of the most respectable of the Popish clergy in Scotland, not only in birth, but also in regularity and decorum of conduct. He seems to have spent the greater part of his life in the same neglect of professional duty which characterized his brethren; but he was roused from his inactivity by the zeal and success of the Protestant preachers, who, in the years 1556 and 1557, attacked the Popish faith, and inveighed against the idleness and corruption of the Clergy." His first publication was the "Compendius Tractive," which is now reprinted. The original is a small 4to, 58 leaves, in black letter, and has no place or printer's name, but it came from the press of John Scott, at Edinburgh, in 1558. Its object, as the title expresses it, was to declare "The nearest and only way to establish the conscience of a Christian man, in all matters that are

[1] The Abbey of Crossraguel, or Corceregal, in Carrick, one of the subdivisions of the shire of Ayr, and within two miles of Maybole, was founded by Duncan, son of Gilbert Earl of Carrick, in the year 1244. (Spottiswood's Religious Houses, p. 451.)

[2] For these notices I am indebted to George Chalmers's Historical Annals of Printing in Scotland, p. 61, MS., in the Advocates Library. He quotes the Privy Seal Registers, vol. xxi. fol. 45, 61; and vol. xxii. fol. 76.

[3] Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iv. p. 46.

[4] Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 60, 5th edit. 1831.

in debate concerning Faith and Religion;" in other words, to inculcate implicit faith in the decisions of the Church or Clergy. The Author repeatedly testifies the great reluctance with which he was compelled in this manner to vindicate his principles, by persons who were "swa religious and clene fyngerit, that thair will na thyng perswade thaim without testimony of Scripture." It may indeed be considered remarkable, that the Abbot of Crossraguell should have been the only person,[1] during the earlier contendings of the Protestants, who stood forth to employ argument in support of the cause of the Romish Church. It can scarcely be called a gratuitous assumption, if, in some measure to account for this fact, we should suppose that several of the Popish clergy best qualified for such a task, might have had their own minds, by divine grace, enlightened to the errors of Popery, whilst engaged in examining or controverting the Reformed opinions. Davidson, in his letter to the Abbot,[2] expressly says of Kennedy's Tractive, "*quhilk for that present tyme, we approvit baith to be gude and godly*; but sensyne, (he adds,) I finding the Scriptures so weill oppinnit, by the ordinary mean, quhareby God communicates unto men the understanding of his Scriptures, I could not be longer of your opinion," &c.

The "Compendious Tractive" was highly lauded by the author's friends; and Davidson, in his dedication to the Earl of Glencairne, says, that he had long been importuned to answer it, and at length consented to his Lordship's repeated entreaties, in order that "the people of God might not be longer abused with his (Kennedy's) captious sophistications:" for he acknowledges, that by means of this Tractive, there were "many persons movit to continue still in their old superstition and idolatry," who otherwise would have "embraced the sincere and true religion of Christ before these days, if

[1] The well known Catechism, usually called Archbishop Hamilton's, from having been printed under his sanction, and at his expense, at St Andrews, in 1552, partakes more of the character of a series of homilies on the Articles and Creed of the Romish Church, than of a controversial work; while the writings of Ninian Winzet belong to the period immediately following the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland.

[2] See the reprint of Davidson's Answer to Kennedy, in the present volume.

it (the Abbot's work) had been suppressed in its infancy;" and further, that by so doing, this "would have brought both quietness to many a one in their conscience, and common peace, with great amity among the inhabitants of this country." In like manner, George Hay, in his Confutation of a subsequent work by the Abbot, says, that the Papists "were encouraged by the brute and fame of the man, who onely would appeare in these tymes to have dexteritie of ingyne, helped and avanced by long progress of tyme spent in good letters."

The following is a summary of Kennedy's Tractive, given by Keith, who has printed two of the chapters by way of specimen:—

"It is divided (he says) into 18 chapters. The Author begins, by showing that God has appointed both a *Witness* and a *Judge* in all controversies about matters of religion. The Witness or Testimony, he says, is the holy Scripture, (and for this he cites St John, chap. 5;) the Judge is the Kirk or Christian congregation. But because the whole Kirk cannot meet together in one place, in order to decide questions; and though they could, yet all the members thereof have not a capacity to decide: Therefore the principal member is appointed to be the Overseer, Judge, and Guide, even as the head in the humane body governs and directs all the other members of the body. He maintains, that Ecclesiastical Councils have always consisted of the most devout and best learned men, who have always concurred uniformly in all material points concerning *Faith, i.e.*, Things necessary to be known in order to salvation; but acknowledges, that in points of *Religion*, that is, as he explains it, in Ceremonies, civil Ordinances, and Laws, they may have appointed some things at some certain times, which the circumstances of people have required to be altered afterwards; which, he says, is no more than what God himself has been pleased to do, by the Ceremonies of his own appointment. And he affirms, that though the lives of the principal members of the Christian congregation should be supposed to be not so exemplary as might be wished, yet, even in that case, God will take care to direct their decisions right. In support of this, he

gives the instance of Cajaphas's prophesying, *because he was the High Priest;* and advice of our Saviour to hearken to the Scribes, *because they sit in Moses's chair;* and the answer of the Priests to Herod's question, *Where Christ should be born.* And the author all along intersperses several not unprofitable observations, together with such solutions of the objections as appeared to him most satisfactory, as may be seen by this following 12th chapter, which I have taken the liberty to insert here at length." Again, "In the 14th chapter there are likewise some things which it may not be impertinent to shew the Reader, in the Author's own words."[1]

It is indeed the only fair method to judge of such writers by exhibiting their own words; and, considering the great rarity of the original,[2] the high importance attached to the Abbot's work by the adherents of the Romish Faith, and that it serves as a curious specimen of vernacular literature at that period,[3] it was thought proper to reprint it entire, in connection with Davidson's Answer, which immediately follows it in this Miscellany.

Kennedy, who was "well versed in the Fathers, the oracular authorities of the Church of Rome," speedily found himself engaged in controversies with some of the Reformers. In March 1559, he was led to challenge John Willock to a public disputation on the sacrifice of the Mass, in the town of Ayr. As Willock, however, would not submit to the interpretations of Scripture which had been given by the ancient doctors of the Church, and as the Abbot would not admit the Scriptures to be the only judge, or rule of faith, (which, as he observes, would "haif maid me contrary to my awin buke,") the disputation did not take place. But the letters that passed on that occasion, accompanied with one from the Abbot to Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, giving an account of the proceedings, are still preserved, and will be found in the Appendix to Keith's History.

[1] Appendix to History, pp. 199-203.

[2] Only three copies of the work are known to exist: one in the Advocates Library, a second in the Library of the Roman Catholic College, Blairs, near Aberdeen, and a third in the Editor's possession.

[3] Dr Jamieson often quotes the Abbot's work in his Dictionary of the Scottish Language.

In 1561, Kennedy wrote "An Oration in favour of all those of the Congregation, exhorting them to espy how wonderfully they are abused by their deceitful Preachers." This tract was published by the late Sir Alexander Boswell, Edinb. 1812, 4to, from a MS. in the Library at Auchinleck.

Another work by the Abbot is still extant in MS. in the same Library, (but the copy, I believe, is partially mutilated,) bearing this title, "Ane familiar commune and ressoning anent the Misterie of the Sacrifice of the Mess, betuix tua brether, Maister Quentin Kennedy, Commendator of Crosraguell, and James Kennedy of [Uchterlour.] In the zeir of God, ane thousand, five hundred, three scoir, ane yeir." An elaborate answer to this treatise was printed two years later by George Hay, a Protestant minister and commissioner of Aberdeen, in a work entitled, "The Confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguel's Messe, set furth by Maister George Hay. Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik, and are to be sauld at his hous at the Nether Bow, 1563." 4to, 96 leaves, dedicated to James Earl of Murray. This work, like most others of that period, is of very great rarity.

Kennedy's Disputation with John Knox, at Maybole, in 1562, is however the Abbot's most celebrated performance. For its publication we are indebted to Knox; and this Disputation will form a part of the edition of the Reformer's Works, which is about to be printed for the Members of the Wodrow Society. Other works have been attributed to the Abbot by Dempster, and subsequent writers have copied his notices.[1]

The Abbot of Crossraguell died on the 22d of August 1564. Under this date, Dempster thus notices his death, in his Menologium Scoticum:[2]—"Monasterio Crucis Regalis obitus Beati Quintini Kennedij Abbatis, Comitis Cassilij fratris, qui admiranda constantia sex annis totis, cum hæresi nascente et jam confirmata conflixit, ad extremum lento veneno consumptus, corruptoque sanguine excessit."

[1] Historia Ecclesiastica, p. 422, Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. p. 62.

[2] Bononiæ, 1622, 4to, p. 20.

Ane compendius

Tractiue conforme to the Scripturis of almychtie GOD, reſſoun, and authoritie, declaring the nerreſt, and onlie way, to eſtabliſche the conſcience of ane chriſtiane man, in all materis (quhilks ar in debate) concernyng faith and religioun.

SET FVRTH BE MAISTER QVINTINE Kennedy Commendatar of the abbay off Croſraguell, and dedicat to his derreſt, and beſt beluiſſit Nepuo, Gilbert maiſter of Caſſillis.

Jn the zeir of GOD, Ane thouſand fyue houndzeth fifty aucht zeris.

TO MY DERREST AND BEST BELUIFFIT NEPUO, GILBERT, MAISTER OF CASSILLIS.

We beand ressonande divers tymes (deirly beluiffit Nepuo) of the debatis and contraversiis quhilkis ar ryssin, and renewit aganis the Catholic faith, ze inquyrit ernistlie at me, (according to your familiar and gentyll maner,) Quhat was the nerrest way to pacifye and establische the Conscience of ane Christiane man in all materis of debait concernyng faith and religioun? I answerit, and said that questioun wes ovir curius for ane man of my knawlege. Nochtheles, I schew zou my sobir jugement, of the quhilk I persavit zow mekle better content nor thair wes cause; Quhairthrow inoportunelie have ze oft and divers tymes prayit me, that I wald dilait zour questioun, and put my jugement thairof in wryte, makand ane Tractive of the samyn.: quhilk I have done (on the maner) as it hes plesit God to supporte my gret ignorance, and sobir knawlege; and dedicatis it to yow as ane remembrance, and takin of favour, nocht doubtand bot ze wyll luke on the samyn, nocht as it is of worthynes, bot conforme to the gude mynde of the gevar.

TO THE REDARE.

I am assurit, (benevolent Redare,) quhen thow dois mark and considder the tytle of our lytle Tractive, thairefter persavis quha is the furthsetter and author of the samyn, thow wyl wounder gretlie and mervell, that I (quha am ane man void of all eloquence, rude of ingyne, and jugement) durst be sua baulde, as to attempt sua heych ane purpose; specialie in this miserable tyme, quhairinto thair is sua gret diversitie of opinioun amangis swa mony pregnant

men of ingyne. Nochtheles, movit specialie to do that thyng sum part in this daingerous tyme that may be to the plesour of God, releif of my awin conscience towart sic as I have charge of, conforme to my vocatioun, and als constranit be the gret affection that I have evir borne to my derreste and best beluffit Nepuo, subject to the samyn, nocht only be tendirnes of blude, bot rather compellit be his gude nature and gentilnes towart al men, and to me in speciall; at his inoportune and unressonable desyre have I attemptit this purpose far abufe my habilitie. Thus movit of zele, but knawlege, puttande my heale confidence in hym onelie, quha causit the dum to speke, the blynd to se, the ignorant to understand, have I furthschawin the sobir fruct of my ingine; nocht doutyng (gude Redare) but thow wyll luke on the samyn with siclyke favour and gude mynde, as did the gude Lorde on the pure woman, quha offerit her sobir ferding with als gude hart, as utheris that offerit mekil mair, conforme to thair puissance. For geve it had plesit God to have gevin me gretar knawlege and ingyne, gretar fruct sulde yow have had of the samyn. This wyll I humelie and hartfullie pray thé (gentil Redare) in recompance of my lytle werk, and gret gude wyll, (affectioun beand laid on syde,) diligentlie and temperatlie to reid this our sobir Tractive; thairefter love, or lack, prayse, or condempne, as thou thinkis gude. Quhilk geve thow pleis to do, I hope in God, quhat sect or opinioun that evir thou be of, thow sall have na juste cause to repent thy panis.

Marc. vii. Matth. xi.

Marc. xii. Luc. xxi.

FAIR WEILL.

THE FIRST CHAPITRE.

THE nerrest, and onelie way, (benevolent Redare,) to be satifiit and establischeit in all materis brocht in debait concerning Faith and Religioun of all gude Christiane men, is (efter my sklinder and sobir jugement) diligently to mark and considder: geve Almychtie God (quha off his infinit gudenes, evir sen the first creatioun of man, hes providit al thingis that mycht be for the weill of man, concerning baith saule and body) hes alreddy providit ane ordour, and way in cais of debait, be the quhilk all men hes just occasioun to be satifiit; or geve it be left in libertie to al men to be satifiit according to thair awin knawlege and understanding. Trewlie it is to be thocht, that thair hes bene sum better ordour providit be Almychtie God, to tak away the occasionis of questioun or debait that hes fortunat, or sall fortune to ryse in materis concerning faith and religioun, nor every man to tak quhat opinion he plesis. And to the effect that we may the mair perfectlie understand quhat is the ordour that Almychtie God hes providit to tak away questioun and debait, and to have perpetuale tranquilitie and quietnes in our conscience; we mon considder that al errour, and debait that evir hes bene sen the begynning, hes cheiflie procedit of the fals and wrang understanding of the law and scripture of Almychtie God.

Tharfor, quhensumevir questioun or debait rysis, not for the Worde of Almychtie God, bot for the rycht understanding of the samyn: It is markis point to considder, and knaw, quha is the Juge appoyntit be God to discerne the rycht understandyng of Goddis Worde fra the wrang. Quhilk Juge, gif all Christiane man wer resolute upoun, the gret occasioun of errour wer tane away. Quha is Juge? The opinionis and jugement of mony lernit and pregnant men of ingyne ar different, and that nocht without the gret cala-

mitie, miserie, and hurt of the Kirk of God: Specialie in thir dayis, quhairinto all hereseis apperis to be assemblit, and gatherit togidder as ane arrayit hoiste, to invaid, oppres, and alluterlie dounthryng the congregatioun, swa deirlie bocht be thé blude and deth of Jesu Christe our Salveour.

As towart the principale poynt of our purpose, quhilk is to knaw, quha is the Juge? The Haly Scripture of Almychtie God, (Auld Testament and New,) the plane pratick and experience, (quhen ordour hes bene tane for materis in debait concernyng the faith,) evir sen the tyme of the Apostolis unto thir dayis, togidder with al gude ressoun and authoritie, planelie, sufficientlie, and habundantlie perswadis, declaris, and techis, the Kirk of God (callit the Christiane Congregatioun) to be the onelie juge; to quhame all Christiane man sulde have refuge, to be resolute, and pacifiit in conscience, in all materis brocht in debait concernyng faith and religioun; and, specialie, in discernyng the trew understanding of Goddis Worde fra the wrang, the Scripture of God beand the faithfull and godlie wytnes berar to the treuth, and veritie of ane Christiane mannis faith and religioun, conforme to the sayingis of our Salveour in Sanct Johnis Evangel, saying thir wordis:—

Joha. v. "Cearse the Scriptures, because thay beir wytnessing of me." Marke (gude Redare) the Scripture to occupy the place of ane wytnes, and not the place of ane juge: It is the dewite of ane juge to pronounce sentence, and of ane wytnes to beir wytnessing: tharefore, it followis weill, quhasumevir beris wytnes can nocht be juge. Treuth it is, the Kirk, (callit the Christiane Congregatioune,) appoyntit be God to be juge, is bunde to pronounce sentence conforme to the tryale, and instructioun hade be the Scripture, as the trew, evident, and faithfull witnes berar of the wyll and mynd of the Lorde.

Sum factius and curius men techeis the Scripture to be juge; quha, under the pretence of the avancement and libertie of the Evangell, hes evir socht the libertie of thare flesche, furthsettyng off thare errouris, avancement of thare awin glore, curiositie, and opinioun, wrestand and thrawing the Scripture, contrare the godlie

menynge of the samyn, to be the scheild and bucklare to thair lustes and heresiis. For, geve the Scripture wer juge, (as men gevin to opinnion in thir dayis dremis,) than sulde follow mony gret inconvenientis; in speciale, that thare suld nevir be fyne, nor resolution tane of ony errouris. For quhy, thair wes nevir man gevin tyll errour, (how gret that evir it wes,) bot he allegit the Scripture to be for hym, and wald tak na uther jugement, nor interpretatioun of the samyn, bot sic as he thocht ganand for his purpose. Thus sulde the Christiane Congregatioun live in perpetuale debait and incertitude, geve the Scripture wer juge, as eftirwart (God wylling) habundantlie sal be declarit.

To the effect that we may the mair perfectlie understand, how, and in quhat maner, it appertenis to the Kirk, (callit the Christiane Congregation,) to tak ordour in all materis brocht in debait concerning faith and religioun, as the onelie juge appoyntit be God to discerne the rycht understandyng off Goddis Worde fra the wrang; necessarilie we mon knaw, quhat is the Kirk. Quhilk terme and word is tane in the Scripture divers maner off wayis, quhilkis all to rehers wer mair curious nor proffitabyll. And our pretence is not to satifie and delite the delicat earis of curius men, bot to establische the conscience of sick as ar of mair sobir knawlege and understandyng nor we ar, geve thair ☞ Mark be ony.

This terme and word, Kirk, or Congregation, amangis mony uther wayis that it is tane for in Scripture, sumtyme it is tane for the heale and universale Congregatioun unit togidder in ane faith be Baptime, to the quhilk Christ is the hede, the Congregatioun the misticall body and membris of Jesu Christ our Salveour, into the quhilk ar contenit, zoung and auld, pure and ryche, lernit and lawit, vicius and virtuous, (thay nocht beyng excommunicat nor heretikis.) Off this we have divers exemplis, baith in the Evangelis and the Epistolis of Sanct Paull. The Kirk and Congregatioun, efter this maner foresaid, tane generallie, is nocht the principall way aggreabil tyll our purpose, be ressoun the Kirk tane sua generalie, can nevir be gatherit togidder to

Quhat is the Kirk.

Ephe. i. Coloss. i.

Matth. xiii., xxv. 2 Timo. ii. 1 Cor. v.

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tak ordour in materis concernyng faith. For quha wyl thynk, that learnit and lawid, zoung and auld, (quhilk ar all membris of the Congregatioun, albeit thaye be nocht appoyntit to that office,) ar able to confer scripturis, to discerne the trew understanding of Goddis Word fra the wrang. Notheles, of this misticall body of Jesu Christ our Salveour, callit the Kirk and Congregation, universalie and generalie tane, is appoyntit be God, and evir hes bene, ane speciale member, and quhatsumevir ordour was tane be the said particulare member, had the sam denominatioun, strenth, and effect; as geve all the rest of the membris had concurrit, and bene present thare with. Quhilk we sal preve planelie be Scripture, (God wylling,) baith Auld Testament and New. Afore that we cite the Scripturis to confirme and appreve our purpose, zitt
1 Cor. xii. wyll we mair planelie and familiarelie (lernit be the Apostole Sanct Paull) teche be exempyll, how, and in quhat maner, sumtyme it that is done by ane speciall member of the body, hes the samyn denominatioun, strenth, and effect, as geve all the membris wer present concurrand tharewith; for, in the understanding of this consistis the heale purpose, and markis poynt quhilk we schute at.

This terme, Kirk or Congregatioun, properly may be comparit to this word, body: ane body is made and jonit togidder, compre-
Rom xii. hending divers membris. Notheles, al the membris of ane body ar not appoyntit to ane office, for geve sua wer, than wer it nocht ane body, bot ane member: sua, the Kirk or Congregatioun is al membris of a body, notheles, al the membris of the Congregatioun are nocht appoyntit to ane office; for sum is callit be God to ane
1 Cor xii. vocatioun, and sum to ane uther, as the Apostole techeis. Als lyke as it is appoyntit be God to the ee, (quhilk is bot ane speciale member of the body,) to foirsé al the inconvenientis that may cum on to the reste of the membris of the body; and quhatsumevir thing is foresene be the é, hes the samyn denomination, strenth, and effect, as geve all the membris of the body had concurrit and sene with the é; swa it appertenit to the Apostolis and Seniouris onelie, to foirsé all the inconvenientis that mycht have cum in upon the rest

of the membris of the Congregation, concernyng faith and religioun, and swa the Apostolis and Seniouris in thair tyme wer the é, and juge to discerne the trew understandyng of Goddis Worde fra the wrange; quhareupon, specialie the occasioun of all materis of debait, and inconvenientis, concernyng the faith rysis: and sen the tyme of the Apostolis and Seniores, (evir unto thir dayis,) thay quhilk succedit in the Apostolis place, dewlie convenit togidder in generale Counsalis, conforme to the exemple of the Apostolis, suld, and evir hes bene juge, be the quhilk ordour wes tane to have the rycht understanding of Goddis Worde, and all schysme, questioun, and debait quhilkis wer in the Congregatioun, wer evir establischit. Swa, that quhatsumevir ordour wes tane be the Apostolis and Seniores in that tyme, and sen the tyme of the Apostolis and Seniores, thai quhilk succedit in thair place, dewlie convenit in generale Counsalis, (notwithstandyng that thay wer bot ane speciall member of the Congregatioun,) had the samyn denominatioun, strenth, and effect, representand the universale Kirk, as gyf al the rest of the membris had concurrit thairwith.

THE SECUND CHAPITRE.

Now restis to preve, be plane testimony off Scripture, the Apostles and Seniores, and thame quhilkis succedit in thare place, (dewlie convenit in generale Counsales,) to represent the hale Kirk and universale Congregatioun, and to be the only Juge to discerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, to the rest of the membris, the Scripture beyng thairto faithfull wytnes berar and trew evident; quhareby the Apostolis, and all uthers succedyng in thare place, hes tane instructioun of the wyll and mynde of the Lorde, and be this ordour wer all errouris confoundit, quhilk rais of the wrang understanding of the Scripture; and the rycht understanding of the samyn, maid patent to the rest of the Congregatioun. To preve thir foresadis, divers testimonyis of Scripturis beand left, (that we geve nocht occasioun of fascherie to the

Redare,) specialie wyll we call to rememberance to confirme our purpose, it that is writin in the fiftene chapitre of the Actis of the Apostlis as efter followis:

Actis xv. "And certane men quhilk come fra Jowry, techeit the brether, Except ze be circumcidit efter the maner of Moyses, ze can nocht be savit: not a lytle seditioun beyng movit to Paull and Barnabas aganis thame, than they determinit that Paull and Barnabas, and certane utheris of thame, suld pas to Jerusalem unto the Apostolis and Eldaris about this questioun. Quhen they wer cum to Jerusalem, thay wer ressavit with the Congregatioun, and Apostolis, and Eldaris. Than rais certane of the sect of the Phariseis quhilk did beleve, saying, that it wes neidful to circumcide thame, and to command thame to keip the law of Moyses. And the Apostolis and Eldaris come togidder to ressoun upoun this mater. Quhen thare wes mekle disputatioun, Peter rais up and said unto thame, Ze men and brether, ze knaw how lang quhyle
Act. x. syne God chesit amangis ws, that the Gentiles, be my mouth, suld heir the wordis of the Evangell and beleve: (and eftir followis in the samyn text,) And quhen thay held thare peace, James answerit, saying, Ze men and brether, herkin unto me, Symon tald how God, at the begynning, viseit the Gentiles to ressave off thame ane pepyll in his name: to this aggreis the wordis of the Propheit, as is wryttin, "Efter this I wyll returne agane, and big the taber-
Amos ix. nacle of David, quhilk is fallin doun;" (and efter that James had citit and conferrit the Scripturis, it followis in the text,) Quhairfore, I juge, that we troubyll not thame, quha fra amangis the Gentiles ar turnit to God, bot that we wryte, that thay abstayne fra the filthynes of ydolis, fra fornicatioun, fra it that is worreit, and blude."

Benevolent Redare, geve you diligentlie wyl mark, and considder the wordis abone rehersit, thow sall fynd, and persave divers godlie and proper lessonis, aggreable for the establisching of our purpose.

First, Thou sal mark and considder, that, albeit Paulus and
Act. xiii. Barnabas, (as the Scripture techis ws,) wes twa Apostolis appoyntit be God to be prechouris to the Gentiles, and that they had

the Spreit of God to preche the treuthe and veritie, (as Paule hym-
self testifeis in mony places,) zit wald thay nocht be sa bald as 1 Cor. vii.
privelie to decerne upon the questioun movit in the Congregatioun,
unto the tyme thay come to Jerusalem, quhere Peter, the cheif
Apostle, wes, with the rest of the Apostolis and Senioris. Be this
exemple off Scripture, we ar sufficientlie instructit, na privat
noumer, (how godlie and weil lernit that evir thay be,) to be suf-
ficient, or ganand to tak ordour in materis concernyng faith and
religioun. And als we persave how vaine and incertane is the juge-
ment of mony in thir dayis, that folischelie followis, and addictis
thame selfis to the wickit opinioun of sum private factius men to-
wart the interpretatioun of Scriptures, reputand and settand at
nocht the interpretatioun of ancient generale Counsales, to quhame
it appertenis (be the ordinance of Almychtie God) to interpreit
Scripturis.

Secundlie, It is to be markit of this text, that efter that Paulus
and Barnabas wer ressavit be the Congregatioun, Apostolis, and
Eldaris, the Apostolis and Eldaris onelie convenit to dispute and
decerne upoun the questioun movit in the Congregatioun betuix
the Jewis and Gentiles. Quhareby we ar lernit, that it appertenit
to the Apostolis and Eldaris, dewlie convenit togidder, to dispute,
resson, and to pronounce sentence of materis brocht in debait con-
cernyng the trew understanding of the Word of God: As the spe-
ciale memberis of the Congregatioun appoyntit be God to that
office, and thair deliberatioun in materis concernyng faith and re-
ligioun, and interpretation of Scripturis, to have the samyn deno-
minatioun, strenth, and effect, as if the rest of the heale membris
of the Congregatioun had concurrit thairwith.

Thirdlie, It is to be notit that, efter Paulus and Barnabas had
appoyntit and declarit to the Apostolis and Eldaris, the questioun
and debait that rais in the Congregatioun, betuix the Jewis and
Gentiles; the Jewis beyng indurit, perswadyng Circumcisioun to
be necessare with Baptime, the Gentiles, be the contrar, disdan-
yng the yok and servitud of Circumcisioun, thynkand Baptime
onely sufficient; rais up Peter, and efter conferryng of Scripturis,

declarit Baptime sufficient without Circumcisioun. And als James citit the Scripturis to beir wytnessing, and appreve the sayingis of Peter; quhilk beyng done, James, in the name of the rest of the Apostolis, (because he was pastor and bischop of Jerusalem, quhair the Apostolis wer convenit for the time,) pronouncit sentence, and said, I juge:—mark, gude Redare, Peter and James to call to remembrance the testimoniis of Scripture as wytnes berar of the wyl and mynd of the Lord, and the Apostolis to occupy the place of the juge, to the questioun movit in the Congregatioun: For quhy? The Apostole James said not, the Scripture jugis, decernis, or gevis sentence, bot he takis the place of the juge (in the name of the rest of the Apostolis) upon him self, saying, I juge. And to the effect that thow sall the mair cleirlie persave the Apostolis to occupy the place of ane juge, to the interpretation of the Worde of God, and the Scripture to be as wytnes berar of the wyll and mynd of the Lorde, quhareby the Apostolis tuke instructioun: thow sal mark the sentence put in wryte, and send awaye with Paulus and Barnabas, and sum uther of the rest of the Congrega-
Act xv. tioun, saying thir wordis:—"It hes plesit the Haly Gaist and ws, to putt na uther burdyng on zow, bot tyll abstayne fra the filthynes of ydols blude, it that is worreit, and fornicatioun, fra the quhilk ze kepand zow, ze do weill; and weill fair ze."

Mark, gude Redare, the wordis of the sentence, saying, "It hes plesit the Halie Gaist and ws," as the Scripture wald say, And ws as jugis appoyntit be God, to discerne the rycht understanding of Goddis Word fra the wrang. Als it may be notit that thair is na testimony of the Scripture put in the sentence; be the quhilk it may be persavit, the jugement onlie referrit to the Apostolis, and the Scripture na wayis to occupy the place of the juge towart the interpretatioun of Scripturis. Heir have we had ane perfect patroun and exemplar be the Apostolis of Jesu Christ our Salveour, how, and in quhat maner, ordour wes tane in thair dayis, and is to be takin quhensumevir questioun or debait rysis in the Congregatioun concernyng materis of faith and religioun.

THE THRID CHAPITRE.

Now, sen we have had exempyll of the ordour that wes amangis the Apostolis in to the New law, to tak awai al question, schysme, and debait, that rais concernyng materis of faith and religioun, lat ws se quhat provisioun wes had be Almychtie God in to the Auld law, for the quietnes of the Congregatioun; quhairby we may persave the gret gudenes of our Hevinlie Father towart his beluiffit creaturis in erth at all tymes, conforme to the sayingis of the Propheit, saying, "Quhat mycht I have done to my wynezaird (as he wald say to my Kirk and Congregatioun) that I did nocht?" And, first, sall we considder that Almychtie God sterit up the Prophete Moyses to be gydare and rewlare unto his chosin people, and specialie, quhensumevir dout rais amangis thame decisioun to be had be hym. Tharefter, quhen Moyses past unto the montayne to ressave the law, provisioun wes had that Aarone and Hur suld put ordour tyll all questioun and debait that mycht fortune to ryis amangis the people of God; as it is planelie wryttin in Exodi. And efter thare dayis that the Congregatioun sulde not want remeid of all questionis that mycht ryse amangis the chosin people of God, (specialie for the understanding of the law and Word off God,) the preistis of the trybe of Levi wer appoyntit be God, as jugis to stay al questioun and debait; as is wrytin in Deuternome on this maner: "Gif thare ryse ane mater to hard for thé in jugement, and the mater cum to stryfe within thy zettis; than sall thow arys and get thé up unto the place quhilk the Lorde thy God hes chosin, and cum unto the preistis of the trybe of Levi, and unto the juge that sal be in tha dayis, and ask; and thay sall schaw thé the trew jugement; and thow sal do accordyng to that quhilk thay of that place (quhilk thi Lord God hes chosin) schaw thé, and zou sal observe to do according tyll all that thay informe thé, accordyng to the sentence of the lawis quhilk thay teche thé, and accordyng to the jugement quhilk they tel ze, sal thow do; and

Esays. v.

Exo. xxiv.

Deut. xvii.

declyne not fra that quhilk thay schaw thé, nolder to the rycht hand nor the left. And that man quhilk wyll do presumtuuslie, and wyll not herkin unto the preist, (that standis thair before the Lorde thy God to minister,) be decreit of the juge, that man sall de; and thow sall put away evyl fra Israell: and all the people sall heir, and feir, and do na mair presumtuuslie."

Mark, gude Redare, this plane testimony of Scripture, quhareby thow art habundantlie instructit; quhensumevir dout rais amangis the chosin peple of God, for the understanding of the law, recours wes had onelie unto the preistis of the trybe of Levi, and to the juge that wes in tha dayis to have decisioun of thair doutis, and not to the Deut. xvii. Scripture. Attouir, it is to be notit of this pas of Scripture abone rehersit, the seveir and rigorus sentence of Almychtie God that cumis upon thaim quhilkis stoubournelie and proudelie dissobeyis the deliberatioun and jugement of sic as God hes appoyntit to be jugis upon all materis brocht in debait concernyng the law of God; as wes in the Auld law the preistis of the trybe of Levi, in the New law the Apostolis and Eldaris, and sen the tyme of the Apostolis, thay quhilkis succedit in thare place, dewlie convenit in generale Counsalis; quhilkis ar, and evir hes bene, the onelie jugis appoyntit be God, to establische all doutis movit in the Congregatioun towart the understanding of the law and misteriis of the Scripture. Deut. xvii. Sen sic creuell punitioun (as is abone rehersit) wes appoyntit be God to thame that wer dissobedient to the ministeris in the Auld law, in declaratioun of the Word of God, how mekle mair creuell punischement is to cum upoun thaim quhilkis contempnandlie and curiuslie leanis to thair awin jugement, and sum uther privat factius personis dissobeying the deliberatioun of the ministeris in the New law, in declaratioun of materis doutsum concernyng faith and religioun?

Heir have we hade ane perfect exempyll of the Scripture of Almychtie God, declaryng how, and in quhat maner, ordour wes tane in the Auld law, for the establischeing of all doutis quhilkis mycht have ryssin for the understanding of the law of God.

THE FERDE CHAPITRE.

SEN we haif had perfect exempyl and understanding of the ordour quhilk wes afore the cumyng of our Salveour and his Apostoles, for the establischeing of all doutis that mycht have rissin amangis the chosin peple of God for the understanding of the law and Word of God; and als we have had sufficient instruction, quhat ordour wes takin be the Apostoles of Jesu Christ our Salveour, to discerne the rycht understanding of Goddis Worde fra the wrang; quhairupon cheiflie the occasioun of all debatis concernyng the faith rysis:—

Now, it is to be considerit, quhat ordour was had sen the tyme of the Apostolis to thir our dayis, for the quietnes of the Congregatioun, quhensumevir questioun or debait rais (as thair did mony) in materis doutsum concernyng our faith; and be this ordour, it sal be easie to considder and persave how, and in quhat maner, Almychtie God hes evir prouidit ane assurit way for the quietnes of his deirlie beluffit Kirk and Congregatioun, in all aigis, zeris, and tymes: quhilk ordour beyng rycht considderit, sall geve just occasioun to everie Christiane man (quhilk is of godlie and temperat jugement) to magnifie and prayse his Lorde God, and als to be satifiit and pacifiit (conforme to the tytle of our Tractive) in all materis doutsum, concernyng faith and religioun of ane Christiane man.

To cum to the perfect knawlege and understanding of the ordour quhilk wes in the Kirk off God, to tak away questioun and debait, quhilk rais in the faith sen the tyme of the Apostolis unto thir dayis; the knawlege and triale of the samyn mon be had be the maist ancient and autorizate authoris and historiographours, quhilk hes treatit of sic purposis, be ressoun the samyn can not be had of the Scripture of Almychtie God, noldir Auld Testament nor New. It is manifest be all wrytaris, that the Christiane Congregatioun, fra the tyme of the Apostolis, to the tyme of the maist ex-

cellent and godlie Imperour callit Constantine, (quhilk wes the space of thre hundreth yeris and mair,) tholit sic cruell persecutioun, (not allanerlie of wickit and infidele princis, bot als of heretikis, quha falslie professit thame to be gude Christiane men, as mony dois in thir dayis,) that ordour could nocht be had, be the quhilk resolutioun mycht have bene in materis brocht in debait concernyng faith.

Eccl. Hist. lib. x. cap. 1, 2. Trip. Hist. lib. i. cap. 1, 2.

Amangis mony wickit opinionis and errouris quhilkis rang in the tyme of Constantine the godlie Imperour, and afore his tyme, thair wes ane in speciale, quhilk wes sterit up be ane wickit preist callit Arrius, quha wes ane techear in ane cheif toun of Egypt, callit Alexandria; his errour we are nocht wylling nor curious to rehers, because thair is sua mony now in thir dayis swa proclive to errour; bot alwayis his opinioun (be al men of godlie learnyng) wes thocht verray wickit, contrar the Scripture of God treulie understand; notheles, he mantenit the samyn be divers testimoniis of Scripturis, quhilk is, and evir hes bene, familiar to all heretikis to fortifie and colour thair wickit opinionis be allegeance of Scripturis thrawin efter thair maner, as did the Devyll wylling to perswaid our Salveour be Scripture falslie allegit. It plesit God, that be assistance and fortificatioun of this maist nobyle and godlie Imperour, thair sulde be assemblit and gatherit togidder in ane generale Counsale, into ane toun callit Nicea, thre houndreth and auchtene bischoppis, to ressoun and diffine upon the errour sterit up be Arrius; and be this ordour the foresaid noumer of bischoppis convenand, accordyng to the exemple of the Apostolis, the question beand maturelie disputit, invocatioun maid upon God, the Scripturis falslie allegit be Arrius, to fortifie his errour, wer treulie interpretit, and the trew faithfull understandyng of the samyn maid patent to the rest of the Congregatioun, and the errour condempnit. Notheles, this errour wes mantaynit ane lang tyme, efter that it wes condempnit be the laudabyl Counsale Nicene, lyke as thair is mony in thir dayis, quhilkis dois appreve and fortifie divers gret errouris, justly condempnit of lang tyme bypast, be mony laudable and godlie generall Counsalis, to quhame it apper-

Matth. iv.

tenis (sen the tyme of the Apostolis, and that be the provisioun of God) to decerne on all materis doutsum concernyng the trew understandyng of the Scripture: as (God wylling) we have, and sal sufficientlie preve. Thow sal mark, (gude Redare,) that albeit this laudabyll Counsale Nicene wes convenit be the temperale power, and assistence of the maist noble and godlie Imperour Constantine; notheles, he occupyit na place in jugement, to ressoun on the questioun movit in the Congregatioun, bot referrit the jugement allanerlie to the thre hundreth and auchtene byschoppis quhilk wer convenit togidder; as may be cleirlie persavit in the tent buke, the secunde chapitre of Historia Ecclesiastica, and in divers uther ancient historiographouris. This Counsale Nicene wes the first generale Counsale, immediatlie efter the tyme of the Apostolis, quhairby ordour wes tane to confund errouris; notheles, thair wes sum uther provinciall Counsalis of before, as wes the provinciall Counsale quhareintyll Novatus errour wes condempnit, and divers utheris provinciale Counsalis, quhairinto the errour of Paulus Samosatenus wes lykwyse condampnit; thir forsaids privatis and provincial Counsalis in the tyme that the Kirk tholit maist intollerable persecutioun wes haldin.

Hist. Tri. lib li. cap. 2.

Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 38, and lib vii. cap. 25.

To cum to forther knawlege of the ordoure quhilk wes in the Kirk of God, efter the tyme of the Apostolis, for the quietnes of the Congregatioun, and establisching of errouris quhilkis rais aganis the faith, thow sall considder that, efter the Counsale Nicene, immediatlie followit the godlie generall Counsale of Constantinople, quhairunto wes convenit ane hundreth and fyftie bischoppis, Scriptures beyng conferrit, invocatioun maid upoun God, conforme to the exemple of the Apostolis, the wickit errour of Macidonius, (quha wes Bischop off Constantinople,) with utheris divers, wes justlie condempnit.

Eccl. Hist. lib. x. cap. 25, and Trip. Hist. lib. v cap. 41.

THE FIFTE CHAPITRE.

THAIREFTER (thridlie) succedit the godlie generale Counsale Ephisene, quhairinto wes justlie condempnit the blasphemous and

Trip. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 4.

intollerable heresie of Nestorius, incontrar the divine misterie of the incarnatioun of our Salveour, affirmand our Salveour (and that falslie) to have twa naturis dividit in twa personis, and be the ane persoun to be the Sone of God, and be the uther to be the Sone of Man, inferrand that the blyssit Virgine Marie wes not the mother of God and Man, bot the mother of Man onelie. Thus wes hie contrarius in his wickit opinioun to the trew faith and beleve of the Kirk of God, quhilk (conforme to the Word of God trewlie understand) hes evir techeit our Salveour to have twa natures in ane persoun, quhareby the Virgine Marie aucht and suld justlie be callit the Mother off God and Man; notheles, he fortifiit his wickit heresy be thre score of passagis of Scripture allegit be hym, (on his maner,) swa that geve the Scripture had bene juge, he thocht he had sufficient mater to defend his errour; allegeand the Scripture as the onelie juge evir for hym, and walde ressave na uther interpretatioun of the samyn, bot sic as he thocht ganand for his purpose; quhairby we may persave that it oppinis ane plane part to all errouris to mak the Scripture juge, for thair wes nevir man gevin tyll errour, bot he allegit Scripture habundantlie for his purpose. And quha doutis bot Nestorius said planelie the Counsale Ephesene errit, and he had the trew Spreit of God! As we may se in our dayis daylie exemple, every man quhilk is gevin to opinioun, and it wer neuir sua wickit, he wyll schaw (on his maner) Scripturis abundantlie, baith of the Auld Testament and the New, for hym, suerand the Spreit of God to repose in his breist and swome in his lyppis, estemand the Counsalis all to be led with the spreit of errour and ignorance. Thairfore, mervell nocht, (benevolent Redare,) albeit men gevin to wickit opinioun lychtleis, contempnis, and settis at nocht the deliberatioun off the Kirk of God, (quhilk trewly is representit be the generall Counsalis dewlie convenit,) takand the Scripture onelie to be thair juge, for that wes evir ane familiarie falt, and yit is to all heretikis, because the declaratioun of Scripturis beand admittit, conforme to the interpretatioun of the generale Counsalis, (as thay aucht and sulde be of ressoun,) than sall na privat factius mannis opinion, nor vane

glore, (quha wald be thocht singulare in his awin opinioun,) have place.

Ferdlie followit the generale Counsale of Calcedon, worthy evirlastand memory, quhairin wer convenit sax hundreth and threttie byschoppis: efter the forme of the Apostolis invocation maid upon God, Scripturis beand conferrit, the wickit heresie of Eutices wes justlie condempnit.

Benevolent Redare, geve we walde call to rememberance al the generale Counsalis, quhilkis hes bene fra the tyme of the Apostolis tyll our dayis, quhairin the wickit heresies quhilkis rais aganis the trew faith wer justlie condempnit, oure sobir and lytle Tractive sulde exceid the boundis, and grow unto ane gret werk. Oure pretence is, (as it wyll pleis the Lorde God to supporte oure imperfectioun and ignorance,) to bestow oure laubouris, as may be to the glore of God, the quietnes of the Congregatioun, and efter the maist compendious maner, to the eais and contentement of the redare. Thairfore wyll we cease fra ferther citatioun (ordourlie) of the generale Counsalis, bot as the occasioun sall serve. Nocht bot equale credit is to be gevin to the rest of the generale Counsales dewlie convenit as to the Counsalis abone rehersit.

Heir have we hard divers exemplis of the ordour that wes had in the Kirk of God, efter the tyme of the Apostolis, for the quietnes of the Congregatioun, and suppressioun of errouris: Swa that, be this ordour abone rehersit, and be the generall Counsalis dewlie convenit quhilkis succedit thairefter, wer al errouris justlie condempnit quhilkis rais of the wrang understanding of Goddis Word, fra the time of the Apostolis to thir dayis, and the rycht understanding of the samyn maid patent to the rest of the Congregatioun.

It is nocht unknawin to me, how that thair is mony in thir dayis doutsum, (specialie sic as the Apostolis spekis of, quhilkis ar inconstant, waveryng, and careit about with every wynd of doctryne,) geve the generale Counsalis representis the heale Kirk of God: (as I wald say,) geve it that is done be the generale Ephe. iv.

Counsalis dewlie convenit, hes, and sulde (be the ordinance of God) have the denominatioun, strenth, and effect, as it had bene done be al the membris of the Congregatioun; and gyf thay occupy the place of the Apostolis, towart the interpretatioun of Scripturis. Quha wyl diligentlie mark our procedyngis abone rehersit, I beleve he sall fynd ane gret part of thir doutis alreddy declarit; notheles, efter the forme of disputatioun, we sall do diligence to move the questiounis quhilkis we have hard or red in the contrar of our purpose; and appelis the conscience of the ineffectionat redare to considder, geve we do the samyn trewlie or nocht. Thairefter, God wylling, we sall schaw gude wyll, to declare the foresaidis doutis as sal be fundin aggreable to Goddis Worde, and to the contentment of al men, quhilkis ar of godlie and temperat jugement.

Efter this maner wyll we move the first Questioun :—Albeit that it apperteneth to the Apostolis, be the provisioun of God, to tak ordour in all materis off debait concernyng the faith, and specialie to interprete the Scripturis, as thay quhilkis had the Spreit of God, and wer the trew Kirk: it argumentis not, that utheris quha hes convenit sensyne in generale Counsales had the Spreit of God, or wer the trew Kirk; because, that mony of thair deliberationis ar aganis the word of God, and trew Kirk, for thair awin singulare comoditie, proffeit, and vaine glore, quhay, under the pretence of Goddis glore, seikis evir ane way to sett forwart superstition and traditioun off men, as did the Scribes and Phariseis; and als the Apostolis levit ane godlie lyfe, precheande and techeand trewlie the worde of God, wylling to suffer all torment and distres for Christis saik. Be the contrar, thay in thir dayis, quha vendicatis, and takis to thaimselfis (and that injustlie) the place of the Apostolis, and trew Kirk, (quha ar of veritie the Kirk malingnant,) nolder levis ane godlie lyfe, nor zit precheis nor techeis the trew Word of God. Quharefor, sen thay do na thing lyke to the Apostolis, (bot be the plane contrar,) thair deliberationis and interpretationis of Scriptures ar not to be ressavit as the interpretatioun of the Apostolis and trew Kirk of

God, bot as the interpretatioun of the Kirk malignant, Scribes and Phariseis.

To cum to ane resolute and perfect answeir off this Questioun and argument abone rehersit, thair is foure poyntis of the samyn specialie to be markit: First, To considder, geve the generale Counsalis had the Spreit of God, to do that thing quhilk ryndit to the weill of the rest of the Congregatioun, as had the Apostolis:—Secundlie, It is to be markit, gif the generale Counsalis representis the trew universale Kirk of God, havand authoritie, as had the Apostolis, to interprete Scripturis, and to be as juge to discerne the rycht understandyng of the samyn fra the wrang:—Thridlie, Geve thay quhilkis convenit in generale Counsalis, (sen the tyme of the Apostolis,) levit ane godlie lyfe conforme to the Apostolis:—Ferdlie, Geve thair constitutionis wer agreabyll with the Word of God or nocht. Thir foure partis beyng weil declarit, and solvit, the Questioun abone movit, for the maist part, wyl be maid patent.

As to the first part, to considder, Geve the generale Counsalis had the Spreit of God as had the Apostolis or not, zou mon considder, (gude Redare,) that the gyft and promeis of the Haly Gaist was not promisit and gevin to the Apostolis onelie in respect off thaim quhay were callit to be Apostolis, bot specialie in sa fer as thay wer sterit up be God to be ministeris and instructaris of the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun. Als thow mon diligentlie mark, that lyke as it is necessare that the Kirk of God (callit the Christiane Congregatioun, unit togidder in ane faith be Baptime) indure to the end of the warld, swa it is necessare that thay quhilkis occupyis the place of the Apostolis have the gyft of the Haly Gaist, (conforme to the promeis of oure Salveour,) to do in all sortis that ryndis to thair office, utherwayis it wer nocht possible that the Kirk and Congregatioun mycht be ordourit and gydit in faith and religioun, to the honoure and glore of Almychtie God. Aggreable to this purpose, thow sal mark the wordis of our Salveour in St Mathew, spekand tyll his Apostolis on this maner, "Behald, I am with zow at all tymes, to the end of the warld." Mat. xxviii.

Ioh. xiv. And als in Sanct Johane, "I sal pray the Father, and he sall geve zow ane uther Comfortar, that may byde with zow for evir, the Spirite of veritie."

☞ Mark, gude Redare, that our Salveour spekis heir to the Apostolis in the personage and place of all utheris cheif ministeris and rewlaris, quhilkis wer to succeid in thair place be authoritie and office, to the ende of the warld. For quhy? The Apostolis wer nocht to remaine to the ende of the warlde as wes the promeis. Nochtheles, the office gevin to the Apostolis and authoritie wes to indure to the end off the warlde, because the Christiane Congregatioun, quhilk is now presentlie in the warld, is als deirlie bocht be the blude and deith of Jesu Christe, our Salveour, as wes the Congregatioun in the Apostolis dayis. Thairfore, we may be sure, that the promeis of the Halie Gaist, quhilk wes maid to the Apostolis, sal indure with the ministeris and rewlaris of the Kirk of God, (in doyng that thyng quhilk ryndit to thair office,) in al aiges, tymes, and zeris, unto the end of the warld, as propirlie may be persavit be the wordis of our Salveour abone rehersit.

THE SEXT CHAPITRE.

SEN we ar certifeit be Scripturis and ressoun, the promeis of the Haly Gaist, nocht only gevin and promeist to the Apostolis, bot als to the cheif ministeris and rewlaris of the Kirk of God, quhilkis wer to succeid in thair authoritie to the ende of the warlde. Now followis ordourlie to answeir to the secund part of the argument, quhare question is, Geve thay quhilkis is convenit in generale Counsalis representit the universale trew Kirk off God?

Trewlie, gude Redare, notwithstanding that thair is na thing mair sure, than that the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit representis the universale Kirk off God, havand authoritie, as hade the Apostolis, and the gyft of the Haly Gaist, quhilk wes promeist be our Salveour to his Apostolis and all uther cheif ministeris in his kirk;

zit it is verray difficile to expresse and declair the samyn planelie and ordourlie, (as the mater requiris, and is of worthynes,) specialie in our language, and at the leist, to ane man of my sobir understanding; quharefore I praye God, geve every Christiane man wald be satifeit in all materis doutsum concernyng the rycht understanding of the Scripture, conforme to the interpretation of the generale Counsalis, (as thay aucht and sulde be of ressoun,) without disputatioun or argument. Bot sen we see that the warlde is growin to that wickitnes and curiositie, that few or nane wylbe satifeit in materis doutsum concernyng the faith, without curius ressonyng; ze, and in divers materis necessare to be belevit, quhilkis can nocht weill be declarit and ressonit, bot be faith onlie: quhat remedy? bot everilk faithfull minister in the Kirk of God to bestowe the grace quhilk God hes gevin hym, as may be to the plesour off God, and the support of the imperfectioun of the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun. And, notwithstanding that this purpose is fer abufe my habilitie to expres and declare the samyn, I sal do my devore to do the eais I may, to sic as ar of sobir knawlege, as it wyll pleis the gevar of all grace to supporte my ignorance, nocht doutyng bot the gentyll Redare wyll tak my gude wyl in favour: This, be the grace of God, havand the benevolence of the Redare, wyll we proceid on this maner.

To cum to ane resolute answeir of this Questioun, quhether geve thay quhilkis convenit in generale Counsalis representit the universale Kirk, and had authoritie as had the Apostolis; we mon understand, Quhat is the Kirk? quhilk I beleve is sufficentlie declarit in the beginnyng of this buke, swa that heir prolixtlie to rehers wer superfluus; nochtheles, as salbe necessare for the present, we sal do.

The Kirk sumtyme is tane generalie in the Scripture for the universale Congregatioun, quhairin ar contenit all Christiane men; and efter that maner the generale Counsalis ar not the heale Kirk, for quhy? every man quhilk is of the kirk (generalie tane) is not requirit, nor can be convenit to do that thyng quhilk appertenis to the generale Counsalis. Sumtyme the Kirk is tane mair specialie, Matt. xiii. 1 Cor. v. Act. xv.

for the cheif pastores of the universale Congregatioun; and efter this speciall maner, the generale Counsalis are the trew Kirk of
Deut. xvii. God, and representis the universale Congregatioun, havand authoritie to interprete the Scripturis, as may stand to the weil and quietnes of the hale Congregatioun. We preve thir foresaidis on this maner:—

It is sure, that lyke as Almychtie God hes appoyntit his Kirk and Congregatioun necessarelie to be unit togidder in ane faith be Baptime, havand his word and law; swa it is necessare that provisioun be hade to discerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, specialie, quhensumevir questioun or debait rysis for the samyn; utherwayis the havying of the Scripture, without the rycht understanding of the samyn, wer lytle or na thing proffitabyl to the Congregatioun: bot swa it is, that all hereseis wer suppressit, and the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang wes discernit in all aigis, zeiris, and tymes, (sen the tyme of the Apostolis,) be the generale Counsalis; tharefore, it fellowis weill, that the generale Counsalis wer the speciale member of the Congregatioun apoyntit be God, representyng the heale Kirk, to tak ordour in al materis of debait concernyng faith.

Geve thare be sum (as I thynk thair be mony) quhilkis ar stifneckit, berand perpetuale disdane aganis the generale Counsalis, specialie sick as wald have libertie to thraw the Scripture to thair appetyte, desyrus of vaine glore, and to be thocht singulare in thair awin opinioun, I will aske thame of ane questioun, quhilk is verray easie to answeir to, that is, Gyf evir thare wes ony heresyis sen the tyme off Christe, or nocht? I am sure, thair is na man sua schameles, and he wer nevir sua drownit in heresie, bot he wyll grant thair hes bene mony gret heresyis; for quhy, thair is nocht ane article of oure faith bot it hes bene impugnit, and brocht in dout, be heretikis, affirmand thare heresyis, for the maist part, al be the Scripturis falslie allegit and interpretit.

Than wyl I speir, Geve thair wes ane ordour tane to suppresse the heresyis, or nocht? I am sure thair is na man wyll thynk that

God neglectit the Congregatioun, swa that it suld leve in perpetuale debait for the faith, and na ordour to be tane.

Than wyll I inqyre, Quhat wes the ordoure (geve it wes nocht be the generale Counsalis) quhilk wes tane? Trewlie I beleve thair wyl na man schaw ane uther meyn, quhareby heresy wes suppressit, bot be the generale Counsalis, specialie quhilkis rais of the wrang understanding of the Scripture of God, as all heresyis commounlye dois. Than, sen we ar assurit that thair hes bene mony abominabyll heresyis incontrar our faith, and the ordour quhilk wes tane for the samyn wes evir onelie be the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit, it may be justlie inferrit, that the generale Counsalis wer the member of the Congregatioun sterit up be God, representyng the universale Kirk of God, havand the denominatioun, strenth, and effect, of all the memberis of the Congregatioun. I beleve thair is na man of ressonable jugement, bot he wyl think that thir twa argumentis abone rehersit sufficientlye perswadis, ze, and convictis the generale Counsalis, to be the membir of the Congregatioun representand the universale Kirk of God.

Nochtheles, perchance thair is sum swa religious and clene fyngerit, that thair wyl na thyng perswade thaim without testimony of Scripture, we wyl schaw gude wyll to satifie thair curiositie sumpart, and on this maner:—It is wryttin be the Propheit Agge, Agge ii. "Gret salbe the glore of this latter hous, mair nor the first." I wyll aske at thé, quhat is signifeit be this latter hous, bot Christis Congregatioun and Kirk unit togider in ane faith be baptime? Quhat is signifeit be this first hous, bot the chosin people of God, quhilkis wer before the law of the Evangell? Have we nocht expreslie in Deuternome, that provisioun wes had in the auld law, Deut. xvii. quhen sumevir questioun or debait rais amangis the chosin people of God for the understanding of the lawe, recours wes hade onilie to the Preistis of the tribe of Levi, and to the juge, to be satifeit in all thair doutis; and that the people suld na wayis mak questioun under the pane of deith, bot to ressave the jugement of the ministeris quhilkis wer for the tyme.

Art thow nocht, than, be the wordis of the Propheit abone re-

hersit, compellit to say that the ministeris of the new law (quha occupyis the place of the Preistis of the trybe of Levi, ze, and heychar place) hes the samyn place, (ze, and gretar place,) to stay all doutis that rysis amangis the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun for the understanding of the Scripture and law of God; and utherwayis, how sal the wordis off the Propheit be of veritie, saying, "That the glore of this latter hous sulde be mair nor the first," gyf thair be nocht als sufficient ordour providit be God to staye all doutis quhilkis rysis amangis thaim of this latter hous, and geve the ministeris of the samyn hes nocht als gret place to tak ordour in all materis of debait, concernyng the faith of thaim quhilkis ar of the latter hous, as had the ministeris of the first hous. Than wyll we (conforme to Goddis Worde, and all gude ressoun) conclude, the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit, (quhairin ar the ministeris of the new law,) to represent the universale Kirk of God, havand ful power and authoritie of God to tak ordour in all materis quhilk ar in debait, (specialie to discerne the trew understanding of Goddis Worde fra the wrang,) as had the ministeris of the auld law, and rather greter.

THE SEVINT CHAPITRE.

FOR ferther consideratioun, that thay quha convenit in generale Counsalis had power and authoritie to do that thyng quhilk ryndit to thair office, as had the Apostolis, thow sall understand, that all authoritie is of God, (conforme to the saying of the Apostole,) and
Rom. xv. al authoritie quhilk is of God cumis be ane ordour; than mon thow considder, that all men quhilkis evir come to have authoritie in the Kirk of God ordourlie, (as to be ane of the membris of the Congregatioun quhilk God hes appoyntit to tak ordour in al materis of debait concernyng the trew understanding of Goddis Word,) come ane of thre maner of wayis. The first wes, be God immediatlie, (as I wald say, be God allanerlie,) lyke as the Propheit Moyses in the auld law, the twelf Apostolis, and St Paul

in the new law. The secund, be God and man, as wes Josue, quha, at the command of God, was sterit up be Moyses to be gydare to the people. The thrid way wes, of God mediatlie, (as I wald say, be man allanerlie havyng authoritie of God,) as wer and ar all the ministeris of the new law, (callit the law of the Evangell,) quhilk hes bene sen the tyme of the Apostolis to thir dayis. Nochtheles, that all thir thre wayis ar of God, immediatlie or mediatlie; zit thair wes ane difference in the power quhilk wes gevin to the Propheit Moyses, and the twelf Apostolis, quha wes send immediatlie be God, and to thame quhilkis wes send be God mediatlie, in that, that the first hade power to kyith miracles, quhilk wes nocht requirit nor necessare to the utheris; because the Apostolis, quha wes send be God onlie, wer the first quhilkis schew and techit the fundament of our faith, (as did the Propheit Moyses the law to the chosen people of God,) for confirmatioun of the samyn, it wes necessare that thay, quha wes the first settaris furth of our faith, suld have power to confirme the samyn be miracles, uther- wayis it wes nocht abyll to the Apostolis and Prophetis to have perswadit the doctryne quhilk nevir wes hard of before. As towart utheris quha hes succedit in the place of the Apostolis, mediatlie be God, (as I walde say be man onlye,) it sufficeth to thame to do al sic thyngis as wer necessare to thair ministratioun without miracle, sic as to minister the Sacramentis, discerne the trew understanding of Goddis Word fra the wrange, and utheris divers ministratiounis as plesit God to geve thame grace to haif instructioun of his Word and Kirk, discendit fra aige to aige, and tyme to tyme.

Exodi. iii. Matt. x. Gala. i. Numb. xxvii.

Exodi. iv.

Of the foresaidis, it may justlie be collectit and inferrit, sen all authoritie is of God, and the ministeris in the new law (quha convenit in generale Counsalis) hes authoritie of God, that thair authoritie is als gret and sufficient to do all sic thing as ryndit to thair office towart the weil of the Congregatioun committit to thair cure, as the authoritie of the Propheit or the Apostolis immediatlie gevin to thame be God, for the weill of the Congregatioun (according to the tyme) committit to thair cure and office.

Thair is sum quhilkis cumis to authoritie, takand it at thair awin hande, nolder of God nor man, quha is nocht worthy to be reknit in the noumer of the rest, because thay cum but ordour. Thairfor thay sulde be rather callit fals Prophetis, or prechearis, nor men in authoritie; as wes Machomet, quha in the tyme that the people wes confundit with the wickit heresie of Arrius, (of quhame we maid mentioun in the descriptioun of the Counsale Nicene,) and brocht in sic dout of the faith, that thay wyste not quhat faith to cheis, na punischement ane lang tyme followand thairupon; than thocht he tyme to saw his wickit seid and doctrine, specialie sic as wes noveltie, and gave libertie aggreable to thair wyttis and desyre of the people, authorissing sum godlie preceptis of the law of God, sic as wer aggreabyll to thair capacitie, that his doctryne mycht seime the better; and be thir menis, abusit the people in profound materis concernyng thair faith abone thair wyttis. As we may se now in our dayis in all partis, infynit dissaitfull prechearis, seand the miserable peple (for laik of gude doctryne and punischement) brocht in sic debait and dout of the faith, under the coloure of godlines, disagyse thame selfis (as sais the Apostole) to
2 Cor. xi. be Angellis of lycht, promittyng al libertie to the peple blyndit with ignorance, drownit in lustis, desyrus of noveltie. And to the effect that it salbe thocht that thai cum be ane ordour, thay wil say and sweir thai ar send be God, and not be men, as said
Gala. i. St Paul.

Thir pestilent precharis ar to be cryit out on be al men of godlie lerning and jugement, because the authorissing of sic is aganis the law of God and man, and al gude ressoun. Is it nocht
1 Cor. xiv. expreslie commandit be St Paule, that all thing sulde be done be ane
Heb. v. ordour; and als expreslie forbiddin, that ony man sulde usurpe authoritie at his awin hand, sayand, "How sall thaye preche, bot geve
Rom. x. thay be send, as he wald say, be God or man." To be assurit that thay come not off God, thair is na man that estemis hymself to be send be God allanerlie, bot he mon geve testification of the samyn, and confirme his doctryne be miracle, for thair is na uther sure way that men sal discerne fals Prophetis and precheouris (quha al-

legis thame self to be send of God) fra godlie Prophetis and precheouris.

Reid the Scripture al throw, I dar baldlie say, thow sall nevir fynd onye man send be God allanerlie, and nocht be man, bot he confirmit his doctryne be miracles, or ellis the Scripture makis plane mentioun, that he wes send be God. To geve all gude Christiane men ferther and juste occasioun to crye out on all sick precheouris, quha privatlie but authoritie wyll mell thame with materis doutsum concernyng the faith, thow sal understand, it may be that ane man have the gift of the Haly Gaist assuritlie, and zit nocht understand all the secretis and misteriis of the heale Scripture. To preve the samyn, thow sall have plane testimony of Scripturis and na sophistrie, nor vaine inventioun of man. It is wryttin that the Apostolis ressavit the gift of the Haly Gaist the fyftiday, (callit in our language Wytsounday.) Amangis the rest, Peter resavit the gyft of the Haly Gaist. Nochtheles, we reid that Peter beyng in Joppe, quhair he wes at ludgeyng, he past up to ane secreit place to pray; in the menetyme he grew hungrie, thair apperit to hym to cum out of the hevin divers kyndis of meatis, amangis utheris thair cum sum quhilkis wer forbiddin of the law, thair come ane voce sayng, "Peter, ryse, slay, and eait:" he wes astonissit of the revelatioun, and grudgeit in his conscience to eait the meatis forbiddin of the law. Quhairby thow may cleirlie persave, that albeit lange tyme of before he had ressavit the gyft of the Halie Gaist, zit this secreit, (quhether geve it wes leifsum to eait meatis forbiddin be the lawe or nocht,) unto that tyme, wes hyd and obscure fra hym. Likewyse, schortlie thairefter, he baptizate Cornelius and all his houshaulde, withoute circumcisioun, quhilk wes misknawin to hym of before; be the quhilk efterwart, he affermit in the Counsale, (quhare the laif of the Apostolis wer convenit in Hierusalem,) that Baptime wes sufficient without Circumcisioun. Be thir plane testimonies of Scripture, we ar instructit how vaine is the opinioun of mony in thir dayis, quhilkis assuritlie leanis to the opinioun of men, cumand but authoritie, in declaratioun of the misteriis of Goddis Word, havand na maner of lernyng nor solide

Act. ii.

Act. x.

Act. x.

Act. xv.

☞ Mark the vanite of wynde fallin prechearis.

jugement, ymaginand and dremyng tham selfis to be send be God, havand the gift of the Haly Gaist; lyke as it wer necessare (quhilk is nocht) that God sulde wirke be miracle, now gevand thame (thai cumand but ony maner of authoritie) the gyft of the Haly Gaist to interprete the secretis of our faith, (it beyng all reddy perswadit be the Kirk of God fra tyme to tyme,) as he did to his Apostolis in the begynning of the Kirk, quhilk wes necessare, as I schew thé off before, because thai wer send having authoritie of God, to be the first furthsettaris of our faith. And als it plesit God that the faith suld be set furth in the begynning be ideotis havand the gyft of the Haly Gaist, quhairby it mycht be kend that our faith come not be ingyne of man, bot be God allanerlie, quhilk is nocht necessare now. Thairfore, wyll you considder the Scripture all throw, zou sall persave that it is requirit, that thay quha succedis in the place of the Apostolis be weill learnit, that thay may be habyll to teche the faith to utheris trewlie, as the Kirk of God hes evir techeit thaim, conforme to his Word, and not to think that God sal geve instructioun to ony privat man older in authoritie, or out of authoritie, (as he did to his Apostolis,) be miracle.

Matt. x.

Act. iv.

1 Tim. iii. Titus i.

Lord God, may we not now weill persave, quhat blindnes, quhat ignorance, quhat furie and wodnes is croppin in the hartis of Christin men in thir dayis, quhilkis leanis to the jugement of sic vagabundis in materis doutsum concernyng our faith. Refusand the jugement of the Kirk, have we not had the plane testimonye of Scripture abone rehersit, how Peter, quha wes the cheif Apostole of Jesu Christ, to quham, in speciale, thrise efter uther he commendit his flok and congregatioun sua deirly bocht; and zit, efter that he had resavit the gyft of the Haly Gaist, assuritly be ane visibyll signe, he knew not all the mistereis and secretis of Godis Word; and now everi slave wyl gif determinatioun on the gretast secreit in al the Scripturis, gevand na authoritie to the Kirk: lyke as the promeis of the Halye Gaist had bene maid equalye to hym as to the Haly Kirk.

Joh. xxi.

Act. ii.

Is it not ane gretar secreit to ony wynde fallin prechear, ze, or

to ony privat man on lyve, and he wer nevir sua weill learnit, and of gude lyfe, to decerne on the ineffable misterie of the blyssit sacrament of the Altare, nor it wes to Peter to decerne upon meatis forbiddin be the law, and to Paul and Barnabas to discerne (quha had baith assuritlye the gyft of the Haly Gaist) gyf Baptyme wes sufficient without Circumcisioun; quhilk thay on na wayis wald do privatlie, quhill thay come to Hierusalem, quhare the laif of the Apostolis wer, thay beand all convenit togidder, the mistirie wes declarit. Act. 10. Actis xiii. 1 Cor. vii. Act. xv.

For Christis saik, al ze quhilkis ar blyndit with the folysche perswation of sic prophane pestilent prechearis, (that gois about lyke maisterles doggis,) tak heed how miserabilie ze ar dissavit be thame, sayand, efter thair barbour maner, (nochtwithstanding that thai cum but ony maner of ordour,) Quhy may not God geve thaim grace to teche and preche the treuth, as he did to Peter and the rest of the Apostolis! quhilk is not expedient nor necessare, bot rather contrar Goddis worde, and all ressoun, as I schew thé of before.

THE AUCHT CHAPITRE.

THAIR is ane uther commoun saying, quhilk every man in thir dayis hes in hede, specialie sick as knawis leist, quhilk presently to report, apperis to me not impropir, nor improffitable for our purpose. The saying is this, Quhy sulde nocht every man reid the Scripture to seik out his awin salvatioun? Hes nocht Christ bocht us als deir as older Bischop, Abbot, Prior, or Pape? Mon nocht everie man beir his awin burding? thair wyl nolder monk, freir, nor preist, answeir for my saule bot my self. Gala. vi.

Because (gude Redare) I have hard this purpose of divers men, perchance of gude zele, with lytle knawlege, I wyl answeir to the samyn, in the maist sobir, gentyll, and familiare maner I can, rather be instructioun (as God wyll geve me grace) nor be curious ressoning, and on this maner. Trewlie this saying abone rehersit is verray trew, and meinis weill, geve it wer weil understand. For

it is als necessare, that ane pure Christiane man knaw all thyngis necessare for his salvatioun, (without the quhilkis he can nocht be savit,) as thay quhilkis ar in the gretast dignitieis in the warld, conforme to the wordis of the Apostole, saying, "He that misknawis salbe misknawin;" and als, "Thair is na exception of personis with God." Bot zit the nerrest waye wald be knawin, according to the ordinance and provisioun of Almychtie God, to cum to the samyn.

1 Cor. xiv. Rom. ii.

Me think, efter my jugement, thair is nane ner, that geve every man knew quhat wer his awin burding; quhilk presentlie to declare, swa largelie as the mater requiris, wer nocht ganand, nochtheles, I sall schaw gude wyl, specialie in favour of sic as ar of gude zele without knawlege. To that effect, thou mon understand that thair is ane burding commoun to all the Congregatioun, quhilkis ar the membris of Jesu Christe, hie degre or lawe; that is, "To lufe thy God abone all thing, thy nychtbur as thy self; in thir twa preceptis is contenit all the law." Thairfore, first, thow mon knaw thame, and understand thame, thairefter thow mon keip thame, (as God gevis thé grace,) and answeir for the samyn on the latter day thy self; this burding is commoun for every man.

Matt. xxii. Matt. xix.

To cum to ane sufficient understanding, how thow salbe habyll to understand the law, thow mon considder, that all the memberis off the Congregatioun ar nocht burthenit alyke, for sum is appoyntit be God (and that be ane ordour, as I have alreddy declarit) to be prechearis and techearis of Goddis wourde to the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun, and sum to be heiraris, and zit all ar membris of the Congregatioun; of this I gave thé exempyll of beffore, and zit wyll reporte. The ee is ane member of the body apoyntit be God to foresé all the inconvenientis that may cum to the rest. The eir is ane uther, it argumentis not, bot the eir is ane member of the body, albeit it do not the office of the ee. Swa it argumentis nocht, albeit sum be heiraris, sum be techearis, bot all ar membris of ane body, havand divers offices, for geve al the membris of the body did ane office, than wer it not ane body, bot ane monsterous member.

1 Cor. xii.

Conforme to thir wordis, the Apostole spekis on this maner, saying, "Sum ar appoyntit be God to be Apostolis, sum to be Prophetis, sum to be Doctores." Ephe. iv.

Mark the wordis of the Apostole, he sayis, Sum ar ordanit to be Apostolis, he sayis nocht all, for gyf sua wer that every man occupyit the place of the ee in the Congregatioun, (as I wald say,) gyf everie man suld be ane prechear and techear, furthschawand the way of salvatioun at his awin hand, it wer ane monsterous ordour in the Kirk of God. Perchance thow wyll say, quhat and he be blynd quhilk suld furthschaw the way to utheris, thow thynkis zow wald rather seik the way thy self, nor be led with hym that is blynd, in aventure ze fall baith in the fowsie. Wald God thou had les cause to murmur nor thou hes; nochtheles, thare is ane commoun familiar easie way, quhilk the Lorde God hes providit for thé, and all men, of hie degre or law, quhilk geve thow wyll seik as the Kirk of God hes evir techeit thé, thair is na thyng necessare for thy salvatioun, bot thou sal fynd in lytle boundis; quhilk is the Articles of our treuth, callit in our language the Creid, quhairin is contenit all thyng necessare for ane Christin mannis beleif. The secund is the Ten Commandimentis, quhairin is contenit the way to pleis thy Lord God conforme to the faith, and do thy devore lyke ane Christin man to thy nychtbour. Thairefter, the Prayer appoyntit be the Lord God, and to be said daylie to hym, quhairin ar contenit al thingis necessare to be desyrit of the Lord God, ganand for ane Christin man, baith for saule and body. Traist weill, this is ane singulare, perfect, and plane way, commoun tyl al Christin men, and hes bene providit fra the begynning be our hevenlie Father. It is thocht be men of godly lerning, that the twelf articles of our beleif wer collectit be the twelf Apostolis, and albeit it be not in the samyn ordour planelie contenit in Scripture, zit it is in effect: lyke as thair ar divers thingis mon be belevit, quhilkis ar agreable with Goddis Word, and ar not expreslie contenit in Scripture, as efterwart salbe declarit. Towart the Commandimentis, thai ar expreslie contenit in Scripture, and als the prayer of the Lord callit the *Pater Noster*. Perchance thow wyll Matt. xv. Matt. x. Exod. xx. Matt. vi.

speir at me, geve it be necessare to beleve and use the Sacramentis, and knaw the proffeit thou hes be thaim? We are assurit be the Ioha. iii. & vi. Evangell, that to beleve and use the Sacramentis is necessare; bot zit thou sall understand, that nolder the knawlege nor the use of al the Sacramentis ar alyke necessare. To the effect that thow may the mair easilie understand the proffeit that al Christin man hes be the rycht use off the Sacramentis, thow sall mark diligentlie this lessoun followande.

Albeit, as sayis the Apostole, our Salveour Jesu Christe, quha Ephe. v. Rom. v. 1 Cor. xv. is baith God and Man, offerit up his precious body, as the hevinlie sacrifice, be the quhilkis the wraith and yre of his Father wes pacifyit, quhilk all man incurrit throw the offence off our forfather Adam, zit thow mon understand that Christis deth tuke nocht away all syn, sua as man wes nocht habyll to commit syn, for than hade the Commandimentis and Law of the Lord bene gevin in vaine; than hade hell bene ordanit be God in vaine, for punischement of sic as deis but repentance, disparit of Goddis mercy; than mon thou knaw that Christe wes maid medicine and remeid for all syn, quha wes bath medicinar and medicyne hym self, and les nor this medicyne be applyit dewlie, it is not proffitable for the 1 Joh. ii. part of hym that misteris the medicyne, (as al men dois,) nochtheles, that medicyne in the self is necessare, proffitable, sufficient, and mekle mair nor sufficient, for to be remeid aganis al the synnis in the warlde.

Perchance thir wordis abone rehersit wyl appeir strainge, and obscure sum part, to men unlearnit, thairfor, we wyll schaw gude wyll to mak thame mair plane, and familiar, in this maner. Thair is na dout, bot Jesu Christ our Salveour wes maid sacrifice, and 2 Cor. v. deit for all men, as sais the Apostole; not allanerlie for faithful men, Tim. ii. bot als for infideles, sua that he, quha wes withoute syn, wes maid remeid for all syn: thus the falt wes nocht in hym bot all men wer savit, and zit his deith is nocht proffitabyll to the infideles, and that for twa causis; the first, that thay geve na traiste to the medicinar; the secund, that thay applie nocht the medicyne according to the wyll of the medicinare.

And als thair is mony Christin men that applyis the medicyne, and abusis the samyn, swa that it is na mair proffitabyll to thame nor to the infideles. Now mon thow understand, that it is not sufficient to beleve in the medicinare, bot thow mon als applye the medicyne conforme to the wyl and mynd of the medicinare; and als do that lyis in thé, that the medicyne may be proffitabyl conforme to his wyll: as I wald saye, it is not sufficient to beleve that Christ hes deit for ws, and be his deth al syn is tane away, bot his deith mon be applyit tyll all men conforme to his ordinance and wyll, and every man thairefter mon adres himself (as he hes grace) in sic ane maner as the fruct and proffeit of Christis deith salbe renewit and incres to his lastand weill.

Zit mon thow understand the waye and menis quhareby Christ hes appoyntit his deith to be applyit, and renewit in al Christin man, quhilk is speciallie be his blyssit Sacramentis; as be exemple, Ioha. iii. We ar assurit be the Evangell, that thair sall na man be savit without Baptime, nochtheles, that Christ hes deit for al men or thay wer baptizate, because Baptime is ane of the principale Sacramentis, and is the dur, and interes to the reste, quhairbye Christis deith is aplyit. This wyll we conclude, (conforme to Goddis Worde and all verytie,) that les nor Christis deith be applyit, according to his wyll, be his blyssit Sacramentis, and, thairefter, leve conforme to Goddis commandiment, (as al men hes grace,) his deith is improffittable to Christin men, as to infideles.

Now wyll I cum to the purpose. We may persave of the lessoun abone rehersit, that the use of the Sacramentis is veray necessare; sen thai ar necessare, it is als necessare that we understand the gret fruct and proffeit that we have be thame, (as thay maye be understande,) for trewly thay ar the gretest secretis and misteriis in all the Scripture. Than, sen thay ar the gretest secretis in all the Scripture, and als ar necessare to be knawin, Quhat is the nerrest way that Christ (quha institute the Sacramentis, and of quhais deith onelye thay have all effect) hes appoyntit the Congregatioun (quhilk is his membris) to cum to the rycht knawlege and understanding of thame? Wyl thow say, that because thay ar

necessare for all mennis salvation, al men sall reid and confer the Scripturis, and be that menis, cearse out the knawlege of thir profund misteriis, and that to be every mannis burding. Now trewlie, that wer ane intollerable burding for ony ane man in al the warld, or evir wes in it, uther nor Christ, quha is baith God and Man; besides that, it sulde mak ane monsterous hermony, and evyl sounde amangis the membris of Jesu Christe, for than sulde thare in divers partis of the warld stert up men pregnant of ingyne, and every man say, that he had the rycht understanding of the Sacramentis, and be the rycht, all partiis allegeand Scripturis, (as the only juge,) confirmand the samyn be doctores and antiquiteis. Dois nocht the experience teche us this presentlie? Is not Luther, and his disciple Ecolampadius, direct contrar in opinioun towart the interpretatioun of the blyssit Sacrament of the alter? as efterwart salbe declarit. Attour this wer alluterlie by the mynd of our Salveoure. For ane of the causis quhairfore that the Sacramentis wer ordanit is, that nocht allanerlie we sall have the fruct off his passioun renewit in us be thame, bot als, that thai salbe effectuus signis and takynnis to knawe thame quhilkis ar of Christis Kirk; this sulde every man of gret ingyne get certane to his opinioun, using and interpretand the Sacramentis as he thocht gude, saying, and assurand hym and his cumpanye to be Christis Kirk; and divers utheris walde do siclyke, reknande thame selfis of na les knawlege nor spirite. Sua miserablie suld Christis Kirk be de-
Mat. xxiv. vidit, the simple ignorant peple alluterlie be confoundit, as the experience daylie techeis ws.

Than mon we (on force) be assurit that the gude Lord hes providit ane better way for his Kirk, (sua deirly bocht,) nor to be every private mannis burding to reid the Scripturis, and be that mene to cum to the knawlege of all the secretis of Goddis worde, necessare for ane Christin mannis salvatioun.

I dar baldlie say, conforme to the hale Scripture, baith Ald Testament and New, and als, accordyng to the experience of the tyme, evir sen the tyme of the Apostolis to thir dayis, togidder with all gude ressoun and authoritie, thair is na thing mair sure, nor that the

nerrest and onelie waye to establische the conscience of Christin men, (in all materis doutsum concernyng our faith, specialie to cum to the knawlege of all the secretis of Goddis worde necessare for ane Christiane mannis salvatioun,) is to have refuge to the Kirk of God, quhilk trewly is representit be the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit; swa that the way is maid patent alreddye be the Kirk of God, accordyng to his godlie ordinance and provision, how all men salbe habyll to beir thair awin burding be the grace of God, to the plesour of our hevinlie Father, Creator, and Redemptor, (that wyll not contempnandlie refuse the samyn,) as efterwart (God wylling) abundantlie salbe declarit, togidder with sufficient answeir to all doutis movit in the contrar.

THE NYNT CHAPITRE.

Now wyll we rehers the commoun sayingis, thairefter schortlie declare: for trewlie, albeit the sayingis be barbour and commoun, the rycht understanding of the samyn servis mekle for men unlearnit, lyke as the wrang ledis mony in thir dayis in gret errouris. Quhy sulde nocht everie man reid the Scripturis, to cearse oute his awin salvatioun? Mon nocht every man beir his awin burdyng? For understandynge off this purpose, we wyll schortlie collect of oure sayingis abone rehersit. All Christin men havand ane generale understandynge of the Articles of our faith, (conforme to the understanding that the Kirk hes techeit ws,) the Ten Commandimentis, the Prayer off the Lord callit the *Pater noster*; it suffices to thame, to quhame it dois not appertene of thair office, nor vocatioun, to occupy the place of the precharis, or techearis, in the Congregatioun. As to the Sacramentis, and all uther secretis of the Scripture, stand to the jugement of thy pasture without curious ressonyng, or cersyng of the secretis of Godis word, quha beris thy burding in all materis doutsum abone thy knawlege, conforme to the saying of the Apostle, "Obey unto your superiouris, and be subject unto thaim, Heb. xiii.
for thai wache for zow, as thai quhilkis sall geve ane coumpt for

zour saulis." And in cais thay be necligent, ressave doctryne of the Kirk as the tyme techeis ws. Be this way, (quhilk is conforme to Godis word, and al veritie,) it salbe asie to all men, quhat place or estait in the Congregatioun that evir he occupy, to beir his awin burding.

Releiff of all materis doutsum is to be hade be the Kirk to all privat pasturis, and thay agane to be the releif of the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun. Perchance thow wyl speir at me, gyf it be expedient for men (to quhame it appertenis to be heraris in the Congregatioun) to reid the Scripture. Trewlie the opinioun of learnit men in this questioun is verray different, notheles, because the Kirk as zit hes nocht diffynit thairupon, men may speik frelie, sua it be to ane mesure and ressoun. As to my opinioun, trewlie I think it expedient to al sic as wyl reid the Scripture temperatlie, as I wald say, in sic ane man as may mak thaim the mair habyll to beir thair awin burding, quhilk is to lyve conforme to the law and wyll of the Lorde. As be exempyll, geve thow be inclynit to the unressonable desyre of the flesche, thou sal reid the Scripture; and al the places quhairinto God hes declarit his wraith aganis voluptuus men, thow sall mark, and mak thy wyfe, thy barnis, thy houshald, to knawe the samyn, that they may
2 Re. ii. flee the yre of the Lord: As is the historie of Kyng David, quhare he committit adultrie with Barsabe, Uryis wyfe. And als thow
1 Cor. vi sall mark the seveir sentence of the Apostole, saying, "Adulteraris and fornicatouris sal not be possessouris of the kyngdome of hevin." Geve thow be inclynit to creueltie, mark the historie of
Iud. ix. Abimelech, quha for his gret creualtie maid ane mischevous end.
Iaco. ii. Als thow sal mark the terrible word of the Apostole, saying, Jugement salbe to hym but mercy, quhilk hes nocht bene mercyfull. Geve thou be temptit with dispare, call to remembrance the gudnes of Almychtie God towart the Marie Magdalene, quha wes
Luc. vii. Mat. xxvi. ane gret synnare; Peter, quha thryse denyit his Lord; and als
2 Re. ii. David, quha ekit creultie tyll adultrie. Nochtheles, thaye all gat the favoure of God, be mercye and repentance.

Walde God thair wer als mony contrefatit thair repentance as

dois thair vice, quha all three wepit rycht sair for thair offences. Schortlie, thare is na kynde of vice, bot thow wyll fynde exempyl in Scripturis gevand the occasioun to beir thy burding, and lufe and feir thy Lorde God. Reding the Scripture efter this maner, trewlie it is commendabyll and godlie; bot geve thow redis the Scripture (as mony dois in thir dayis) to se quhat places thow can thraw aganis the godlie doctryne of the Kirk, under the pretence of Goddis Worde, seikand ane libertie to thy awin flesche, or ellis to be thocht singulare in thy awin opinioun, steirand up contineuall stryfe and debait in the Congregatioun, aganis the ressavit faith and doctryne quhilk the Kirk of God hes evir techeit ws fra aige to aige, fra tyme to tyme, fra zeir to zeir, conforme to Goddis Word. Treulie, I dar baldlie say, better thow had nevir sene the Scripture.

For conclusioun, abufe all thing, lat every privat man, quhat vocatioun that evir God hes callit hym to, flee curiositie in seikyng of the secretis and misteriis off the Scripture, in speciale, sic as the Sacramentis, Predestinatioun, Fre Wyll, and Justificatioun. I call curiositie to ony privat man on lyfe, to seik ane uther understanding of thir secretis, nor the generale Counsalis hes all reddy techeit ws, quha in declaratioun of materis doutsum, necessare, or expedient to be knawin for all Christin mannis salvatioun, assuritlie hes nevir errit. Thus, refusand our awin jugement, and all uther privat mannis, (how godlie, or weill learnit that evir thay be,) in al materis doutsum pertening our faith, submittyng our jugement to the Kirk; it salbe asie for every man, learnit and lawit, to beir his awin burding be the grace of God, in sic ane maner, as thow sal cleirlie persave the wordis of our Salveour facile to be understand, saying, "My zok is sweit, and my burding is lycht." Be the contrar wyll thow thynk, that it is thy burdinge to cearse oute the secretis of Goddis Word be thy labouris, or the supporte of ony noumer of privat men, be conferrence of Scripturis, specialie sic as God hes nocht callit to that vocatioun. I beleve it salbe hard to persave the zok of the Lorde to be plesand, asie, and lycht, (as it is in deid,) and als difficile, or rather impossible, tyl every man to beir

☞ Mark quhate is curiositie.

Mat. xi

his awin burding, be that meinis and way. Besydis this, all Christin men suld be confoundit be diversitie of opinioun, as I schew thé of before. Tharefor, I dar baldlie say, luke al the ordour quhilk evir wes tane amangis Christin men sen the tyme of the Apostlis to thir dayis, to be satifiit assuritlie in all materis doutsum, concernyng the faith, specialie to knaw the secretis of the Sacramentis, wes be the generale Counsalis. Trew it is, to confer Scripturis with Scripturis, and als to mark the jugement of the ancient doctouris of the Kirk, (as thay quha convenit in generale Counsalis evir ordourlie and trewlie did,) it helpis mekle for the understanding of Goddis Worde, bot that is nocht sufficient.

For quhy? I beleve thair is not ane doctor quhilk evir wes in the Kirk, (as thair hes bene mony, baith godlie and weil learnit,) quhilk had greter knawlege of the Scripture nor had the Apostlis; and zit thay differit the sentence and jugement, to the tyme thay convenit in ane generale Counsale, as Scripture planelie techeis us. This ar we assurit, that it is nocht every privat mannis burdyng to cearse the secretis of the Scripture, and als constraynit fermelie to beleve the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit, to represent the universale Kirk off God, quhairby all the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun salbe satifeit and pacifeit in conscience in all secretis of the Scripture necessare to be knawin for ane Christiane mannis salvatioun, and al uther doutis concernyng faith and religioun, utherwayis, to oppin ane plane port, tyl al errouris quhilkis evir hes bene sen the incarnatioun of Jesu Christ, and every man to tak quhat opinioun he plesis, levand in perpetual debait and contraversie for the faith.

THE TENT CHAPITRE.

To geve the Redare ferther perswasion off this conclusioun abone rehersit, be the quhilk is maid manifest the Secund part of the argument, quhilk wes, Gyf the generale Counsalis representis the universale Kirk of God or not? Now wyll we answeir to the Thrid

part of the argument, quhare questioun is, Gyf thair lyfe wes godlie quhilkis convenit in general Counsalis, as wer the lyves of the Apostlis, or not? Trewly, wil we considder all the generale Counsalis quhilkis hes bene fra the first to the last, we sal evir fynd that thay wer the maist godlie and best learnit men in the warld for the tyme. It is not unknawin to me, how that sum objectis to this, murmuryng unjustlie, that thair deliberationis and interpretationis of Scripturis declaris the contrar. To the quhilk, God wylling, we sall answeir in the awin place. Nochtheles, for considderation of this present purpose, albeit that thay quha convenit in generale Counsalis had bene vicius, (as thai wer not,) it argumentis not that thair vice did dirogatioun to thair authoritie, because that Almychtie God wirkis not with man in authoritie in respect of his persoun quhilk beris authoritie, bot rather to declare his awin infinite power and gudnes in respect of the Congregatioun committit to man in authoritie. As be exempyl, we reid that Cayphas (quha wes als wickit ane minister as hes bene in the Kirk of God sen his tyme, or of before) spak trew prophesie, and (as the text sayis) not of him self, bot because he wes cheif preist of that zeir. Ioh. ii.

Mark, gude Redare, how wonderfullie God wirkis with authoritie in maner foresaid. The text sayis planelie that he spak prophesie, (quhilk is the gyft of God,) nocht of hymself, as the Scripture wald say nocht in respect of ony gudnes that wes in hym, bot because he wes cheif preist of that zeir, as the Scripture wald saye, in respect of his authoritie quhilk he had of God; quhareby it may be persavit how wounderfullie God wirkis oftymes be ane wickit instrument being in authoritie, as may stand to the weill of the Congregatioun committit to his cure, and to the gret magnificence, prayse, and glore off hym quha is omnipotent. 2 Cor. xii. Ioha. ii.

Als it is wryttin of the thre Wyse Men that come fra the orient, sayand, Quhair is he quhilk is borne Kyng of Jowis? off the quhilk Herod, quha wes Kyng, being afrayit, and al the cietie of Hierusalem with hym, convenit the principalis of the preistis, and sperit at thame, quhare Christ suld be borne; thai answerit, and said, in Bethleem Jude. Mat ii.

Mark, gude Redare, how that this infidele prince, Herod, past be ane ordour, and convenit the principalis of the prestis to cearse and knaw quhare Christ sulde be borne, and thay beand convenit, how God wrocht with thame in authoritie, sua that thay trewlie interpretit the Scripture of God, and answerit Herod according to the Scripturis. Nochtwithstanding that the intentioun of him quhilk sperit the questioun wes ungodlie, (as the proces of the Evangell planelie declaris,) and thay mekle mair ungodlie quhilkis wer in authoritie quhame at he sperit his questioun and doute. Lorde God, ar thay not mekle mair ignorant and imperfect nor wes this wickit prince, quhilkis wylfullie contempnis to speir and ressave the knawlege of Goddis Wourd at the ministeris of the new law, conforme to the doctryne of the Kirk, bot with gret misordour and imperfection, seikis the knawlege of Goddis Wourd at
Ioha. x. men cumand but authoritie, nocht knawande quharefra thay cum, nor be quhat ordour? To geve thé sufficient persuasioun, that vice dois not dirogat to authoritie, thow sall considder the wordis of our
Ioha. vi. Salveour, spekand to his Apostlis on this maner, "Zow twelf have I chosin, and ane of zow is ane devyll."

Mark, gude Redare, that Judas wes ane Apostole, and ane devyll, as the Scripture wald say; nochtwithstanding that the devyll possessit the hart of Judas to betrais his Lorde and Maister, zit the authoritie and office remanit with hym, sua that nane wes chosin to be in his place quhil he wes deid, as thou may persave
Act. i. be the Actis of the Apostlis. I beleve thair is na man wyll thynk, that evir thair wes ane minister in the Kirk of God sen the tyme of the Apostlis, quhais vicious lyfe did dirogatioun to his authoritie, mair nor Judas. Als I trow, suirlie thair is na Christiane man wyll thynk that the ministeris in the New Law, quha convenit in generale Counsalis, wes sua vicius or ignorant, (that thaye wer nocht habyll to do that thynge quhilk ryndit to thair office,) as wes Cayphas, and the principales of the preistis, quha convenit at the desyre of Herod the wickit kyng. Than may it justlie be persuadit, and inferrit be sic testimonyes of Scripturis, as ar abone rehersit, that albeit the ministeris of the New Law, quha convenit in

generale Counsalis, hade bene vicious, (as thay wer not,) zit thair lyfe did na dirogatioun to thair authoritie, bot thay mycht do in all sortis quhilk ryndit to thair office, specialie to discerne the rycht understanding of Goddis Worde fra the wrang, to the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun committit to thair cure, takand vertew, power, and authoritie of Almychtie God, and not of thaimselfis. As be exemple, Quha doutis bot ane wickit minister mai minister the Sacramentis, havand als gret effect to the ressavar as he wer nevir sua godlie? Because the Sacramentis takis not effect of the minister, bot of God. Sua declaratioun off materis doutsum concerning the faith, (quhilk we have evir had of the generale Counsalis,) takis not effect onelie of the ministeris of the New Lawe, nor zit authoritie, bot of God; and that, specialie in respect of the Congregatioun committit to thair cure, and to declare the power of hym quha is heid, tyll all authoritie that cumis be ane ordour, as efterwart mair largelie salbe declarit.

To perswade this purpose tyl all men of naturall jugement but learnyng: gyf sua wer, that vice did hynder, and dirogatioun tyl authoritie, thair sulde nevir man be assurit of ony thing done be man in authoritie. For quhy? Quha can be sure gyf ony man in authoritie is but syn or not? Geve thou wald have respect to hym quha is author, tyl al authoritie, (quhilk is Almychtie God, conforme to the saying of the Apostole, spekand on this maner, al power is of God,) and nocht to man, quhilk beris authoritie, thou sal think it na thyng strainge, albeit a wickit minister do that thing quhilk ryndis to his office, as may stand to the weil of the Congregatioun committit tyll his cure. For quhy? Albeit man be the instrument, God is the principall wyrkar, and it quhilk is done be man in authoritie takis nocht effect of man onelie, bot of God principalie wirkand be man. Thairfore, sayis the Apostole, He that resystis to the hiear power, he resystis unto God, and wirkis the thing quhilk is his awin dampnatioun. Treuth it is, to do that thing quhilk apertenis to his awin singulare weill, it may be, that he quha is in authoritie want the grace of God, to the tyme that he knaw his offence, and cum to repentance: as, albeit Cayphas

Eccle. ix. 1 Cor. iv.

Rom. xiii. 1 Cor. iii.

had the Spreit of God to speik prophesie, quhilk wes to the veritie and weill of the Congregatioun committit tyll his cure. Nochtheles, he had not the gyft of the Haly Gaist to do that thing quhilk ryndit to his awin salvatioun, because of his induritnes but repentance, refusand the grace of God wylfullie, quhilk wes reddye to hym and all man.

For conclusioun, to geve thé superfluus persuasioun, that vice dois nocht hynder, nor dirogatioun tyll authoritie, thow sall mark
Mat. xxiii. the wordis of our Salveour spekyng on this maner, "In the chyir of Moyses sittis Scribes and Phariseis, quhatsumevir thyng thay bid zow do, do it, bot do nocht as thay do; because thay bid do, and dois nocht." Off this text it may weill be persavit, that God wyll obedience tyl man in authoritie, (in doyng that thyng quhilk ryndis tyl his office,) albeit his lyfe wer nevir sua vicius.

THE ALEVINT CHAPITRE.

It is not unknawin to me the barbour and commoun sayingis of men unlearnit, spekand on this maner, Quhat and the hiear poweris command ws the thing quhilk may not stand with the
Act. v. Worde of God? We aucht rather obey God nor man! For consideratioun off thir sayngis, the authoritie that we principallie speik of, for this present purpose, is of the authoritie of the generall Counsalis, quha assuritlie hes evir declarit all materis doutsum concernyng the faith, trewlie conforme to Godis Word, as efterwart mair cleirlie salbe persavit. And as to materis plane, I beleif surelie thair wes nevir authoritie quhilk come be ane ordour, (beand Christin men,) that commandit ony thing contrare the commande of God. And geve thay had sua done, thay wer na wayis to be obeyit: as be exempyll, gyf ony man in authoritie walde command the thyng quhilk wer expresse aganis the Ten Commandementis, or ony Artycle off our beleve, we aucht and suld na wayis obey thaim, because it wer aganis God manifestlie knawin tyl all Christin men. Bot as to materis doutsum, having apperance for baith the

partis, quhilkis ar abone thy knawlege, thow aucht to ressave the jugement of the Kirk without questioun, or ressonyng, specialie anent the Sacramentis, and all uther misteryis necessare to be knawin for ane Christin mannis salvatioun. Geve thow wyll say, Quhat and the generale Counsalis have gevin ws ane uther declaratioun of the Sacramentis nor may stand with the Word of God? Mark (gude Redare) the proude ignorance, and gret arrogance of this saying: For quhy may it not justlie be inferrit, that he quhilk fyndis falt with it that is done be the generale Counsalis, reknis hym self of gretar knawlege, and to have gretar gyft of the Haly Gaist, takand gretare authoritie on hym self nor the hale Kirk of God, quhilk is repugnant to the Word of God expreslie, and tyl al ordour. For wyl thow luke the Scripture all throw, thow sall nevir fynd, that evir it wes lesum to the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun to fynd falt or argoun in the contrar of that thyng quhilk wes done be the speciale member of the Congregatioun appoyntit be God to interpreit or decerne upon materis doutsum concernyng the law. Thairfoire, it wes expreslie commandit, under the pane of deith, that the chosin peple of God sulde ressave the understanding of the law, (quhensumevir questioun rais for the samyn,) conforme to the jugement of the preistis of the trybe of Levi, and hym quhilk wes cheif preist, without ressonyng in the contrar. Treuth it is, the preistis of the trybe of Levi, and als the ministeris of the Newe Law, quha hes convenit in generale Counsalis, wer bounde tyll interpreit the Scripture conforme to the Worde of God, quhilk thay evir did assuritlie, nocht of thame self, bot of God, quha evir wirkis with authoritie, as said is. And alwayis God mon be the juge to the hiear poweris, (in doiyng the thing that ryndis to thair office,) and na privat noumer of men, how godlie or weill lernit that evir thay be, and the subjectis mon evir stand at quhilk is done be the hiear poweris, (beyng Christin men cumand to authoritie be ane ordour,) aye and quhill the samyn be reducit be sufficient ordour, speciallie in sic thyngis as ar abone thair knawlege, because in the mene tyme the hiear poweris beris thair burding, and it is na wayis the burding of the subjectis to

Deut. xvii.

Heb. xiii. cearse out the secretis of Goddis Word, bot to tak instructioun of sic as God hes apoyntit abone thaim, as I schew thé of before. Geve thow, or ony privat noumer of men, wyll say that ze have the plane Scripture for zow; thay quha convenit in generale Counsalis wyll saye, (and that trewlie,) that the Scripture is mekle mair plane for thame. And als thay have authoritie of God to decerne on materis, doutsum concernyng the law, quhilk na privat noumer of men hes, as the experience hes evir techeit ws, conforme to Goddis Word. Attour, quhat sais thou in that part, bot that all men quhilk evir hes bene gevin tyl errour said afore thé; for wyl thou considder al the generale Counsalis quhilkis evir hes bene fra the first to the last, thou sall evir fynd sum seditius men that wes excellentlie learnit, beand of the contrar opinioun, quhilk said thay had the plane Scripture for thame, takand the Scripture evir to be thair juge, and that the Counsalis errit.

Be thir meanis thou sall bryng and renew al the errouris that evir hes bene condempnit sen the time of the Apostlis to thir dayis in disputation, and constrane new ordour to be tane of the samyn, quhilk wer evirlastyng confusioun to be in the Kirk of God.

Tharefore wyl we conclude, conforme to the wordis of the Evangell, sen thay quha convenis in generale Counsalis occupyis the place and chyir of Moyses be office and authoritie, speciallie to declare the rycht ordour in ministratioun of the Sacramentis, and to discerne the rycht understanding of Goddis Worde fra the wrang, for quietnes of the Congregatioun committit to thair cure, it is the dewitie of all the rest of the membris to obey that thyng quhilk men in authoritie commandis, as plesis God to steir up thair hartis to geve declaratioun on materis doutsum concernyng the understanding of the law, to the quhilkis God is the onelie juge; and is nocht lesum to the subjectis, under the pretence of the avancement of Goddis Worde, allegeand the Scripture to be juge, to seik ane libertie to thair lustis and heresyis, makand plane rebellioun tyll authoritie; for I dar baldlye say, luke the Scripturis all throw, thow sall nevir fynd that it hes bene lesum to the subjectis to fynd falt, or correct it quhilk wes done be the hiear poweris

cumand tyll authoritie be ane ordour, specially in doyng that thing quhilk ryndit to thair office.

Now sall thow considder, how impropirlie and falslie, men gevin tyll opinioun in thir dayis, thrawis the Scripture contrar the godlie menyng of the samyn, aganis the Kirk. As be exemple, it is wryttin in the Actis of the Apostoles in this maner, Act. v. "We aucht tyll obey God rather than man."

Thow sall marke, (gude Redare,) Quha spak thir wordis, first; Secundlie, To quhame thai wer spokin; Thridlie, For quhat cause: And it salbe easy tyl persave, geve thay be propirlie allegit, or nocht. The first quhilk said thir wordis wes the cheif Apostole Peter, with the rest of the Apostlis. Thay wer spokin to the Hie preist, and the rest of his cumpanye. The cause wes, that the Hie preist with the rest, commandit that in na way the Apostolis sulde teche in the name of Jesu Christ. Thus sall thou consyder, that thay quha gave the command belevit nocht in Jesus Christ, nor his Evangell, nor hade authoritie to command the Apostolis at that tyme. Attour, it quhilk thay commandit, wes expresse aganis the Evangell manifestlie knawin to the Apostolis. Tharefore, justlie and propirlie said the Apostoles, God suld be rather obeyit than man. Act. v. Be the contrar, thay quha convenis in generale Counsalis, confessis the Evangell to be the trew Word of God, and ar Christiane men havand authoritie of Jesu Christ, quha is Heid to his Kirk. And Ephe. i. Colos. i. als, al the Scripturis quhilkis evir thay have declarit, or exponit, hes divers utheris places of Scripturis gevand thaim juste occasioun conforme to Goddis Worde, tyll interpreit the secretis of the samyn, as thay have done. Quharfore, it may weill be persavit, how impropirlie, falslie, and ungodlie, men gevin tyll opinioun in thir dayis, applyis and thrawis the Scripture contrar the Kirk of God, quhilk wes propirlie allegit and applyit be the Apostolis contrar the Jowis.

Wald God, men unlearnit persavit, how wyckit men in thir dayis applyis mony divers places of Scripturis, as thou may cleirlye persave be this Scripture abone rehersit, gevand thaim occasioun of al kynd of wickitnes, specialie of dissobedience to thair hiear

poweris. Off all the vices that evir thou sall reid punischeit be God, thou sall fynd twa in speciale, ane is, the dissobedience of the subjectis, the uther, the necligence of thaim quha ar in authoritie, quhilkis dois not thair dett and dewtie to thair subjectis conforme to thair vocatioun: Throw the quhilk thay ar punissit divers maner of wayis. Ane in speciale is, that oftymes, because the
1 Reg. iv. hiear poweris and magistratis dissimulis ovir mekle with the faltis of the subjectis, and als gevis thame nocht sufficient instructioun, first, to knaw thair det and dewtie to Almychtie God, thairefter, to thair magistratis; God permittis and sufferis the subjectis to rebell, and be dissobedient to the lawis and commandimentis off the hiear poweris, takand the place of authoritie mysordourlie on thame selfis, quhilk is ane of the creuell punischementis that may cum to all quhilkis ar in authoritie. The exempyll is sua familiar in divers partis of the warld, that we mister not to tak paine, nor be curius in seikyng of the samyn; and because the subjectis seikis not reformatioun of the magistratis, conforme to the wyl and mynd of the Lord, (quhilk wer, efter my jugement, to call upon God be contineuall prayer, be ressoun thai ar not certane, bot thair awin wickitnes desiris sic unworthy heidis to regne abone thaim,) Almych-
Tob. xxxiv. Osee. xiii. tie God wyl provide sic rewlaris as wyl bryng thame to the knawlege of God and thame self, (perchance,) fer by thare appetyte, albeit it may be to thare gret weill at lenth. Off this we have divers exemplis in Scripture; ane in speciale wyll we call to rememberance, quhare Almychtie God tuke creuell vengeance and punischement for usurpatioun of authoritie and dissobedience.
Num. xvi. We reid of three men, ane wes callit Chore, the uther Dathan, and the thrid Abyron, and for thair usurping of authoritie and dissobedience to Moyses and Aaron, (being cheif rewlaris to the chosin peple of God,) the erth oppinnit, and thay wer swellyit, body and saule, perpetualie to the hell.

Thairfore, as all gude Christiane men wald avoide the evirlasting wraith of Almychtie God, obey the hiear poweris in all thyng done be thaim, quhilk is done be ane ordour, conforme to thair vocatioun. And lat na subjectis mak partie be perswasioun of privat

men cumand but authoritie, quhilk wes nevir unpunischeit be Almychtie God, specialie to mel in curius ressoning of materis obscure concernyng the faith; sick as the Kirk alreddy hes tane ordour into, quhilk is the onelie juge, and to be jugeit be na man in erth, bot be God allanerlie, as said the godly imperour Constantine, conforme to Goddis Worde and all reasoun. For geve that thyng be brocht in disputatioun, quhilk is done be the hiear poweris conforme to thair vocatioun, at the desyre of private men, than sall the warld leve in perpetuale debait and contraversie.

Rom. xiii.

Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 3.

THE TWELFT CHAPITRE.

SEN we have had just occasioun, (conforme to Goddis Word and all ressoun,) in the chapitre abone rehersit, na wayis to have dout of that thyng quhilk hes bene done be the Kirk, in respect of thare lyfe, quha convenit in generale Counsalis. Now wyl we cum to the Ferde part of the argument, quhare question is, Gyf thair lawis and constitutionis ar conforme to Goddis Worde or not? For understanding of the samyn, thou sal considder that thair is twa extremiteis now ryngand in the warld. Sum men ar sua fer gevin tyl superstitioun, that geve ony man speik ane worde aganis thair indurit custum, ze perchance albeit it be lytle or na thyng aggreable with the Worde of God, bot croppin in the Kirk be ane abuse rather than be ane ordour, fra hand thay sall estime that man ane heretike. Be the contrar, thare is sum sua rasche of jugement, that nocht allanerlie thay wyll cry oute on abuse and superstitioun, bot misordourlie wyll thay condempne al maner of thyng that evir hes bene usit or appoyntit be the Kirk fra the begynning. Betuix thir twa extremiteis geve it plesit God that the myddis sulde cum furth, apperandlie it wer ane gret ease, and ane gret occasioun of quietnes to the hale Congregatioun. To cum to the myddis, (efter my sobir jugement,) the nerrest way wer to esteme, first the commande and lawe of the Lorde, (quhilk hes procedit of God allanerlie,) abufe all thing. The secunde, to regarde the constitutionis of

the Kirk, as constitutionis of men. Bot nocht allanerlie as constitutionis of men, bot as constitutionis procedyng of God mediatlie, (as I wald say be the wirkyng of God be man in authoritie,) quhilkis aucht and suld be obeyit; nocht allanerlie, (as sayis the Apostole,) for feare of man, bot als for feare of God; nocht in compair of the Worde of God, bot to be regardit as the commandimentis of the trew ministeris, and organis off Almychtie God, sterit up be the Spirite of God, disponand every gude Christin man to be the mair able to keip the law of God.

Heir wyl we schortlie answeir to the injuste murmur of divers men spekand aganis the Kirk on this maner, saying, that the Kirk punissis men mair creuellie for transgressioun of thair lawe, (as it wer heresie,) nor for the transgressioun of the law of God; quhareby it may be persavit, that the Kirk preferris thair law to the law of God.

For consideratioun of this purpose, thou sall understand, that man is nocht puniste to the rigour, for transgression of the law of the Kirk, bot for dissobedience, and the indurit opinioun quhilk he consavis thairefter, thynkand that he dois na offence in doyng of the samyn; quhilk but dout is heresie expres aganis the Word of God, as sayis the Apostole, "He that resystis the hiear power, he resystis unto God, and wirkis the thyng quhilk is his awin dampnatioun." Geve ane man transgres the command of God, he grantis hym self to have done wrang: bot geve ony man wald be indurit, saying, it wer na syn to transgresse the law of God, trewly he aucht and sulde be punissit as ane heretike. Sua it is the opinioun with pertinacitie and induritnes, that makis the heresie, (quhair upon the punischement followis,) and not the nature of the deid; for nocht all syn is heresie, bot al heresie is syn. And, to the effect that thou may perfectlie knaw that the Kirk na wayis regardis nor estimes thair law, in compair of the law of God; it is lesum, in tyme of necessitie, to transgres the law of the Kirk without syn, or punischement, quhilk wes nevir permittit be the Kirk towart the law of God, for ony maner of necessitie. Sum murmouris, saying, that the Kirk offendis, commanding thair law to be kepit

Rom. xiii.

under paine of deidlie syn. Trewly, albeit the Kirk mak the lawe, it is God quha allreddy hes declarit the brekyng thairof syn; nocht be nature of the deid, for the maist part, (as I schew thé off before,) bot be ressoun of dissobedience to the hiear poweris: Specialie in transgressioun of sic constitutionis as gevis occasioun to men to be the mair habyll to keip the commande of God, and is to the weill of the hale Congregatioun committit to thare cure; as we reid in divers partis of the Scripture, creuell punischement following for dissobedience, as I schew thé of before, of Chore, Dathan, and Abiron. According to this purpose wrytis the Apostole on this maner, "Brether, stand ze fast, and keip the traditionis quhilkis ze have learnit, older be our precheing, or be our Epistole." Num. xvi. 2 Thes. ii. Actu. xv.

Now wyll we returne to our purpose; quhare consideratioun is to be had, how the lawis and constitutionis of the Kirk disponis al Christin man to be the mair hable to keip the law of God, and is nocht comparit (conforme to the godlie menyng of the Kirk) to the Worde of God. As be exempyll, we wyl compair the Worde of God to the wyne-zarde; and the commande of the Kirk, and al uther hieare power, to the dyik or closure of the wyne-zard: Than sall thow understand, that the dike is not ordanit for the self, bot to the effect that the wylde beistis tramp not doun the tender branchis of the wyne: Swa the commandimentis of the Kirk, and al uther hiear poweris, ar nocht allanerlie ordanit for thame self, bot rather to geve men occasioun to be the mair habyl to keip the command of God. Thus ar thay in errour and extremitie, quha wald persuade the ordinance of the Kirk to be tane away, for than suld Goddis Word be abusit, as gyff the closure of the wyne-zarde be castin doun, than sulde the wylde beistis distroye and devore the tender wyne-branchis. Off this rigorus jugement, (movit perchance) "on zele but knawlege," as sayis the Apostole,) thair is mony in thir dayis belevyng tyl awance the glore of God, quhilkis oppinnis ane plane port tyll all kynd of misordour, incontrar the command of God; as but dout, gyf thow wyll tak away the ordinancis of the hiear poweris, and lawis of the Kirk, quhilkis the tyme hes evir techeit ws; and nocht allanerlie the lawis, bot tak away the Rom. x.

ceremonyes, with proces of tyme the peple in the warld sulde forget thair wer ane God: for be the outwart ceremonyes we ar brocht to the mair perfect knawlege of God, conforme to the doctryne of all men of godlie learnyng. Treuth it is, geve men levit conforme to the law of God, the law of the Kirk, and all uther lawis and ceremonyes, mycht be the better sparit; as geve thare wer na wylde beistis to trampe doun the wyne-zarde, the dyik wer the les necessare.

Perchance thow wyll murmour and say, that under the colour off the constitutionis of the Kirk, thair is growin sic abusioun, that Goddis Worde is sclanderit and abusit. Albeit that wer trew, it is nocht cause to tak away ane gude constitutioun, for ane wrang abusioun. Be ressoun mennis maneris suld be thrawin to the law, the law sulde nocht be thrawin to mennis maneris. For quhat is mair precius nor is the law of God? and zit it is daylie brokin and abusit. Als thow may see, that of all heresyis quhilkis evir hes bene, for the maiste parte, men hes tane occasioun of the Scripture. Nochtheles the falt wes not in the Scripture, bot in thare awin perverste mynd, and laik of gude doctryne; as in cais throw necligence of the gardnare, thare enterit divers wylde beistis in the zarde, and under the umbre of the dyik thay make thare dennis and cavernis, and thairefter cum oute and devore and tramp doun the tender wyne-brancheis; the dyik hes nocht the wyte, bot the gardnare quhilk wes sua necligent. This wyll thow considder, all the constitutionis quhilkis evir wer maid be the Kirk, havyng consideratioun of the tyme, and the occasioun quharefore thay wer maid, thow sall fynd thame aggreabyll with Goddis Worde. Than sal thow evir persave the falt principalie to be in thame to quhame it appertenis of thare vocation to be instructaris of the peple, and nocht in the ordinances of the Kirk.

Perchance thow wyll say, that thare is sum constitutionis quhilkis wer tollerabyll and convenient for the tyme; and now the tyme hes wrocht sua, that thay ar improffitabyll. Trewlie I thynk that to be verray trew of sum: nochtheles every man quhilk persavis the falt, aucht not to be ane correctare of the samyn, bot sulde complane to

the hiear poweris; and in cais thay be necligent, desyre of God to steir up the hartis of thame to quhame it appertenis of thare vocatioun to be correctaris, and nocht to every private man to thynke upone his zele, that he wyll correct it (quhilk is done be ane ordour) misordourlie. For I dar baldlye say, thair sal mair inconvenientis follow on al thyngis quhilkis ar done by ane ordour, nor to thole the abuse, to the tyme God provide ane remeid be ane ordour. As be exempyll, in cais thair be ane part of the dike quhilk is consumit, and servis of not; zit every man quhilk passis by suld not cast doun the place quhilk he thynkis falteis at his plesour, bot suld (geve his zele be godlie) schaw to the gardnar to quham it appertenis to correct the falt. Thus suld Christin men seik reformatioun, (and that be ane ordour,) and nocht plane distructioun and confusioun, as men dois in thir dayis.

THE THRETTEINT CHAPITRE.

THAIR is sum mair rigorus, and rasche of jugement, affirmand planelie, that thair is divers constitutionis of the Kirk, quhilkis may na way stand with the Worde of God; sick as is the constitutioun of Fastyng at certane tymes appoyntit, Invocatioun to be maid unto Sanctis, Mariage forbiddin to Preistis: Aganis the quhilkis thay thraw mony testimonyes of Scripturis, specialie the wordis of the Apostole, spekand on this maner, "In the latter tyme sum sall fal fra the faith, forbiddyng to mary, commanding to abstene fra metis, quhilkis God hes creat." 1 Tim. iv. "Thair is bot ane mediator betuix God and Man." 1 Tim. ii. To make the Redare sufficientlie to understand how thir, and mony utheris Scripturis, ar falslie and impropirlie allegit, and interpretit aganis the Kirk, presentlie, wer ovir prolixt; and als thair is divers utheris, quhilkis hes habundantlie tretit thir purposis in the Inglis toung. Notheles, to the effect that the Redare may persave quhate injuris thay quhilkis fortifyis sick errouris dois, baith to the Scripture and the Kirk of Gode, I wyll speir ane questioun at thir men, quhilkis ar sua subtile in disputatioun, and

sua profoundlie learnit in Scripturis, doctores, and antiquiteis. The questioun is this, Quhether gyf Hierome, Augustine, Chrisostome, Origene, and Cypriane, with the reste off the ancient Fatheris, understude thir Scripturis allegeit be thame, or nocht? I beleve thair be nane of thame wylbe sua proude, as to esteme hym self tyll have the knawlege, and all thir ancient Fatheris to have bene in ignorance. Than wyl I speir, geve thir ancient Fatheris understude thir Scripturis, and als thair knawlege and zele beyng als gret to the treu settyng furth of Goddis Word and glore as tharis ar, quha contempnis the ordinance and doctryne of the Kirk, Quhat wes the cause that thir ancient Fatheris interpretit not thir Scripturis, and allegeit thame not incontrar the constitutionis of the Kirk, as the utheris dois? Wyll thay say that thir constitutionis ar croppin in the Kirk sen thir doctores dayis? The contrar is manifestlie knawin to all men q̃uhilkis redis thair werkis; because the fastyng of Lentren, and utheris observit zit in the Kirk, wes lang afore thair dayis. And als Invocatioun upon Sanctis is alwayis aggreabyl with the doctryne of the doctores.

To veryfie the samyn, thou sal reid the ancient father Jerome, (quha wes ane of the maist excellent men of lernyng and gude lyfe that evir wes in the Kirk of God sen the tyme of the Apostlis unto thir dayis,) wryting aganis ane abhominable heretyke, callit Vigilantius, (quha wes in his tyme,) and utheris divers quhilkis did mok and scorne all Invocation maid tyll Sanctis, and al utheris ordinances in the Kirk, as vaine men dois in thir dayis, quhareby thou may persave, that albeit thir wickit opinionis be laitlie renewit, it is lang sen thai war first inventit be wickit men, and justlie condempnit be the godlie fatheris; for it is sen the tyme of Hierome alevin houndreth thretie sax zeris. This ancient father, in his buke aganis Vigilantius, makis plane mention (confirmand the samyn trewlie be plane testimoneis of Scripture, and invincible ressonis) of Invocatioun to be maid to Sanctis, affirmand thair prayer mekle mair helplyke to men in erth, nor ony uther mortale creaturis; quhilk he na wayis did, disparit of Godis mercy, or that Christ wes not a sufficient mediator for hym and al men, bot

Vide Hiero. contra Vigilantium.

that haboundance of prayer (specialie of juste men) dois gret help to all Christiane men in this miserable lyfe; and thair is nane mair juste nor thay ar, quhilkis ar alreddy with God.

Als thow sall mark, that this ancient Father put na dout, (as men of fleschelie jugement dois in thir dayis,) bot the blyssit spretis of thame that ar departit, knawis perfectlie the prayer and invocatioun of men in erth, as thou may haboundantlie persave be his werk abone rehersit. Als for ferther knawlege of this purpose, thou sall reid the excellent father of godly lernyng and gude lyfe, Augustine, wryting upon the Evangell of Sanct Johane, and in mony uther places. Thow sall lykewyse reid Chrysostome, Origene, not pretermittyng the godlie bischop and martyre Cypriane. Schortlie, luke all the ancient fatheris, (quha plesis,) thair is na purpose thay treait of quhilk thai ar mair plane in to, (aggreand all in ane opinion,) nor invocatioun to be mâid to sanctis, fastyng accordyng to the godlie ordinance of the Kirk, chastitie to be observit and kepit, specialy be preistis. Geve thair be ony man (as I thynk thair be mony, specialie of thir vagabund prechearis cumand but authoritie) quhilkis beris disdane aganis thir sayingis, lat hym try the contrar be the Word of God propirlie allegit, conforme to the interpretation of the ancient fatheris, (quhilk thay can nevir do,) and lat nocht every man cry out injustlie on the godlie ordinances of the Kirk (quhilkis evir hes bene observit sen the tyme of the Apostlis to thir dayis) at his appetite, thrawand Goddis Word by the godlie menyng of the samyn, to be the scheild and buklare to his lustes and heresiis. Walde God, men unlearnit, quhilkis ar growin sua proude and curious that thay wyll na wayis obey the Kirk, wer habyll to reid the Scripturis allegit be seditious men in thir dayis aganis the ordinances of the Kirk, and, thairefter, had jugement to confer the ancient Fatheris in declaratioun of the samyn, quhareby thay mycht persave how wounderfullie thay ar abusit.

Aug. Trac. lxxxiv. Psal. lxxxviii. Chry. in gene. Hom. xliv., & in Math. Ho. v. Orig. Hom. xvi., in Iesu nave, & lib. ii. in Epis. ad Rom. Cyp. lib. i. Epis. i. ad Cornilium.

O gude Lorde, quhat ignorance, quhat wycketnes, quhat myscheiff, quhat abhominatioun, quhat hereseis ar croppin and regnis now in the hartis of the fleschelie, ignorant, and miserabyll peple!

Sua that thay quha wyl maist vylie swage thair fowle appetite be farsing of thair belleis in tymes forbiddin, proudelie dissobeying authoritie, gevand oppin sklander with plane injuryis incontrar the commoun weil, ar reknit to be maist godlie, best besene in Scripturis, doctores, and antiquiteis, ze, and to be the verray mynzeons of Christ. Is he nocht estimit to be ane verray bulwerk for the defence of Godis glore, quhilk wyl pertlie say, (contrar the Kirk of God, and all the ancient fatheris of the samyn,) that it is ydolatrie to mak Invocatioun of Sanctis? Is it nocht thocht that the preist, monk, or fleschelye forloppin freir, followis treulie the verray doctryne of St Paule, quhilk is rynnegat fra his religioun, and makis ane monsterous mariage, and it wer with ane non; and zit he wyl sweir and saye, that all that he dois is for the glore of God and the libertie of the Evangell.

O intollerabyl blasphematioun, fury, and wodnes! Now ar the
2 Pet. iii. wordis off the cheiff Apostole Peter cum to in effect, sayand, "That his deirly beluffit brother Paule had wryttin mony thyngis, in the quhilkis ar sum harde to be understand, quhilk men unlernit and inconstant pervertis (as utheris Scripturis) to thair awin
Esay. v. dampnatioun." Now may the wordis of the Propheit propirlie be applyit, saying, "Wa be unto zow quhilk callis the evyll gude, and the gude evyll, estimeing lycht to be myrknes, and myrknes to be lycht."

THE FOURTENT CHAPITRE.

PERCHANCE sum zelus man, havynge pietie of the pure miserabyl pepyll, wyl say, Quhat wounder is it, albeit the simple peple in thir unhappy dayis be abusit with errouris, blyndit in ignorance, drounit in vice? Is not heresie precheit planelie, but punischement, be men cumand but authoritie? And thay quha sulde preche the trew Worde of God, conforme to thair vocatioun and levyng quhilk thay have
Esay. lvi. thairfore, ar (as sayis the Propheit) "lyke dum doggis, quhilkis can nocht bark," nolder precheis thair selfis, nor causis precheyng suf-

ficient to be maid to resyste errouris : Ar nocht thaye quha sulde gyde the peple mair ignorante nor the simple pepyll self? And quhat can cum of that, bot, as sayis our Salveour, "quhen the blynde ledis the blynd, baith fallis in the fowsie?" Ar thay not oppin sclanderaris of the Congregatioun (for the maist part) quhilkis sulde be myrouris of gude lyfe? Ar nocht all estatis declynit fra the way and wyll of the Lorde? Se we nocht daylie be experience, gyf ane benefice vaick, the gret men of the realme wyll have it for temporale rewarde, (and sua the Prince is maid to be subject to the unressonable desyre of thame quha suld be subjectis to thair prince,) or ellis thai wyll steir up seditioun, be dissobedient contrar Godis command, serve as thay think gude, with perpetuale grudge and disdane? And quhen thai have gottin the benefice, gyf thay have ane brother, or ane sone, ze suppose he can nolder sing nor say, norischeit in vice al his dayis, fra hand he sal be montit on ane mule, with ane syde gown and ane round bonett, and than it is questioun, quhether he or his mule knawis best to do his office.

Mat. xv. Psal. lii.

Perchance Balaames asse knew mair nor thai baith! Quhat wounder is it, (quhen sick disagysit personages ar chosin to have Christis flok in gyding,) that the simpyll peple be wickit, (as thay ar in deid,) estimand vice to be virtew, and virtew to be vice? And nocht allanerlie sick men ar croppin in the Kirk be meanis of sum wickit gret personages; bot thou maye se daylie, lykewyse be experience, ane bairne and ane babe, to quhame scarcelie wald thou geve ane fair apill to keip, get perchance fyve thousand saules to gyde: And all for avarice, "the rute of all vice," that thair parentis may get the proffect of the benefice to thare awin singulare commoditie, and the pure simpyll bairne scarslie gett to bryng hym up vertuuslie; the convent and place quhare God suld be daylie honourit and servit gais clene to rewyne; and zit thay, quha ar the procuraris, disponaris, and upsteraris of sick monsterus farssis to be in the Kirk of God, ar the maist principalis cryaris out on the vices of Kirk-men. Geve the Kirk had the auld ancient libertie, (as perchance sum tyme it had,) that ane bischop wer frelie chosin be his chapitre, the abbot and prior be the convent, and of the convent,

Num. xxii. 1 Tim. vi.

than sulde be qualifeit men in all the estatis of the Kirk; than sulde all hereseis be flemit, and the peple weill techeit. This wer the way to cum in at the dur to be ane minister in the Kirk of God,
Ioha. x. quhilk our Salveour spekis of; quhare now be tyrannie and avarice (for the maiste part) as it wer thevis, or brygantis, we creip in at wyndois or bak durris. And this (blyndit in avarice) gret men trowis to mak up thair housis be abusioun of the patrimony and rentis of the Kirk; quhilk but dout salbe utter rewyne (albeit it be plesand for the present) to mony gret housis, besydis the gret perrel and dainger on the latter day.

☞ The day, the day, the terrible day sall cum, quhen the unhappy avaricius man sall wary the tyme that ever he had the brother, or sone, to quhame he bure sic fleschelie and ungodlie favour, as to steir hym up to be ane gydare and rewlar of Christis floke, quhilk culde not gyde hym self: The malheurius prince sall warie the tyme that evir he wes sua mischeantlie subject to the unressonable desyre of his subjectis: The miserable ignorant sterit up in authoritie, sall curs the tyme that evir he tuke on hym the charge, quhilk wes na wayis convenient for hym. In the mene tyme, the pure simple peple, sua deirlie bocht be the blude and deith off Jesu Christ our Salveour, miserablie perischeis; the Kirk is sclanderit, God is dishonorit, all heresyis, wickitnes, and vice regnis. As to me, I wyl say na thyng; bot humelie beseik the Lord God tyl illuminat the hartis of the magistratis, (specialie quhilkis hes the authoritie, to be the upsteraris of faithfull ministeris in the Kirk of God,) to provide sick qualifeit pastouris as wyll do conforme to thair vocatioun, and as may be to the glore of God, exoneratioun of thair awin consciences, and thairis quha providis thaim to have authoritie and government of Christis flok. And als I beseik the levyng God, that thay quha ar allreddy ministeris in the Kirk of God, (specialie quha occupyis the place of the Apostoles be office and authoritie,) call to remembrance the seveir and
1 Cor. ix. rigorus sentence off the Apostole, saying, "Wa be unto me, and
Ezec. xxxiv. I preche not." And als the wordis of the Propheit, sayand, "Wa be unto zow pastores of Israell, quhilkis feidis zour selfis and nocht

my flok." Quharethrow the pastores doying thair dett and devore to the simpyll peple committit to thair cure, all hereseis, wyckitnes, and vice, sulde be suppressit, the Kirk unsclanderit, and God honourit, to quhame be glore for evir.

Benevolent Redare, as it hes plesit God to geve us grace, we have answerit tyl al the partis of the argument abone rehersit, and objectit aganis our purpose. First, Quhare questioun wes, Gyf thay, quha convenit dewlie in generale Counsalis, had the Spreit of God as had the Apostolis, or nocht? We schew thé, that lyke as it wes necessare that the Kirk of God suld indure, and be governit in faith and religioun, to the glore of God, on to the end of the warld, swa wes it necessare that the gyft of the Haly Gaist suld indure and remane with the cheif ministeris of the Congregatioun (in doyng that thing quhilk ryndit to thair office) to the end of the warld; conforme to the wordis of our Salveour, spekyng unto his Apostolis in the personage of the rest of the ministeris of the Kirk of God, quhilkis wer to succeid in the Apostolis place, sayand, "I sall pray the Father, and he sall geve zow ane uther Comforter, quhilk may byde with zow for evir, the Spreit of veritie." Ioh. xiv.

Quhare questioun wes, Gyf thay, quhilkis convenit dewlie in generale Counsalis, representit the universale Kirk of God, or not? I schew thé divers ressonis perswadyng the samyn, confirmand thame be plane testimony of Scripture, insafer as thay occupyit the place of the Apostoles be office and authoritie, (to quhame it appertenith as the speciale member of the Congregatioun appoyntit be God, to tak ordour in al materis doutsum concernyng the faith,) and als thair authoritie gevin thaim of God, wes, and is als sufficient in all sortis, as wes the authoritie of the Preistis of the Trybe of Levi. It followis weil, quhatsumevir thing was done be the saidis ministeris for the weill and quietnes of the Congregatioun committit to thare cure, hade the samyn strenth and effect that it had quhilk wes done be the Apostolis or the ministeris of the Auld Law, for the quietnes of the Congregation committit to thare cure.

I gave thé lykewyse juste occasion to be oute of doute of that

thyng quhilk wes done be thame quha convenit in generale Counsalis, without respect of thare lyves; be ressoun, that albeit thay had bene vicius, (as thay wer nocht,) zit thair vice did na dirogatioun, no hynder to thair authoritie. Off this I gavè thé divers ressonis, confirmand the samyn be plane testimonie off Scripture, sick as wes of Cayphas and the preistis in the Auld Law, quhilkis convenit at the desyre of the wickit King, Herod; quha, nochtwithstanding that thay wer als wickit ministeris as evir wer in the Kirk of God, zit thair vice did na hynder nor dirogatioun to thair authoritie, bot thay had the grace of God to do that thing quhilk ryndit to thair office.

Ioha. ii. Mat. ii.

As towart the lawis and constitutionis maid be the Kirk, confer thame with the Scripture (quha plesis) treulie understand, conforme to the interpretation of the ancient Fatheris, havand consideration of the occasionis and circumstances of the tyme; I dar baldlie say, (conforme to the doctryne of men of godlie learnyng,) thay salbe fundin aggreabyll with Goddis Worde, disponand every Christiane man to be the mair habyll to keip the law of God. Thus hes thou juste occasioun, conforme to the Scripture of Almychtie God, ressoun, and authoritie, to be satifeit assuritlie in al poyntis of the argument abone rehersit, nocht doutyng bot the gentyl Redare wyl tak in favouris, albeit we have bene prolixt in doyng the samyn, be ressoun that nocht onelye we answerit formalie to the Four principall heidis of the argument, bot als to divers utheris doutis, commoun sayingis and opinionis, quhairwith men unlearnit (for the maist part) ar abusit in thir unhappy dayis. And now, (conforme to our promeis,) be the grace of God, wyl we proceid on utheris questionis movit in the contrar of our purpose.

THE FYFTENT CHAPITRE.

HEIREFTER followis ane argument movit, incontrar oure purpose on this maner; Quhairsumevir the Spreit of God is, thair is treuth and verytie without repugnancè or contrarietie. Their hes bene divers

generale Counsalis repugnant, ane unto ane uther, sua that ane hes condempnit that quhilk ane uther hes approvin. Tharefore it followis, that the generale Counsalis hes nott had the Spreit of God, nor ar the speciale member off the Congregation appoyntit be God to tak ordour in materis of debait concerning faith. For understanding of this purpose, thou sall considder, quhen the ministeris in the New Law convenit in general Counsalis, thair wes twa hedis in special quhairof thai tretit: Ane wes to tak ordoure in materis concernyng Religioun, ane uther to tak ordour in materis concerning Faith. I cal materis concernyng Religioun, ceremonyes, civile ordinances, or lawis maid be the Kirk, gevand Christin men occasioun (as I schew thé of before) to be the mair habyll to keip the law of God. I cal materis concernyng Faith, interpretatioun of the Word of God, specialie that is necessare to be knawin, and usit for ane Christiane mannis salvatioun, as ar the Sacramentis.

As towart materis concernyng Religioun, trewlie thair hes bene divers generale Counsalis quhilkis hes maid lawis and ceremonyes, movit be the occasioun of the tyme, and conditioun of the peple committit to thair cure, quhilkis, as the tyme alterit, and conditionis of the peple, sua wes it thocht expedient be the Kirk to alter sum lawis and ceremonyis, quhilk argumentis na imperfection of the generale Counsalis. For quhy? Almychtie God (quha is, and evir wes, patron of all perfectioun) maid divers lawis and ceremonyis, as his godlye wysedome and providence thocht expedient to his chosin peple for the tyme, quhilkis efterwart wer alterit, cheangit, and ceissit, as the occasioun servit, as thow may cleirlie persave, baith in the Auld Testament and New. Swa thow may persave that it argumentis na imperfectioun, the alteratioun of lawis according to the diversitie of tyme, and condition of the peple. As towart materis concerning Faith, luke all the generall Counsalis fra the first to the last, thou sall nevir fynd that evir ane hes exponit ane testimonye of Scripture necessare to be knawin for ane Christiane mannis salvatioun, quhilk ane uther hes exponit contrariuslie, or zit diffinit ony thyng concernyng faith, quhilk hes

Actu. xv.

Actu xv.

bene condempnit, correctit, or reprevit be ane uther. Treuth it is, thair wes ane conventioun of heretikis quha convenit aganis the godlie Counsale Nicene, to defend the errour of Arrius, quhilk wes nevir estemit worthie the name of ane generale Counsale, because it wes not dewlie convenit. For quhy? Liberius, with the rest off the godlie byschoppis, (to quhame in speciale it appertenit to tak ordour in all materis concerning the faith,) planelie ganestude this wickit conventioun, quhilk wes haldin at Arminium. And als thair wes mony of the byschoppis quhilkis wer convenit in this wickit conventioun, quha retreatit thair awin deliberatioun, quhilk wes nevir done be the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit. There hes bene divers utheris conventionis of heretikis, (quhilkis heir to rehers wer over prolixt,) and hes evir bene condempnit be the godlie generale Counsalis.

Eccl. Hist. lib. x. cap. 21.

Attouir, thair wes ane Consale haldin in Aphric, quhareinto Cypriane, with certane godlie byschoppis convenit, quhais opinioun for that present tyme wes, that thay quha wer baptizat be heretikis suld be baptizat agane. Notheles, thair wes ane generall Consale quhilk correctit the samyn, because baptime takis not effect of the minister, bot of God allanerlie. This Consale haldin in Aphric wes bot ane provinciale Consale, quhais deliberatioun ever in materis concernyng faith (as sayis the ancient father Augustine) is to be referrit to the generale Consalis. Als thow sall understand, that the question tretit in this provinciale Counsale wes not towart the interpretation of Scripture: For quhy? The Scripture makis na mentioun, quhether, gyf thai quhilkis ar baptizate be heretikis ar to be baptizat agane or not? Bot wes ane question of opinioun, quhairinto men in authoritie may speik frelie, (specialie havand apperance, as thai had, movit on godlie zele aganis heretykis,) ay and quhill the generale Counsale had tane ordour thairintyll. Thairfore, this argument, and all uther siclyke, makis na dirogation to the generale Counsalis, quha assuritlie in al materis pertenyng faith, nevir errit nor variit.

Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 2.

Libr. ii. contra Donatist.

Be the contrar, wyll thou considder the jugement and doctryne of all sic factius and curius men, as disdanis to resave of the Kirk

the trew understanding of the misteriis of Goddis Word, conforme to the doctryne of the samyn, and thow sall easilie persave, that not allanerlie ar thay repugnant, variant, and inconstant in materis concernyng religioun, bot lykewyse in materis concernyng faith. The exemplis ar familiar tyll all men quhilkis plesis to reid and confer thair werkis. The first in thir dayis quhilk sterit up seditioun, refusand the jugement of the Kirk in materis concernyng faith and religioun, wes ane callit Martine Luther, quha wes ane Augustine freir, and lang tyme thairefter maid an monsterus mariage with ane Non. Ane uther wes callit Johane Oecolampaudius, Almayne borne, quha wes lykewyse ane rynnigat monk fra his religioun. Thir twa perrellus patronis of irregulare religion ar als contrarius ilkane to uther in declaration of divers misteryis of the Scriptures, necessare to be knawin for al Christiane mennis salvation, as lycht to myrknes. Amangis mony divers exemplis, ane in speciale wyl we cal to remembrance: Luther declaring the wordis of our Salveour in the latter Supper, sayand, "This is my body," exponis thaim to be said of the verray naturale body of our Salveour, and na wayis to be spokin be ane similitude; and in that he is conforme to the doctryne of the Kirk, and all the ancient fatheris of the samyn; albeit utherwayis he is alluterlie repugnant thairto. Oecolampaudius, be the plane contrar, exponis thir wordis of our Salveour to be spokin be ane similitude and figure, quhairby he makis lytle or na difference betuix this blyssit sacrament and sacrifice, and the sacramentis and sacrifice of the Jowis. Zuynglius, Melancthone, Bucere, Bullinger, quha wer men in thir dayis, quhilkis wer cheif steraris up of sedition aganis the Kirk, (reid thair werkis quha plesis,) thou sall fynd thaim evir contrarius amangis thaim selfis, in materis concernyng baith faith and religion. To verifie the samyn, thou sal reid ane tractive set furth be Melancthon, quha wrytis of the Supper of the Lorde, incontrar the Anabaptistis, quhare he dois afferme planelie the reale presens of the blude and body of oure Salveour in the blyssit sacrament of the alter. And als, condempnis the opinion of al sick as dois affirme the wordis of our Salveour, sayand, "This is my body," to be spokin

In Captivitate Babilonica.

Tract. de Cena Domini, contra Anabapti.

be a metaphore, similitude, or figure. Forther, he sais planelie, in the sam tractive, that it is gret fuill-hardines, to set furth ony uther doctryne concernyng the understanding of this profound misterie, nor sic as hes bene approvin be the Kirk of ald, affirmand that it wes evir the doctryne of the Kirk, the reale presens of the precius bodye and blude of our Salveour, to be in the Sacrament of the alter; and to appreve the samyn, he callis to remembrance the ancient fatheris of the Kirk, sic as Cyrill, Cypriane, Chrysostome, Theophilact, and utheris divers: To the quhilk opinioun of Melancthon, Zuynglius, Bucere, Bullinger, ar alluterlie contrarius. Luther, efter lange disputatioun, quhilk wes betuix hym and Oecolampadius, and lykewyse Bucere, for the understanding of this misterie, wrait divers injurius epistolis incontrar Bucere, (quha wes ane apostata blak freir,) and al quhilkis favourit his opinion, affirmand thaim al to be heretikis. Thay wrait agane, affirmand Luther and al quhilkis favourit his opinioun to be heretikis; as thow sall cleirlie persave in ane epistle quhilk Luther wrait to ane callit Johane Harvagius.

In Epis. ad Iohā. Harvagium.

Thairefter Bucere recantit his opinioun, and come to the opinioun of Luther. Attour, nocht onely ar thay variand in declaratioun of the blyssit Sacramentis, bot lykewyse thay differ in the noumer of thame, sum sayand thair is bot twa, as did Luther, sum thair is thre, as dois Melancthon in his buke callit his Commoun Places; swa that thair is na certitude amangis thame, nolder towart the noumer of the Sacramentis, use, nor effect, nor zit in the understanding and declaration of thame, specialie of this maist excellent Sacrament of the alter; quhilk is ane of the maist effectuus Sacramentis, quhareby Jesu Christ, our Salveour, hes appoyntit the fruct of his passioun and deith to be aplyit and renewit in al Christin men. Lykewyse, thay ar different in divers utheris misteryis of the Scripture. Luther, in his wickit werk quhilk he maid aganis Fre wyl, is als repugnant to Melancthon in his Commoun Places, and in his werk callit *De Anima*, spekand of Fre wyl, as blak to quhyte. Luther affirmand purgatory is repugnand to al the rest. Attour, thir seditious men, abone rehersit, quha ven-

In initio Captivitatis Babiloniæ.

In Disput. Lipsica.

dicatis thaim selfis to have greter knawlege nor Christis hale Kirk, not onelie ar thai repugnant ane unto ane uther, bot alsua it wer ane monsterus farse to considder, how contrarius thai ar planelie everilkane to him self. Hes not Oecolampadius (quhais opinioun men in thir dayis praysis sua hichlie) alterit thryse? First, he wes of the opinion of the Kirk towart the understanding of the misterie of the Sacrament of the altar, sua lang as he remanit in religioun: thairefter he wes of the opinion of Luther: last of all, he wes of the opinion of Beringarius, quha recantit his errour, and wes the first sterar up of the samin. How mony hundreth places Luther is contrarius to him self, luke the werk of Bunderius, callit, "Detectio Nugarum Lutheri," et "Malleum Johanis Fabri," and thow sall easilie persave. Last of all stert up ane callit Johane Calvyne, ane Frenche man borne, quha not allanerlie is contrarius to the Kirk of God, and all the ancient fatheris of the samyn, bot als he is repugnant in materis concernyng baith faith and religioun, tyl al the rest of thir factius men, abone rehersit, inventyng ane new factioun of his awin, quharethrow he wald be thocht singulare, (as he is in deid,) for thair hes bene bot fewe wor (in all kynd of wickit opinion) in the hale warld. And to the effect that the Redare sall nocht thynk that this is said of dispyte, to geve fals persuasioun, thow sall reid ane werk of Calvynnis, quhilk he callis his lytle buke of the Supper of the Lorde, quhare he rehersis the gret contraversie quhilk wes ane lang tyme betuix Luther, Oecolampadius, Zuynglius, and Bucere, for the understanding of the Sacrament of the Altare; and thow sall persave, that he sayis planelie, that Luther exponis this misterie of the Sacrament falslie, and that Oecolampadius, Zuynglius, and Bucere, techeit nocht the hale treuth and veritie, towart the rycht understanding of this Sacrament. Thairefter he gevis his awin jugement, quhilk is contrarius to al the rest, affirmyng the samyn, but older Scripture or doctor; and thairfore is deir of the rehersing, because it wes evir misknawin to the Kirk of God, and all the ancient fatheris of the samyn. Libel. de Cena Domini.

Marvell nocht (benevolent Redare) off this gret variance of opi-

nioun, quhilk is and evir hes bene amangis thir seditius men in thir dayis; for this hes bene evir ane familiar falt to al heretykis, quhilkis refusit the jugement of the Kirk in declaratioun of the misteryis of Goddis Word, as we reid of divers sectis amangis the Arrianis, Anabaptistes, and Manacheis, ane contrarius to ane uther. And notwithstanding of this gret variance of opinioun, quhilk evir hes bene amangis al heretykis in all aiges, zeris, and tymes; zit thair is ane graceles grace quhilk followis thaim al, quhilk is, that thay aggre universalie in ane opinioun, to cry out with oppin chaftes on the halie Counsalis, evin as the Jowis cryit al with ane voce to crucifie Christ. And that nocht without cause, (as I schew thé off before,) for gyf the declaratioun of Goddis Word wer ressavit conforme to the interpretatioun of the generale Counsalis, (as thay aucht and sulde be of ressoun,) than sall na private factius mannis opinion nor vainé glore (quha wald be thocht singulare in his awin opinion) have place. And notheles that the fructe of thair doctryne declaris sufficientlie the gret imperfectioun of thair beleve and opinioun, zit pairtlie but schame wyll thay allege, that the trew faith and Kirk is with thame onelie. Be the contrar, all men of godlie learnyng hes evir constantlie affirmit, that the ancient Fatheris (quha convenit dewlie in generale Counsalis) had evir the trew faith, conforme to the doctryne of the Apostlis discending fra tyme to tyme, representand the universale Kirk of God and Congregatioun.

Hist. Eccl. cap. 25, libro 10.

Mat. xxvii. Ioha. xix.

And als thaye did big firmelye on that sure roke and fundament, that Jesu Christ, our Salveour, is the Sone of God, secunde persone in Divinitie, Redemar of the warld. Now wyl I appele the conscience of the ineffectionat and godlie Redare, diligentlie to considder, Quhilk of thir twa biggis maist trewlye, and maiste godlie, conforme to Goddis Worde, on this fundament? quhair nevir twa of thir seditius men aggreis togidder, nor zit ane of thaim with hym self, nocht onelie in materis concernyng religioun, bot als in materis concernyng faith? Or the ancient Fatheris, (beyng dewlie convenit in generale Counsalis,) quha nevir variit, nor wer repugnant, nolder in materis concerning faith nor religioun?

Geve thair be ony man offendit with thir sayingis, lat hym mark the text or place of Scripture necessare to be knawin for ane Christiane mannis salvation, quhairsumevir ane generale Counsale, dewlie convenand, is repugnant ane unto ane uther in declaration of the samyn; quhilk I am sure he sall nevir fynd, specialie in declaration of the misteriis of the blyssit Sacramentis.

THE SEXTENT CHAPITRE.

Now wyll I speir ane question at ony vaine man, in thir dayis, quhilk refusis the doctryne and jugement of the Kirk in declaratioun of the misteriis of the Scripture, and is led with everye wynd-fallin precheair, and doctryne, Quhais jugement wyll he follow? Wyll thow follow Luther? Oecolompadius wyl sweir and saye, that thow art clene out of the way. For quhy? His doctryne is alluterlie repugnant to the doctryne of Luther in declaratioun of divers places of the Scripture, necessare to be knawin for ane Christiane mannis salvatioun, as I schew thé off before. Wyll thow follow Oecolampadius? Melancthon wyll say, thow art led with the spreit off errour. For quhy? Luke Melancthon (quha plesis) in his werk abone rehersit, and als in his werke callit his Commoun Places, and thow sall persave hym fer different fra the opinion of Oecolampadius, Zuynglius, and Bucere, in declaration of the Sacrament of the altar, and mony uther purposis concernyng baith faith and religioun. Wyll thow follow Melancthon? Calvyne wyll say thow art not fast in the faith, because thay differ towarte the understanding of faith and workis, ather partiis allegeand Scripture assuritlie for thaim. Wyll thou follow Calvyne? Al the rest wyll sweir and say, that thou art ane condempnit heretyke. For quhy? He is contrarius to all the rest in materis concernyng baith faith and religion, as I schew thé of before. Thus, geve thow wylbe ane heretyke, as I wald say, geve thow wyll manteyne, with pertinacitie and indurites, ane wickit opinion incontrar Goddis Worde and the Kirk, Quhame wyll thow follow? Wyll thow follow the Scripture one-

In Lib. de Cena Domini contra Anabaptist.

Melanch. in Locis Theo. Basil. Anno 1546, Impress.

lie? Thow art nocht abyll tyll explore and seik out the profunde knawlege of the misteriis of the samyn be thy awin private laubouris. Thairfore vaine man, recant for schame, recant as thow luiffis the salvatioun of thy awin saule, and returne to the godlie doctryne of the Kirk, to quhame it appertenis onely (and that be the provisioun off Almychtie God) to tak ordour in declaratioun of all the misteriis off Goddis Worde, necessare to be knawin for thy salvatioun, and all Christiane mannis; conforme to the saying of St Augustine, affirmand the authoritie of the generale Counsales to be preferrit to the jugement of ony ane perticulare byschope, or the Counsale of ane particulare regioun or countre. Thairfore, leve the jugement of thir inconstant seditius private men, and all utheris quhilkis favouris thair factioun, quha ar to be reknit (as said the Apostole) in the noumer of thame that passit fra ws, bot thay wer nocht of ws, insafer as thay ar devidit fra the Kirk of God in materis concernyng baith faith and religioun.

Libro. ii., contra Donatist. ca. primo.

Ioh. ii.

It may be sperit, Quhat wes the cause that thir seditius men abone rehersit wer sua contrarius amangis thame selfis, and fell in sua gret errouris in declaratioun of the misteryis of the Scripture? For considderatioun of this purpose, thow sall tak exemple be the Sone, quhilk furthschawis the way tyll all thyng in erth; nochtheles, gyf thow wyl luke contineuallie in the Sone, and not use it moderatlie and temporatlie, as God and nature hes appoyntit, but doute it sall mak thé blynd. Swa curius men (quha proudelie thynkis thay wyll explore the knawlege of the Scripture be thare awin private laubouris, and wyll nocht, accordyng to the ordinance and provisioun of God, moderatlie and temperatlie reid the Scriptures, ressavyng the understanding of the misteryis of the samyn, as the Kirk hes evir techeit thame) fallis in gret errouris, and ar maid blynd in thair faith. Thairfore, said the excellent clerke Erasme, in al materis difficile and obscure pertenand the faith, he wald refuse his awin jugement and all uther privat mannis, (how godlie or weill learnit that evir he wer,) and submit hym self to the jugement of the Kirk.

Epist. ad inferiores Germanie. Ecclesiast.

Attour the godlie doctores, approvid be the Kirk, red the sam

Scriptures, quhilkis thir seditius men red, and zit thay tuke contrarius jugementis of the samyn, as thow maye persave towart the understanding of the wordis of the Apostole, saying, "Thair sall cum in the latter dayis quhilkis sall forbide mariaige, and to abstayne fra meatis quhilkis God hes creat." Thair is nane of the doctores (luke al thair workis quha plesis) takis occasioun of this passe of Scripture, or ony uther, to contempne the ordinances of the Kirk; and now divers men quhilkis redis the samyn Scripture, contempnis planelie the ordinances off the Kirk, and fyndis, efter thair jugement, that this text abone rehersit, and mony utheris, ar expresse aganis the ordinances of the Kirk. Quhat is the cause of this? bot that thay reid nocht the Scripture, havand siclyke godlie mynd and intentioun as had the ancient Fatheris, quha evir red the Scripture, to geve thame occasion to suppres the desyris of the flesche; and now men in thir dayis redis the Scripture (as the experience daylie techeis ws) to se quhat places thay maye thraw to thair awin appetit, by the godlye meinyng of the samyng makand this text of the Apostole, and divers utheris, scheild and buklare to thair lustis and heresiis. As be exempyll, thow seis be experience that the Sonne wyll melt the walx and hardin the clay. This cumis nocht of the diversitie of the nature of the Sonne, bot of the diversitie of the nature of the thyngis quhairupon the Sone schynis. Swa this diversitie of opinioun proceadis of the divers intentionis off men quhilkis redis the Scripture, and nocht of the Scripturis self. Thairfore, we may be assurit, quhasumevir redis the Scripture, older to seik the libertie of his flesche, or zit his awin glore, (contempnande the jugement of the Kirk towart the understanding of the samyn,) he sal have sick proffeit be it, (albeit he wer of nevir swa gret learnyng,) as hade the devyll, quha familiarlie spak and ressonit with our Salveoure, and zit the proffeit or knawlege quhilk he had be the samyn wes lytle or na thing, bot passit away with confussioun, frustrat of his pretence.

1 Tim. iv.

Matt. iv.

THE SEVINTENT CHAPITRE.

Now schortlie wyll we answeir to the rest of the objectionis and argumentis movit in the contrar of our purpose, sick as we have older red or harde. Sum murmuris, saying, that the Kirk is baith partie and juge. Trewlie it appertenis to the Kirk of God to be partie tyll all wickit and ungodlie doctryne, specialie quhilk rysis for the understanding of the Scripture, and to discerne quhilk is the rycht understanding of the samyn; as we have plane in Scripture, that the Apostlis wes jugis to discerne, gyf circumcisioun wes necessare with Baptime, and als, thay wer partie tyl al quhilkis did affirme circumcisioun to be necessare. Thairfore, said the Apostole St Paule, gyf ze be circumcidit, Christ avalis zow nocht. Attour, we ar certifiit that the godlie Byschope Athanasius, in speciale ganestude the wickit heresie of Arrius, with divers utheris godlie fatheris, and zit he and the rest wer juges quha decernit on the samyn. Sua it makis na dirogation to the authoritie of the Kirk, that the faithful ministeris of the samyn be partie tyll all ungodlie doctryne and als juge thairupon, be the quhilk the veritie may be maid patent to the hale Congregation.

Act. xv.

Gala. v.

Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 14.

Sum wyll object, (and be that menis seik ane colour to defende the gret variance off opinioun, quhilk is amangis seditius men in thir dayis,) saying, that thair wes diversitie in opinioun amangis the ald doctores approvin be the Kirk, and als amangis sum scolastick men laitlie, sen the doctores tyme.

This argument servis of nocht, for twa ressonis: First, The doctores gaif thair jugement in the beginnyng, afore the misteriis of the Scripture wer maid patent be the Kirk; thairfor (as sais Erasme) thair imperfectioun wes to be borne withall, and als, quharesumevir thay varie, it is of materis (for the maist part) of opinion, quhilkis ar not expreslie contenit in the Scripture, bot as hes plesit God with the tyme to steir up his Kirk to tak ordour thairinto, sua that all questioun, debait, and schysme, may be paci-

Epist. ad Eccle. Argentor.

fyit in the Congregation. Bot be the contrar, men gevin tyll opinion in thir dayis, varyis for the understanding of the Scripturis necessare to be understand for all Christiane menis salvation, specialie in sick purposis as the Kirk alreddy hes tane sufficient ordour into, contempnand alluterlie the jugement of the Kirk, preferrand thair awin private jugementis to the samyn, quhilk wes nevir done be the ancient Fatheris, nor nane utheris scolastick wrytaris, efter the deliberation of the Kirk. Quharefor the similitude and argument in defence of thair curiositie and variance, servis off nocht, as the diligent Redare may persave. Sum thair is gevin tyll opinioun, and thay wyl admit the jugement and deliberatioun of part of the generale Counsalis, and uther part thay wyll alluterlie cry out on, as Melancthon, Bucere, Bullinger. Sum tyme thay clame to the authoritie of the Kirk, off the quhilk schortlie thow sall have exempyll. Sum tyme thai contempne the authoritie of the Kirk. For consyderation of this purpose, the Redare sal considder, that all sick Counsalis as hes condempnit ony heresyis quhilkis thir factius men ar not wylling to mantayne, all sick thay wyll admit and authorizie. All Counsalis quhilkis hes condempnit sick wickit heresyis as thay ar wylling to renew and fortifye, (albeit thay wer nevir sua godlie,) alwayis wyll thai contempne. Nochtwithstanding that the authoritie of al the generale Counsalis (dewlie convenit) is alyke specialie to take ordour in materis concernyng faith and religioun, for the quietnes of the Congregatioun committit to thair cure; quha doutis bot Arrius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutices, contempnit the first four generale Counsalis, quhairin thair heresyis wer repellit, and justlie condempnit, allegeand divers pretendit Scripturis, ressonis, and authoriteis for thame; lyke as men in thir dayis injustlie condempnis the deliberatioun of divers godlie generale Counsalis, quhilkis hes procedit incontrar the wickit heresyis quhilkis thay ar wylling to renew and fortifye. Thus do thay detract and repell the authoritie of the Kirk, (to quhame it appertenis to discerne the trew understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang,) as thay do repell the Scripturis self. Dois not Luther

repel St James Epistole, and als the Apocalipse of St Johane, because thair is divers testimoniis of Scripture contenit in thame direct contrar to his opinioun? And in lykewayis, sumtyme thay repell the doctryne of the ancient Fatheris, callit the Doctores of the Kirk. Sumtyme thay pervert and thraw the sayingis of the doctores, persuading to men unlearnit that thair doctryne and the doctores doctryne ar alwayis agreabyll; of the quhilk I wyll mak the Redare, quhilk is unlearnit, to knaw ane mervelous dissaitful craft, quhilk is na lytle secreit amangis heretikis. It is familiar to the ancient fatheris of the Kirk, quhensumevir thay wryte aganis ony heresie quhilk wes in thair tyme, to ressoun for baith the partis; thairefter thai conclude, trewlie conforme to the Scripture, and as the Kirk hes approvin.

☞ Mark ane secreit of heretykis.

That part of the argument manteanit be heretikis of lang tyme bypast, quhilk factius men ar wylling to renew in thir dayis, (for thair is few hereseis now in thir dayis, bot thay have bene condempnit of auld,) fra hande apply thay to fortifie thair purpose; and thus, men unlearnit persuadit that part of the argument, quhilk servis for the opinioun of heretikis, to be the proper sayingis of the doctores, (notwithstanding that it is bot the opinioun of heretikis rehersit be the doctores,) nocht knawand the maner for quhat purpose tha sayingis wer rehersit be the doctores, nor zit the contrar part of the argument nor conclusioun, miserablie ar dissavit, belevand that rehers to be maid be the doctores, as affirmyng that opinioun; and tha simple men ar nocht hable to confer the doctores, to se geve that be trew or not. Attour, thou sall understand, that the ancient Fatheris makand mentioun of divers misteryis of the Scripture, sumtymes spak with swa gret reverence and feare, that it is not easie to persave thair jugementis towart the understanding of the samyn: sumtyme thay declare thair mynd mair planelie. The cause of this wes, (efter the jugement of learnit men,) that the Fatheris wald not diffyne on the profound misteryis of the Scripture unto the tyme the generale Counsalis hade tane ordour thairinto. And als thair ar divers misteryis quhilkis wer nevir brocht in dout in tha doctores dayis; lyke as

the misterye of the blyssit Sacrament of the altare, quhilk wes first brocht in disputatioun be ane callit Beringarius, quhilk wes sax hundreth zeir and mair efter the tyme of Hierome, Ambrose, and Augustine, and mony of the rest of the ancient fatheris. Now sall thow understand, that all sick places quhairinto the doctores spak not planelie, thay places applyis the heretykis for thair awin purpose, and swa affirmes the doctores to be for thame all the way. All sick places quhairinto the doctores mair planelie declaris thair mynd, thay dissimule and wynkis at thame; and be thir meanis dissaitfullie, men gevin tyll opinioun dissavis the simpyl peple, quha is not hable to explore and espy this thair wyckit craft and slycht. Ane exemple wyl I geve thé in speciall: St Augustine (quha is ane of the maist excellent fatheris of the Kirk) sumtyme spekand of the Sacrament of the altare, makis mentioun onelie of the spirituale manducatioun; sumtyme planelye he makis mentioun baith of spirituale and reale manducatioun of the samyn, quhairinto is thé verray naturale blude and body of our Salveour, to the quhilk, propirlie adoratioun is to be gevin; specialie wrytyng on the Psalmes, and divers utheris places. All sic places quhairinto Augustine spekis of the spirituale manducation onelie, diligentlie do thay marke and perverstlie apply for thair awin purpose. All sic places quhairinto he planely spekis, baith of spirituale and reale manducation, men gevin tyll opinion in thir dayis clenelie dois ovirluke, and be thir meanis abuse thai men unlearnit, quha ar nocht hable to seik the fundament, persuading falslie and dissaitfullie Augustine, and the rest of the fatheris, to be for thair wickit opinioun. Anno Domini 1051. Psal. xcviii.

Lorde God, (gude Redare,) is not this ane mervellus dissaitfull craft, quhilk al the warld may se to be fals? For gyf the doctores sayingis (specialie in declaration of the sacramentis quhilkis ar sua necessare to the hale Congregation) had bene contrarius to the doctryne of the Kirk, how fortunat it that Hierome, Augustine, and Ambrose, wer evir reknit to be the maist excellent doctores approvin be the Kirk, aggreand with the doctryne of the samyn, speciallie in declaration of the blyssit Sacrament of the

altare? Wer all the Fatheris quhilkis convenit in generale Counsalis sen the tyme of thir doctores (quhilk is alevin hundreth zeris syne and mair) sua ignorant, that thay culde not persave gyf the doctryne of thir doctores and the rest wes aggreabyll with the doctrine of the Haly Kirk or not? Quha is desirus to knaw ferther, how factius men in thir dayis thrawis the godlie doctryne of the doctores falslie to fortifye thair hereseis, (speciallie incontrar the godlye doctryne of the Kirk, in declaratioun of the misterye of the blyssit Sacrament,) lat hym reid the Bischope of Rochestaris[1] excellent werk incontrar Oecolampadius, and thair sall he aboundantlie persave this intollerabyl dissaitfulnes propirlie discoverit. Now may thow, gude Redare, persave the gudnes of Almychtie God, (quha foresawe that wickit men wald pervert baith doctores and Scriptures by the godlie meanyng of the samyn to thair awin appetit, quharethrow men unlearnit, quhilkis ar nocht hable to confer the Scripturis and the doctores, ar miserablie disceavit,) quhilk hes appoyntit evir his Kirk (quhilk trewlie is representit be the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit) to be ane assurit way for al men to be satifeit in al materis concernyng Faith and Religioun.

THE AUCHTENT CHAPITRE.

To geve the Redare juste persuasioun to considder how necessare it is to lein to the jugement of the Kirk in al materis concernyng baith Faith and Religioun, thou sall understand that thair is divers thingis quhilk we mon beleif, (geve we be faithfull Christiane men,) albeit thay can nocht be provin be expresse testimonyes of Scripture, bot techeit us evir fra tyme to tyme, sen the tyme of the Apostlis to thir dayis be the Kirk. As be exemple, baptising of barnis, as sais St Augustine, likewyse Origene, is ane traditioun

Contra Donatist. lib. iv. Origc. in cap. 6, ad Roma.

[1] John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. The work alluded to is entitled "Joannis Roffensis Episcopi de Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, adversus Johannem Oecolampadium." Coloniæ, 1527. 4to.

of the Apostolis, and is not expreslie contenit in the Scripture. I beleve, gyf it had bene in the Scripture, thir ancient fatheris quha bestowit al thair tyme in contineuale redyng of the samyn, wald have persavit it als sone as ony utheris quhilk sayis the contrar in thir dayis. Melancthon, in his Commoun Places, lykewyse ascrives the samyn to the tradition of the Apostlis and the use of the Kirk; and sua dois Bullinger, in his wickit werk dedicat to the King of Ingland. Attour, is he to be estimate as ane Christiane man, quhilk walde deny (as did Nestorius) the blyssit Virgine Marie to be the Moder of God and Man? And zit it can not be provin be expres testimony of Scripture. Is he not to be estimit as ane heretike, quha walde denye the blyssit Mother of Jesu Christ our Salveour, to be ane perpetuale Virgine, as did Helvidius? And zit we haif na plane Scripture for it. But doute St Hierome (quha wes ane godlie doctor evir approvin be the Kirk) estimes hym ane heretike, and for that errour in speciale, of his ungodly injuris aganis the elect and chosin spous of the Halie Gaist. Attour, is he to be estimit ane Christiane man quha walde deny ane word of thir propositionis followand: The Father, the Sone, the Haly Gaist, ar thre distinct personis in ane Godhed: The Sone, secund persone in Divinitie, is generate without begynning, without ending, equale with the Father in divine nature: The Haly Gaist precedis of baith, thride persone in Divinitie, equale with the Father and the Sone: and zit every thride worde thairof is nocht expreslie contenit in the Scripture, bot as the Kirk hes techeit ws conforme to the Scripture. Ferther, Is it not ane article of our beleve, that our Salveour passit to the hell? and zit it is nocht easie to be provin be plane testimonyis off Scripturis.

Ad Edwardum 6, Reg. Ang.

Trip. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 4.

For conclusioun, geve ony wickit man walde deny the Evangell of Sanct Johane to be autentik Scripture, (as we reid of ane wickit heretyke, callit Marcion, quha denyit divers of the Evangellis; Manacheus refusit al the Auld Testament; Luther, now in our dayis, repellis the Epistole of Sanct James, and the Apocalipse of St Johane:) be quhat meanis wald thou persuade to the Congregatioun, sick sedicius men to be heretikis, and thair opinioun to be

condampnable. Trewlie thow can nocht preve the Evangell of St Jhone to be autentyke Scripture be uther Scripturis: For quhy? Thair is na uther Scripture quhilk makis mention of it, because it wes wryttin lang efter all the rest of the Scriptures. Attour, thair is contenit in the said Evangell of Sanct Johane quhilk is nocht contenit in the rest, sick as towart the divine nature of our Salveour, the rasyng of Lazarus fra deith to lyve, and that our Salveour thryse efter uther commendit his floke to St Peter, with utheris divers notable purposis. Wyll thow say, that it is godlie in the self, and thairfore sulde be reknit as autentik Scripture? Thy argument servis of nocht, because nocht every godlie thyng quhilk is wryttin sulde be reknit as autentik Scripture. Wyll thou say that the Spirite of God techeis thé inwartlye to beleve that the Evangell of St Jhone is autentik Scripture, and the trew Worde of God. I wyll speir at thé, gyf that be sufficient argument to persuade the hale Congregation, and confounde heretykis quhilkis wald say the contrar. This may we persave (gude Redare) how necessare it is to beleve and leyn to the jugement of the Kirk, in mony divers thingis necessare to be belevit, and ar nocht expreslie contenit in Scripture, nor hable to be collectit of Scriptures. Thairfor said the ancient father St Augustine, that he walde nocht beleve the Evangell except the authoritie of the Kirk hade movit hym sua to do; as he wald say, he wes nocht habyll to knawe quhilk is the Evangell, bot gyf the Kirk had techeit hym.

Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 25.

De prescrip. Heret.

Havand consideration (benevolent Redare) of this daingerus tyme, quhairinto men ar swa proclive to fals and wickit jugementis, heir wyll we schortlie declare our mynd towart the authoritie of the Scripture and the Kirk, as we have learnit of men of godlie doctryne and gude lyfe; because, perchance sum man wyll falslie collect of our sayingis abone rehersit, that we avance the authoritie of the Kirk sua hichlie, that it extenuatis and obscuris the glore of Goddis worde; and trewlie we mene na thing les. For consideration of this purpose, thow sall understand that thair ar divers opinionis hereinto. Sum men raschelie ascryvis to

the Scripture it quhilk is not to be ascryvit thairto, sick as to mak the Scripture juge quhensumevir questioun or debait rysis for the understanding of the samyn. Sum superstitius men ascrives that to the Kirk quhilk is aganis all veritie, affirmand the Scripture to tak authoritie of the Kirk, quhilk but dout takis authoritie of the Haly Gaist onelie. Treuth it is, the Kirk testifeis to the Congregation and certifiis quhilk is autentik Scripture, quhilk is nocht: quhilk argumentis nocht that the Scripture takis authoritie of the Kirk; tharefore the Scripture is nocht trewe, because the Kirk hes approvin it, bot because the Scripture in the self is trew, it wes and is necessare to the Kirk to appreve the samyn. As be exemple, Sanct Jhone Baptiste testifiit that Jesus Christe our Salveour is the Sone of God, Redemare of the warld, quhilk he did be the inspiration of the Haly Gaist; notheles, our Salveour tuke not authoritie of St Jhone, bot of the Father of hevin onelie; sua sall thow considder, that the Kirk of God gevis nocht authoritie to the Scripture, bot, be inspiratioun of the Haly Gaist, testifyis, and makis manifest to the Congregatioun, quhilk is autentik Scripture, quhilk is nocht; and sua the Kirk of God and the Scripture ar nevir contrarius. Treuth it is, the Kirk of God extendis to mair nor is expreslie contenit in Scripture, quhilk al Christiane men behufis to beleve, as I have schawin thé alreddy.

Perchance thow wyll say, that the Kirk hes na power forther nor is contenit expreslie in the Scripture, because the Scripture cursis hym quhilk ekis or paris to the Word of God. First, Thou sall understand, that thir wordis ar mankitlie allegit and falslie applyit, becaus thair is nocht in al thé Scripture sick ane word as eking and paryng to the Word of God; and als thou sall understand, that it is nocht eking nor paring to the Worde of God trewly tyll expone and interpreit the samyn, nor zit to mak lawis agreable with the law of God as the Kirk dois, for we have that the Apostolis maid lawis quhilkis wer nocht expreslie commandit be God. Thairfore thow redis nevir that our Salveour forbad to beleve, or use ony lawis bot thame quhilkis wer to

A poc. xxii.

Actu. xv. 1 Cor. vii. & xi.

be contenit in the Evangell, or wrytin Scripture. This thou maye persave that the authoritie of the Kirk extendis to mair nor is expreslie contenit in Scripture, quhilk argumentis nocht repugnance: For quhy? The Kirk wes lang or evir thair wes ony wryttin Scripture bot it quhilk wes wrytin in the hartis of godlie men.

Forther, thow sall considder, that albeit the authoritie of the Kirke extendis to mair nor is expreslie contenit in the Scripture, (because thair are divers thingis quhilkis we suld beleve, and ar nocht contenit in Scripture,) nochtheles, the Scripture and Kirk ar baith alyke trew, equale of strenth, power, and dignitie, governit evir with the samyn Spirite of God. To verifie the samyn, it is manifest that the Apostolis ressavit thair authoritie of Jesu Christe, lang or evir thair wes ony wryttin Scripture of the New Testament; tharefore, the Apostolis, in the sentence quhilk thay send away with Paulus and Barnabas to the Gentyles, declaryng thair determination towart circumcisioun, sais planelie, "It hes plesit the Haly Gaist and us;" quhareby thow may persave, that the Apostolis had authoritie of the Haly Gaist onelye, and all utheris quhilkis succedit in thair place, nochtwithstanding that thaye wer sterit up tyll authoritie be man. For conclusioun, lyke as it appertenis to the Kirk of God to discerne quhilk is the trew and autentik Scripture of God, quhilk is nocht; swa it appertenis to the Kirk to discerne quhilk is the trew understanding of the Scripture, quhilk is nocht, according to the doctryne of all men of godlie learnyng.

Ioha. xx. Matt. xv.

Act. xv.

Tharefore we nevir say in all our lytle Tractive, that the Kirk is juge to the Scripture, bot that the Kirk is juge to discerne quhilk is the trew Scripture of God, and to mak manifest to the Congregatioun the trew understanding of the samyn, (quhensumevir questioun or debait rysis for the trew Scripture, or understandyng thairof,) and swa the Kirk hes and evir hade this authoritie off our Salveour, and thairinto is governit be the inspiratioun of the Halye Gaist, conforme to the instructioun hade be the Scripture, as the trew evident and faithful wytnes berar of

the wyll and mynd of the Lorde; and this (to my jugement) is the rycht understandyng of the authoritie baith of the Scripture and of the Kirk of God, conforme to Goddis Worde and all ressoun.

As it hes plesit God to geve us grace, we haif schawin gud wyl (benevolent Redar) according tyll our promeis and sobir knawlege, gevand just occasion tyl every Christiane man (quhilk is of godly and temperat jugement) to be satifeit assuritlie in al the poyntis contenit in the tytle of our Tractive, be ressoun that we have declarit (conforme to the Scripture of Almychtie God, Auld Testament and New, and als conforme to the experience of the tyme, evir sen the tyme of the Apostolis to thir dayis, togidder with sufficient ressonis and authoriteis of the maist excellent men of godlie learnyng and gude lyfe, quhilkis evir wer ministeris in Christis Kirk and Congregatioun) the nerrest and onelie way to establische the conscience of all Christiane men in al materis of debait concernyng Faith and Religioun. The meanis and way we schew thé lykewyse, quhilk wes because that all questioun and debait, (for the maist part,) quhilk is or evir hes bene movit in the Congregatioun for materis doutsum concernyng the faith, rais, for the understandyng of the Scripture, and nocht for the Scripturis self. Thairfore, necessare it wes to have and knaw the Juge appoyntit be God, to discerne the trew understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang.

As towart the Juge, we schew thé (conforme to Goddis Worde trewlie allegit and al gude ressoun) that we ar constraynit, assuritlie to beleve the generale Counsalis dewlie convenit, to represent the universale Congregatioun and Kirk of God; quhairby all the rest of the membris sulde be pacifeit, and satifeit in conscience, in all the secretis of the Scripture necessare to be knawin for ane Christiane mannis salvatioun, and all uther doutis concernyng Faith and Religioun, as the onelie Juge providit be God, takand virtew, power, and authoritie of Almychtie God, utherwayis, tyl

oppin ane plane port; tyl all the errouris quhilkis evir hes bene sen the tyme of the Apostolis to thir dayis, and every man to tak quhat opiniouu he plesis, levand in perpetuale contraversie and debait for the faith.

Now, sen we ar certifiit assuritlie quha is the Juge, lat all Christiane man (quhilk is in dout) have refuge to the juge, without curius or forther ressonyng, to be satifiit in his doute; and be this meane and way, (quhilk is conforme to Goddis Worde and al ressoun,) it salbe easie tyl all men to be satifiit assuritlie in all materis doutsum concernyng the Faith and Religioun of all Christiane men; quhilk hes bene providit fra the begynning, for the gret weil and quietnes of the hale Congregatioun, be our Hevinlie Father, to quhame, with the Sonne, and Halye Gaist, be prayse, honour, and glore, for evir and evir.

FINIS.

ANE ANSWER

TO

THE COMPENDIUS TRACTIVE OF MR QUINTINE KENNEDY, ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUELL,

BY

JOHN DAVIDSON.

M.D.LXIII.

THE Author of the following work was educated for the Church, and appears to have taken orders before the era of the Reformation. We have indeed little better than mere conjecture to offer respecting his early history; and for the notices of his subsequent career we are chiefly indebted to the biographer of Knox and Melville, who so happily combined the most diligent research, and accuracy of detail, with the higher qualifications of an Historian.

It is most probable that JOHN DAVIDSON, who became Principal of the College of Glasgow, was a native of the North of Scotland, and that he was born about the year 1520. On this supposition, we are inclined to believe that he may have prosecuted his studies at King's College, Aberdeen, before 1545; but this cannot now be ascertained, as the earlier Registers of the College are not preserved. From an incidental allusion, we learn that he spent some time at the University of Paris, where he might have taken his Master's degree, if he had not previously attained that rank on completing his course of philosophical study in his native country. He appears, from a commission by William Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen, executed at Paris on the 13th of September 1552, to have been still in France, as Davidson,[1] who is described as Vicar of Nigg, was one of the witnesses to the deed; and there can be little doubt that this was the same individual. During his residence in Paris, he became acquainted with Quintin Kennedy, for whom, at a later period of life, he continued to testify great respect, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions.

Previously to Davidson's connection with Glasgow, he had received some other ecclesiastical preferment, as he is styled in

[1] "Coram his testibus—Magistris Joanne Davidson Vicario de Nyg," &c. See Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.—Russell's edit., p. 125.

the Registers of the University, "Magister Joannes Davidson, Vicarius de Alness," on being incorporated a member of the College, 24th of October 1556. As Alness, in Ross-shire, is only a few miles distant from Nigg, these livings may perhaps have been conjoined. The same year he was chosen one of the four intrants for electing the Rector of the University; and on the 25th of October 1557, we find him designated, "Principalis Regens Pedagogii Glasguensis." The name *Pedagogium* was that which was most commonly applied to the College of Glasgow at that time as a Seminary of public instruction. In 1559, "Magr. Johannes Davidsoun, Principalis Regens Pedagogii seu Universitatis Glasguen." signs two deeds relating to the College rents; and in 1560, another is subscribed by "Mr Johne Davidsoun, Principall Regent of the Pædagog of Glasgow." This appointment he probably obtained through the influence of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow; as in the present work he acknowledges he had been greatly indebted to his kindness. He continued to hold this office for upwards of fifteen years, but we can discover no indications of the College having flourished under his government; though this want of eminent success may have been owing more to the unsettled state of public affairs, than to any want of zeal or inefficiency on his part. During the earlier struggles of the Reformers, Davidson continued his adherence to the Romish Church, but afterwards joined the Protestant party. "His answer to Kennedy (as Dr M'Crie remarks) shows him to have been a modest and candid man, although not possessed of great learning."[1] It is the only work he is known to have written.

This answer to Kennedy's Tractive, which is now reprinted, is so extremely rare, that the only copy known to exist is one very carefully preserved in the Advocates Library. It is a small 4to, of 34 leaves, in black letter. The reader will observe that this Answer does not refer exclusively to the Abbot of Crossraguell's printed work, but to a summary or abstract which Kennedy himself drew

[1] Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 448.

up, and sent to Davidson for the purpose of having it submitted "to our gude Lorde and Maister," the Archbishop of Glasgow.[1]

At a later period, the example of the Abbot of Crossraguell was followed by one or two other writers of the Roman Catholic party, of whom Ninian Winzet is the most entitled to notice. Before the downfall of Popery, he had been Master of Linlithgow School, and about the period when he was deprived of his office, he wrote or translated various tracts in opposition to Knox and other Reformers. A volume containing a republication of his "Certane Tractatis for reformatioun of doctrine and manners," his "Buik of Foirscoir Questions," and his translation of Vincentius Lirinensis, from the rare editions printed in the years 1562 and 1563, was presented by J. B. Gracie, Esq., as a contribution to the Maitland Club, in 1835. Winzet was a man of considerable learning and ingenuity; and it is creditable to him to have openly avowed his sense of the ignorance and corruption which prevailed among the Popish clergy, and his conviction that at least a partial reformation was required. In one place[2] he mentions this Tractive of the Abbot of Crossraguell (whom he calls "an honorable confessour of the true Catholik fayth") as a work "commendit be sindry cunning men als weil of England as of Scotland;" and says, he had also seen "certane clatteris, and I wate nocht quhat, nameit contumeliouslie, in hie contempt of the Kirk of God, *A Confutation of the said M. Quintinis Papistical Counselis*,[3] put out be ane of our wind-fallin brether, laitlie snapperit in the cummerance of Calvin, M. Johne Davidsone," &c.—Winzet having qualified himself, after leaving his native country, took holy orders, and was advanced to be Abbot of the Scotish Monastery of St James at Ratisbon, where he died in 1592.[4]

[1] See pages 187, 256.

[2] In the Epistle dedicatory "To the maist Catholik, Noble, and Gratious Sowerane MARIE Quene of Scottis," prefixed to his translation of Vincentius Lirinensis, originally printed at Antwerp, 1563, small 8vo.

[3] The running title of Davidson's work is, "The Confutatione of M. Q. Ken. Papisticall Councels."

[4] See the Life of Winzet, in the republication for the Maitland Club, also Dr Irving's Lives of Scotish Writers, vol. i. p. 98.

On the 17th of October 1569, a presentation to the Chaplainry of St Michael, in the metropolitan Kirk of Glasgow, was granted by the Rector of the University of Glasgow to Mr John Davidson, "in name and behalf of the Universitie and College thairof, within the toune of Glasgow, for the sustentation of bursaris within the said Universitie." This grant was ratified and approved by the King, 18th of January 1569-70; and on the 10th of July that year, Davidson obtained a decree against the College tenants,[1] feuars, tacksmen, and others, who it seems had refused to pay their annual rents.

It has not been ascertained at what time Davidson died, but I believe (says Dr M'Crie) "his name occurs for the last time in the Records of the University, about the year 1572." His successor, Andrew Melville, was installed in October 1574, and he continued to be styled "Principall of the Pedagog of Glasgow." In December 1580, Melville was translated to St Mary's College, St Andrews.

It only remains to add, that Principal Davidson must be distinguished from two persons of the same name, who flourished about the same period. One of these, John Davidson, was the first Protestant Minister of Hamilton.[2] He survived till near the close of the sixteenth century;[3] and his name occasionally occurs in the proceedings of the General Assembly,[4] without his taking, however, any prominent part in ecclesiastical affairs, or distinguishing himself from the majority of his brethren. The other was John Davidson, Minister of Saltpreston, a person of much greater note, and of whose life a few particulars will be stated in a subsequent article in the present Miscellany.

[1] Chartulary of Glasgow, vol. ii. p. 584-588; and Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxxviii. p. 114.

[2] Register of Ministers, 1567, p. 32.

[3] From the Book of Assignations, 1596, we find he was then alive, but in 1597, the name of John Muirhead occurs as Minister of Hamilton, having been translated from the neighbouring parish of Glassford, probably on Davidson's death.

[4] Buik of the Universall Kirk, (Bannatyne Club edition,) pp. 97, 572, 757.

¶ Ane Anſwer to the

Tractiue, ſet furth in the zeir of God. 1558. be Maiſter Quintine Kennedy, Commendatar, Abbote of Croſraguell, for the eſtabliſching of ane Chriſtiane mannis conſcience (as he alledgis) the Forth and ſtrenth of his Papiſtrie, and all vthers of his Sect, as appearis weil be his Epiſtle direct to the Proteſtantes, and Prentit in the laſt part of this Buik:

Maid be Maiſter Johne Dauidſone, Maiſter of the Paedagog of Glaſgw.

Colloſſ. 2.

Bewarre, leſt thare be ony man that ſpuilze zow throw Philoſophie, and baine deceait, throw the traditionis of men, according to the Rudimentis of this warld, and nocht efter Chriſte.

¶ Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik.

Cum priuilegio. 1563.

TO THE BENEVOLENT READER.

BENEVOLENT Reader, my labour in this lytle Buik hes bene principally to give all men to understand quhat appertenis to the Spirite and Worde of God, in all Councels, that is convenit in the name of God, for to have the interpretatione of difficill places of the Scripture, and discretione betuix the rycht understanding and the wrang of the same, for the decisione of onie controversie, in maters of religione; and quhat appertenis to men to do in the same: Nocht forgetting to schaw the nerrest way to thaim that is at controversie, quhow thay may come to reconciliation, gif thay wil be contentit to have thare opinione, or assertione, be ane infallible Judge, without partialitie or favour bearing mair to ane part nor to ane uther, judgit and decydit. To this effect, that nother the glorie of the godly decretis set furth in Councels, nor the dignitie of presidencie, pertening onely to the Haly Spirit, be attribute to men in ony Councels; nor zit that men, and specially the simple and ignorant, be dissavit heirby, for thare is mony thingis requirit to ane godly Councell; and he quha under this terme generall or provinciall Councel, understandis thaim all confusitly, swa that he can put na difference betuix thaim, nor zit betuix thare offices pertening to thaim severally, may be easylie led, be way of argumentatione, to confesse sindrie absurditeis; quharefore sic thingis war necessare to be knawin, be all thaim quha wald have ane ready answer to the Papistes sophisticall argumentis, or that wald have ane reasone aganis thaim that mantenis thare religione (quhilk I may call rather idolatrie or superstitione) be Councels and traditionis of men. And that thow may easylie perceave my proceadingis aganis this Tractive of Maister Quintinis, I have put in writ, First his sayings, and thairefter followis my Answer; with sum ob-

jectionis that I mak, for the declaratione of my awin sayingis, and confutation of his Sophistical Reasonis. And alswa thare is addit
Fol. 2, b. heirto ane Schort Table, quhareby the principall headis of this Tractive salbe easylie found. As to the fautis, gif ony hes bene oversene in the prenting, I wishe the gentle Reader to beare with the same, quhare thay may be borne with. Praying thee use this Tractive to the glorie of God and conforte of thyself and his Kirk. And swa faire thow weill in the Lorde. At the Paedagog of Glasgw. 1562.

THE PRINCIPALL CONTENTIS OF THIS BUIK.

1. Quhow is it to be understand that the Scripture hes ane rycht understanding and ane wrang, . . le. 5,[1] face 2.

2. Nother Kirk nor Councels is appointit Judges be God to the Scripturs, or to the opinionis conceavit heirof, . l. 6, f. 2.

3. Quha may be Judges to controverseis of Religion, l. 7, f. 1.

4. The Worde of God may baith beare witnes and be judge in controverseis of Religione, . . . l. 7, f. 2.

5. The cause quhy men seikis thare controverseis to be decydit be Councels, and quhow, . . . l. 9, f. 2.

6. The Haly Spirit is President, Judge, and decrete maker, in all godly Councels, and nocht men, . . l. 10, f. 2.

7. The cause quhy judgement is attribute to men in Councels, ... l. 11, f. 1.

8. The cause quhy the Kirk of Rome was not ane able juge to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, ... l. 11, f. 2.

9. Quhy the Papistes fearis examinatione of the Decretis maid be thare Kirk, ... l. 13, f. 1.

10. Na hereseis hes bene supprest be Councels, taking the Councels for the cheif pastours, . . . l. 14, f. 2.

[1] That is the number of the leaf in the original, and the 1st and 2d face or page of each leaf. These leaves are marked in the margins of this reprint as fol. 1, 2, &c.

11. The Worde of God is not ane deade thing, as the Papistes haldis it to be, ... l. 15, f. 1.

12. Baith Generall and Provinciall Councels may fall in erroure, ... l. 17, f. 2. Fol. a.

13. Quhow the authoritie of the Kirk soulde be joynit to the judgement of God, exprest in his Worde, . l. 19, f. 1.

14. Quhow the Kirk receavit the Scripturs callit Canonical, and Apocrypha, ... l. 20, f. 2.

15. The Protestantes desyres to be judgit, quha bearis disdane at the Councels, or thrawis the Scripturs, . l. 21, f. 2.

16. The Levitical preist and judge was not appointit Judges be God, to stay doutis quhilk rase for the understanding of the Scripturs, ... l. 23, f. 1.

17. The cheif Pastours Councell of the auld Law schamfully errit, ... l. 24, f. 1.

18. Quhy the Jowes and the Papistes decernis not the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, . l. 24, f. 2.

19. Paule ascendit to Jerusalem, to confer the Scripturs with the rest of the Apostles, . . . l. 26, f. 1.

20. Quha disputit in the Councel of the Apostles, Act. xv., ... l. 27, f. 1.

21. James the Apostle, as Bischop of Jerusalem, gave not sentence, Act. xv., ... l. 28, f. 1.

22. Quhy the Abbote pretermittit the Superscriptione of the Councels letter, writtin Act. xv., . . l. 30, f. 1.

23. Quhow the Abbote oversaw the Haly Spirit for his awin avantage, ... l. 30, f. 2.

24. Quhow the text of the Scripture, and the Abbotes glose aggreis not together, ... l. 31, f. 1.

25. Quhy the Decrete of the Haly Spirit is callit the Decrete of the Apostles, ... l. 31, f. 2.

26. Quhow the Haly Spirit speakis, interpretis Scripturs, and pronounces sentences in maters of Religion, . l. 32, f. 1.

Fol. 3, b. TO THE MAIST NOBLE AND VERTUOUS LORDE ALEXANDER EARLE OF GLENCARDEN, JOHNE DAVIDSONE WISHIT GRACE AND PEACE, BE THE LORDE CHRISTE JESUS, FROME GOD THE FATHER.

SEN the beginning of the Reformatione of the Kirk of Scotland, in the trew Christiane Religione, amangis all uther thingis that zour Lordship travelled in, for the furthsetting of the Religion of Christe, I hard nocht zour Lordship mair effectiusly desyre ony thing, than that I wald make ane answer to the lytle Buik, set furth be Maister QUINTINE KENNEDY, Commendatare, Abbote of Crossraguell: (inscrivit "Ane Compendius Tractive, conforme to the Scripturs of Almychty God, reasone and authoritie, declaring the narrest and onely way, to establische the conscience of ane Christiane man, in all maters quhilks ar in debait concerning Faith and Religione,") quhareby thare hes bene mony movit to continew still in thare auld superstitione and idolatrie, throw the reasonis contenit in the same, quha had imbracit the sincere and trew Religione of Christe or thir dayis, and it had bene supprest in its infancie, quhilk wald have brocht baith quietnes to mony ane in thare conscience, and commone peace, with great amitie amangis the inhabitantes of this countrie. And quhowbeit, my inhabilitie disuadit me fra taking of sic ane interpryse in hand, zit zour Lordship's earnestfull and godly desyre was of sa great weicht and efficacie in my minde, for the great actes zour Lordship tuik on hand, first and last, for the mantenance of thaim that was able to have bene opprest for the Religione of Christe, but feare of ony warldly creature, or losing of zour warldly gudis; and alswa for the great humanitie that I have found in zour Lordship at all tyme, movit me (quhen I saw na uther haistely taking the Confutatione

heirof on hand) to schaw my labours heirin, that the people of God sould not be langer abusit with his captious sophisticationes, sa far as be my simple ingyne thay mycht be supportit to the avancement of the Kingdome of God, and that the warld mycht Fol. 4. manifestly knaw that it was nocht of rashnes that the Nobilitie of this Realme hasart thare lives and landis for the Reformatione of Religione, (as the Papistes alledgit,) bot for the suppressing of thay things quhilk was set up aganis the glorie of the Eternal God, and commone weill of this realme.

And because this Buik of Mr Q[uintine's] contenit sa monie absurditeis quhilk wald have consumit great tyme to have confutit thaim all, it chancit weill that ane lytle space before the beginning of the Reformation of the Religion, he excerptit furth of this hale Buik, ane Schort Tractive, contening the hale mater of his Buik, as the coppy bearis that he send me to present to James Betoune, Archebischop of Glasgw, (quha was my gude Maister and liberall freind, quhowbeit for Religione we ar now separatit in ane part, as mony fathers and sonnes is, in thir our dayis,) to quhom, I pray God, send the treuth and knawledge of his Worde: at, that may unit us in spirit and mynde againe together that hes separatit us (as apperis) in our warldly kyndenes. And sen of lait, that I fand this Tractive contening the hale substance of his Buik, amangis uther quaris of uther learnit mennis writingis that I have, aganis it I have travellit be Scripturs, Reasonis, and Ancient Doctours sayingis, swa that heirby I traist in God, the mouthes of the wickit, for the maist part, salbe closit, that braggis with thare Councels, and Papisticall Decretis, and Constitutionis, outdrawing the hartis of the simple people fra the trew Religione; and thay quha hes bene in dout, quhidder thay war obleist to observe and keip the Decretis of thare Councels or not: In thare conscience salbe quiettit, assuritly knawing be the Worde of God, quhat sould be keipit, and quhat nocht.

Praying zour Lordship to tak this my labours, quhilk I have dedicate to zour Lordship, in gude part, and that, as zour Lordship hes begune to mantene the trew Faith and sincere

Religione teachit us be Christe, swa I pray the leving Lorde God, to mantene zour Lordship and all favourers of the same unto the end, that we may altogether receave the Croune of immortall lyfe that is promisit to the faithfull quha perseveris unto the end.

At the Paedagoge of Glasgw, the first of Marche, in the zeir of oure Lorde God, ane thousand, five hundreth, thre score and twa zeris.

HEIR FOLLOWIS ANE SCHORT REHEARS, QUHAIRIN IS CONTENIT THE HALE SUBSTANCE AND EFFECT OF THE TRACTIVE SET FURTH BE M. QUINTINE KENNEDY, COMMENDATOURE OF THE ABBAY OF CROSRAGUELL, &c.

M. QUINTINE KEN[NEDY'S] PRINCIPALL CONCLUSION.

THE Kirk of God, quhilk trewly is representit be the Generall Councels, dewly convenit, is the onely appointit judge be God, to decerne and interprete the right understanding of the Scriptur fra the wrang, quhensumever question or debait rysis for the understanding of the samyn. Treuth it is, the Kirk is bound to interprete the Scriptures and pronounce sentence, conforme to the tryall and instruction had be the samyn, as the trew, evident, and faithfull witnes-bearer, to the will and mynde of the Lorde; to the quhilk, God is the onely judge, and na private nombre of men, quhow godly or weill learnit that ever they be. Because, and that that thing be broght in disputation, quhilk is done be the hiare powers, conforme to thair vocation, at the desyre of private men, then sall the warld live in perpetuall debait and controversie.

To cum till ane resolute understanding of this Conclusion abone rehersit, we man understand Quhat is the Kirk? quhilk I beleve is sufficiently declared in the beginning of our buke; swa that heir prolixitly to rehears war superfluous: nottheles as sal be necessare, for the present we sall do.

The Kirk sum tyme is tane generally in the Scriptures for the

Fol. 5, b. universal Congregation, quhairin ar contenit all Christiane men. And efter that maner, the general Councels ar nocht the hale Kirk; For why? Everie man quhilk is of the Kirk (generally tane) is nocht requirit, nor can be convenit, to do that thing quhilk appertenis to the generall Councels.

Sum tyme the Kirk is tane mair specially for the cheif Pastoures of the universall Congregatione; and efter this speciall maner, the generall Councels ar the trew Kirk of God, and representis the universall Congregation, having authoritie to interprete the Scriptures, as may stand to the weill and quietnes of the hale Congregatione.

M. Jhone Davidsonis Answer.

To mak this mater plainer to the Reader, quhairupon our hale Disputation standis, I thoght best, or I reasonit aganis his Conclusion: quhilk of itself is sumpart intricat and difficil, throw sum wordis of it, that may have dowble understanding; quhilk he appearis to have said plainely and simply, bot with ane dowble face, (quhilk every man perceavis nocht,) that he may induce men the readiar to his purpose, saying, "The Kirk of God is the onely appointit Judge be God, to decerne and interprete the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang," for thir wordis, 'the rycht understanding of the Scriptures and the wrang,' may move sum men to think that the Scripture hes ane wrang understanding of its awin nature; quhairby they may be movit the easyar to beleve that God had appointit the Kirk, or sum uther Judge, to decerne the ryght understanding of it fra the wrang, and that the Scripture could nocht be ane Judge to decerne the samyn, for than it had bene ane Judge to itself in its awin cause. Or be thir wordis, 'the rycht understanding of the Scripture and the wrang,' he understandis the rycht understanding of the Scripture and the wrang that men takkis of the Scripture throw thair awin ignorance, other of the ordinarie meanes, (quhairby God gevis the understanding of

his Scriptures,) or of the difficill mater contenit under the wordes of the Scripture, or of the interpretation of the Scriptures out of ane language in ane uther, or ony uther wayes.

And give he understandis in his Conclusion, that the Scripture of God hes ane rycht understanding and ane wrang, be it awin nature, I say, That his conclusion (quhilk he haldis to be als sure as it war ane decrete of the Haly Spirite) includis in the self ane manifest falset; quhilk is, that the Scripture of God hes ane wrang understanding quhilk it hes nocht, for the Scripture gives nocht ane wrang understanding, nor ane wrang interpretation of it self: Fol. 6. bot men that is at controversie for maters of religione throw ignorance, or sum uther purpose, to establische thair action, sum of thaim interpretis and understandis the Scripture wrang, and alledgis thair interpretation and understanding to be rycht (be sic ordinarie meanis as God hes gevin to men to prove, or seik the understanding of the Scripture to be rycht) that they conceave of it: As ar the sciences callit Liberal Artes, the knawledge of the thré principall Languages, conference of Scriptures with Scripturs, the preceptis of the maist ancient Doctors, and siclyke thingis that servis men to bring thaim to the knawledge of the Scriptures, quhilk, notwithstanding, men oft tymes uses nocht rychtly throw thair awin ignorance. Swa thay tak ane wrang understanding of the Scriptur quhilk it gevis nocht to thaim, because thair is na thing wrang in it. As we may understand be Peter, in the end of his Second Epistle, saying, In the Epistles of Paule, "thair is sum thingis hard to be understand, quhilk thay that ar unlearnit and unstable pervertis, as thay do also uther Scriptures, unto thair awin distruction. Ze, thairfore, belovit, (sayis he,) seing ze knaw thir thingis before, be warre, inaventures, ze be also plukit away with the error of the wickit, and fall fra all zour stedfastnes." Marke weill, godly Reader, Peter sayis, the Scriptures is hard to be understand, and, thairfore, he exhortis the faithfull, that thay be nocht led away with the error of the wickit, quhilk cumis nocht of the Scripture, bot throw ignorance of the unlearnit that pervertis the Scripture; or of the unstable men, throw thair lycht imaginations.

For give God had maid his Scripture of that nature that it mycht have had twa faces and understandingis, as the answers of the Gentile gods had, men mycht have bene dissavit be the Scriptures of God, as men was be the answers of the Gentile gods, quhilk war ungodly to be said; and alswa, thay men that had fallin in error wald have had ane juste excusation, that the wrang understanding that the Scripture gave thaim was the cause of thair fal; quhairby now, na man justly can excuse him self, for it hes nocht ane wrang understanding, bot sum men takis ane wrang understanding of it, quhilk takis away thair excusation, and layis thair error upon thair awin ignorance and unstablenes. Quhairfore, (sen the Scripture of God hes nocht ane wrang understanding of it self,) it is manifest that God hes not appointit his Kirk to be
Fol. 6, b. Judge, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang that it had of the awin nature; quhilk, give he had done, it war ane great absurditie, for that war als mekle to say as God had appointit the Kirk to be judge betuix the thing that is and is not.

And give he understandis his Conclusione on this maner, that the Kirk of God is the onely appointit Judge be God, to decerne and interprete the rycht understanding of the Scriptures fra the wrang that men takis thairof throw thair awin ignorance, or ony uther wayis, to stablishe thair part of the controversie and debait for maters of Religion that is rysin betuix thaim and ony uther, as he appearis to understand it, be all his reasons and groundis, quhairby he intendis to prove his conclusion; I answer, That the Kirk of God, representit be the generall Councels, quhow dewly that ever thay be convenit, is not the onely Judge appointit be God to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scriptures fra the wrang, quhensumever question or debait rysis for the understanding of the same. For in sa far as Mr Quintine interpretis the Kirk to be the cheif Pastors of the universall Congregation, he sall not finde the hale, nor ane part of thaim appointit be God, as the onely Judge to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; for give thay had bene appointit be God

to be Judges, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, Christe Jesus, or his Apostles, had maid sum mention thairof in thair office that God hes appointit to thaim in the Scriptures, that men quhilk had bene at controversie for maters of Religion mycht have had recourse to thaim. Bot thair is na mention maid that thay ar appointit to sic judgement, for Paule, speaking in the 4th chap. to the Ephesians, of "the Apostlis, Prophetis, Evangelistis, Pastors and Teachers," quhom God hes maid cheif Pastors of the universall Congregation, testifeis that "thay ar appointit be God for the gathering togither of the Sainctis, for the wark of the ministerie, and the edification of the body of Christ," &c. Siclyke Christ Jesus at his departing, to his Apostles, the cheif pastors of the universall Congregatione, he gave ane generall charge to thaim all, saying, "Pas throw the hale warld, and preache the Evangell to all creature," (Marck xvi.) Alswa, in the firste chap. of the Actes of the Apostles, makand na mentione of sic judgement, he sayis unto thaim, "Ze sall receave the power of the Haly Gaist quhen he sall cum on zow; and ze sall beare witnes unto me, baith in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermest part of the earth."

Siclyke, will we read throw all the Scriptures, the dewetie of Fol. 7. ane Bischope or ane Elder, quha hes bene aye sen the Apostles dayis haldin cheif pastors of the universall Congregatione, we sall never finde that thay ar appointit be God as Judges, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; bot the maist thing that thay ar requirit with to do, aganis thaim that takis of the Scripture ane wrang understanding, is to exhort with halsum doctrine, and improve thaim that sayis aganis it, (Tit. iii. 9,) and that thay sall flee foulische questiones and genealogeis, and contentions and brawlingis about the law. And siclyke, thay sould reject him that is ane heretyke, efter ane or twa admonitions, (Tit. iii. 10.) In this, nor na uther Scriptures, sayis Christe Jesus, nor his Apostles, that the cheif Pastors salbe Judges, nor commandis he thaim to judge ony controverseis, bot that thay flee

contentions, and the authors of contentions as is heretykes. And without authoritie of Scripture, it is wrang and ungodly to affirme ony thing to be done be God that he hes not done.

And givè the Kirk be nocht Judge appointit be God in the Scriptures, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, quhen debait rysis for the same, I dout not bot men will desyre to knaw quhome God hes appointit Judges, or quhom thay that is at controversie, for the understanding of ony Scripture, sal mak thair Judge to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang that men takis of it, quhen ony question or debait rysis for the same? Considering it is necessare that thay have ane Judge that is at debait for the understanding of the Scripture, I answer, That God hes appointit na Judge in this mater; for give God had appointit ane Judge to have decernit the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, it wald have bene thocht that thair had bene sum fals or wrang thing in the Scripturs; and than, quhatsumever interpretation had bene gevin of ony place thairof, quhidder it had bene manifeste or obscure, sum men sould have bene troublit in thair conscience, quhill thay had cum to that Judge appointit be God in all maters of religione, quhilk had maid great perturbation in the Kirk. For than never man wald have credite the plaine text of the Scripture mair nor the obscure, quhil thay had hard the Judge that God had appointit. And swa that Judge soulde have gottin mair credite nor the Worde of God, quhilk had bene ane great inconvenient. Bot thay that hes had ony controversie in tymes bygaine for the decerning of the
Fol. 7, b. rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, and for the opinions that men hes tane of the Scripture, hes chusit thair Judge as thay plesit. And because that Christe Jesus hes left na thing to his Kirk bot his Scriptures, to beare witnes of all thingis that is requirit for our salvatione to be knawin of him, (Jhon v.,) and his Spirite to teache us all veritie, be men (as his mouth) outwartly, and inwartly be him self workand in our hartis: quhilk ar the onely thingis quhairby we have knawledge of the veritie and discretione, betuix the veritie and the falset, in maters concerning

Religione: sum men thairfore hes referrit the judgement of thair controversie to the Worde and Spirit of God, as thair judges arbitraris. For this is the onely thingis that thay quha hes bene at controversie for maters of Religione, hes socht to have thair action judgit be; as we may see to have bene done be Christe Jesus, and mony weil learnit and godly men. For Christe Jesus affirming him self to be the Sonne of God, and the Jowes affirming the contrarie, as is writtin in the 5 Chap. of Jhon, in sa far as thay wald have slaine him, he appeillis thaim to the Scriptures to be judgit thairby, saying, "Search the Scriptures, for in thaim ze think to have the Eternall Lyfe; and thay ar thay quhilk testifeis of me." Thair culde nocht be ane greater controversie or question, for ony mater of Religione, nor this was betuix Christe Jesus and the Jowes, (quha than in earth was the onely Kirk of God,) give he was the Sonne of God, equale to the Father, or nocht: and he hes referrit him self, as to his awin godly majestie, manhead, and doctrine, to be judgit be the Scriptures in this controversie, and nocht unto thaim quha had the power in the Kirk; and the Jowes sayis na thing aganis the Scriptures in this place, quhy thay may not be judge betuix thaim, and zit the Scriptures was nocht the appointit Judge be God, betuix Christe Jesus and the Jowes.

And give ony man will object, that quhatsumever thing bearis witnes, it can nocht be ane Judge in the same self cause, bot the Scripture bearis witnes of Christe, betuix him and the Jowes, give he be the Sonne of God or nocht; thairfore thay can nocht be Judge, because thay beare witnes of him: I answer, That in warldly and mortall thingis for using of parcialitie, ane thing can nocht gudlie be baith Judge and Witnes, bot in thay thingis that is everlasting and immortal, quhilk can nocht use parcialitie, (as is the Word of God,) ane thing may baith beare Witnes and be Juge; thairfore it is na inconvenient, that the Scriptures baith beare Witnes and be Judge in ony controversie for maters of Religion: Fol. 8. for, and thair war twa that disaggreit upon ane artickle of our beleve, (as for exemple,) give ane denyit that Christe Jesus was

borne of ane Virgine, and ane uther affirmit that he was borne of ane Virgine, and thir twa wald referre thaim baith to the judgement of the Scripture; and than thir sayingis of Esay the Prophet, that is spokin of Christe, war brocht to decyde the controversie: "Behald, ane Virgine sall conceave and beare ane Sonne." This Scripture of Esay is witnes to him, that his affectione was trew, quha said, Christe was borne of ane Virgine; and alswa it judges betuix thaim, that the assertione of the ane is trew, and the uther is fals. As ane evin reule is ane witnes to the thing that is even, that it is evin; and it is a witnes to the thing that is cruikit, that it is cruikit; and alswa betuix the evin and the cruikit, it is a judge quhilk decernis the ane to be cruikit and the uther to be evin: siclyke the Worde of God is, betuix twa that is at controversie for ony mater of Religione.

Secondly, Because the rycht understanding of the Scripture of God could never be decernit fra the wrang understanding that men takis of it, nor na controversie in maters concerning religion could be aggreit, bot be the Word and Spirit of God: Thair hes never bene ane herityke that hes bene of ony learning, quhow wickit that ever he was, (give he was content to be judgit in the thing he mantenit,) bot he hes bene content to referre the judgement of his controversie and assertion to the Scripture of God: and that be reasone he coulde finde na uther thing that could be ane infallible Judge in sic maters, be the quhilk he micht be assurit to have his controversie judgit and decydit trewly, without all suspitione of parcialitie, or favoure bearing mair to ane part nor to ane uther.

Thridly, Besyde this that we have daylie experience of, quhairever thair is ony controversie betuix twa, for the understanding of the Scripture of God, thay have takin thaim to be judgit be the Spirit and unfallible Worde of God. Augustine teachis us to chuse the Worde and Spirite of God to be our Judge, quhen ony controversie for maters of Religione is amangis us: Firste in the 29 Sermon of the wordis of the Apostle, saying, Quhen betuix us thair is sic ane controversie resyn, that ane sayis to

me, lat me understand that I may beleve; and I answer to him, Zea, rather beleve that thow may understand, with this controversie we cum to the judge, lat nother of us presume to have the sentence for him, quhat Judge ar we able to finde? All being socht, I knaw nocht give we can finde ane better Judge, than ane man be quhom God speakis; thairfore, lat us nocht gang in this mater and this controversie to warldly and humane letters: the Poete mat not judge betuix us, bot the Prophet. And in the last part of the samyn Sermone, (sayis he,) Lat the Prophet judge, zea, rather lat God judge be the Prophet, lat us baith hald oure peace, quhat we have said, it is hard. Lat me understand, sayis thow, that I may beleve; and I said, Beleve that thow may understand: lat the Prophet answer, "Without ze beleve, ze sall not understand," (Esay vii.:) this sayis Augustine. Now Augustine, heir be the decisione of his controversie, teachis us in controverseis, nocht to seik the Kirk to be our judge, (quhilk, as Mr Quintine allegis, is the onely appointit judge be God,) or the generall Councels, or the Scriptures of men, (as is the wrytingis of prophane poetis to be judges,) bot onely the Spirit and Worde of God. For give Augustine had knawin that God had appointit his Kirk to be the onely judge, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, he had said, I knaw nocht give God hes appointit ane better judge than his Kirk; quhilk he sayis not: bot I knaw not (sayis he) give we can finde ane better judge than ane man be quhome God speakis. Quhairfore it is plaine, that Augustine and his adversare knew thair judge not to stand in God's appointing, bot in thair awin finding and chusing, to judge thair controversie, saying, Lat the Prophet judge, zea, or rather lat God judge be the Prophet. Give the Prophet had bene appointit judge be God, or give God walde have had the judgement referrit onely to him self, Augustine had not said, Lat the Prophet judge, or rather God. Be the quhilk all men may cleirly see, that he meanis not that he desyrit the Prophet, be reasone of his manly wit or reasone, to be judge, or God to discend out of heaven to be judge, bot he desyris the Worde of God, spokin be man, (as the

Fol. 8, b.

mouth of God the Haly Spirite,) to judge thair controversie. And, thairfore, quhair he sayis heirefter, Lat the Prophet answer, he meanis nocht that the Prophet Esay, quha wes departit neirby ane thousand zeir or Augustine was borne, sould ryse againe, and be thair judge; bot he desyris the Word of God, quhilk the Prophet left in writ to the Kirk of God, to be judge, as may be plainely perceavit be Augustine's wordis.

Siclyke Augustine, in the 15 Sermon of the Wordis of the Lorde, schawis quhow the rycht understanding is judgit fra the wrang be the Word of God, of this twa places of Scripture, "Gif thy brother failzeis aganis thé, correct him betuix thé and him onely,"
Fol. 9. (Mat. xviii.;) and, "Reprove sinnares oppenly, that uthers may have feare," (1 Tim. v.) Quhat do we? (sayis Augustine;) Heir we this controversie as Judges? God forbid. Zea, rather being constitute under the judge, lat us knok that we may impetrat to have it oppinit to us, lat us flee under the wyngis of oure Lord God, for he hes nocht spokin contrare to his Apostles, because in him he hes spokin, as he sayis, Wyll ze tak experience of him that speakis in me, Christe! (2 Corinth. xiii.) Christe in the Evangel, Christe in the Apostole, tharefore, Christ said baith the ane and the uther; ane be his awin mouth, the uther be the mouth of his herald. And this farre Augustine; quha of this twa Scripturs, because he seis that men may tak ane wrang understanding of thaim, as give ane oppin synnare wald say to ane minister, Because I am zour brother, ze sulde correct me secretlie, and siclyke ane minister, give he wälde say to ane quhom he knew to have synnit secretlie, Thow man be oppinlie correctit, because Paule biddis correct synnars oppinlie: tharefore, he wyll nocht tak on hand to be judge for to decerne the rycht understanding fra the wrang of this twa Scripturs; bot as ane weill learnit man, (be the oppinning of the Scripturs, that men may see quhow the Scripture judgis the rycht understanding of thaim self fra the wrang that is takin of thaim,) he usis the ordinarie meanis on this maner, saying, Take tent give thy brother hes failzeit aganis thé, correct him betuix him and thé onely; Quhy? Because he hes synnit aganis thé.

Quhat is that, He hes synnit aganis thé? Thow knawis that he hes sinnit, because it was secrete quhen he synnit aganis thé, seik ane secreit betuix thé and him, quhen thow correctis him that hes failzeit aganis thé; for give thow knawis onely that he hes sinnit aganis thé, and thow before all men wald reprove him, thow ar nocht ane correctour, bot ane revelare.

And efter this it followis, bot give he hes done to thé injurie in the audience of mony, he hes failzeit aganis thaim quhom he hes maid wytnes of his iniquitie; tharefore thay thingis ar to be correctit oppinlie before all men. This farre Augustine, quha be thir sayings, seikis nocht the judgement of the Kirk to decerne the rycht understanding of thir twa places fra the wrang, as may be plainelie sein, bot is content to flee under the wyngis of the Lorde, (that is his Scripture,) and heir the judgement of God's Word; be the quhilk he schawis quhow thir wordis (aganis thé) gevis us lycht to understand and conciliat baith thir places; and as ane faithfull judge decernis to us, quhom we sall correct secretlie, and quhom oppinlie, quhilk is the discretione of the rycht understanding of this Scripturis fra the wrang; for without thir wordis (aganis thé) the Kirk nor na man could have judgit, quhilk man sulde have bene correct secretlie, and quhilk oppinlie; as Augustine, the instrument of God, makis manifest heir to the warld. Be thir twa sayingis of Augustine, all men may perfytlie see that Augustine and his adversoure hes chesit the Spirit and Scripture of God to be thare judge, be the quhilk thare debait was fynissit, making na mentione of the Kirk as ane judge appoyntit to thaim be God. Fol. 9, b.

And because the Scripture of God, on the quhilk the controverseis of religione is groundit, ar ofttymes obscure, and sum Scripturs appearis to be repugnant to uthers, and for divers causis, thare is syndrie sensis collectit of thaim farre different, thare hes bene mony weill learnit men (because thay could nocht be satisfyit in thare controversie be the plane text of Scripture) that hes socht ane lytle nombre, or ane great multytude, of the maist godly and weil learnit men in the Scripturs, having gude understanding

of the ordinarie meanis, quhareby the Spirit of God communicatis the rycht understanding of his Word to his Kirk, quha being convenit together, hes sumtyme borne the name of ane Generall, sumtyme of ane Provinciall Councell; and alswa, because the Spirit of God speakis to men in controverseis concerning religione, outwartlie, bot be men; thay have referrit thare controversie to the judgement of the Worde and Spirit of God; and to men, as concerning the using and treatyng of the ordinare meanis, quhareby the Spirite of God commoundlie gevis the understanding of the Scripture, and the discretione of the rycht understanding thareof fra the wrang, that thay mycht have the decisione of thare controversie, First, be the infallible judgement of the Worde and Spirit of God, as the solide and trew judgement ground of all judgements concerning religion; and, Secondly, be the consenting or approving judgement of godly and weil learnit men, (nocht that the judgement of the Word of God mistars the consenting or approbatione of men, bot for the weaknes and infirmitie of man, that can credit na thing without teachement and instructione of uthers,) sa farre as thay ar movit to consent with the Worde of God, be the operatione of the Haly Spirit, brynging the Scripturs to thare remembrance, that makis for the decisione of the controversie; and geving thaim grace of using and uttering of the ordinarie meanis, quhilk servis for the decisione of the controversie, quhilk I can nocht call properlie ane judgement, bot ane consent and approbatione of men, uttering and approving the thing to the warld, be word or wryt, that is judgit be the Word of God. And this
Fol. 10. may be provin manifestlie in the primitive Kirk to have bene observit: In the 15 cap. of the Actes, quhare the contentione being great betuix Paule and Barnabas, and thay that come fra Jowry, and teachit that the Gentiles could nocht be save, without thay had bene circumcisit, because thare was mony Scripturs that appearit to mak for baith the partis of the questione, and na religione was stablesit in thay dayis, bot be the plane Word of God; the Kirk of Antiochia, that could nocht be content with the judgement of Scripture, allegit als weill for the ane syde as for

the uther, ordanit that Paule and Barnabas, and certane uthers of thaim, sulde go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostolis and Elders, (quhom thay knew to be illuminat with the treuth of God's Worde,) to have the ordinarie meanis usit (quhareby the Spirit of God gevis the understanding of his Scripturs to men) about this questione,—Give it wes necessare that the Gentiles that belevit suld be circumcisit or nocht? We read nocht that the Apostles and Eldars of the Kirk of Jerusalem was appoyntit be God to be judges to this or siclyke questionis, bot that the Kirk of Antiochia ordanit that Paule and Barnabas, (quha doutit nocht in the mater, as salbe said heirefter,) and uthers of thaim, suld passe to the Apostles and Elders of Jerusalem, as men having the ordinarie meanis, quhareby the Spirit of God gevis the understanding of his Worde (as be his mouth) to the warld, that thay mycht have be oppinning of the Scripturs, the judgement of the Word and Spirit of God, be thaim, as he had gevin thaim utterance and understanding, to satisfie thaim that was at controversie for this questione. And thairfore, this questione being movit to the Congregatione, the Apostles and Elders convenit, nocht to judge on the questione be thare naturall wysedome, or to define thareupon be ane lang consuetude, bot to use the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God gevis the understanding of his Scripture, that be thaim thay mycht have the knawledge of thay Scripturs that concernit the questione that wes movit in the Congregatione: and quhen thay had done all thay could do, efter lang disputatione, submittit thaim self to the judgement of the Haly Spirit and Worde of God, quhilk he had spokin lang before be the mouth of the Prophetis, and at that conventione of the Kirk of Jerusalem, spak the same word againe be the mouth of the Apostole; and because the Spirit and Worde of God judgit and decernit, that circumcisione was nocht necessare to the Gentiles that belevit; the controversie was judgit, and endit be all thare consentis that was of the Councel. And thare restit na mair to the Kirk of Jerusalem to do, bot to schaw to the warld Fol. 10, b. that quhilk the Worde of God judgit, and the Haly Spirit dytit to thaim, and gave thaim utterance, to schaw be word or wryt, as

his mouth and wryttars; quhilk may be clearlie perceavit be the decrete of the Haly Spirit wryttin in the said cap. "It hes pleasit the Haly Spirit and us," &c. In the first part of the decreit, thay have put the Haly Spirit thare judge, gyde, and president, to signifie to the warld that thay have judgit na thing, bot subscrivit to the judgement of the Spirit and Word of God; and alswa, that thay have put na thing in wryt, bot as he hes dytit unto thaim, quhowbeit thay ar namit in the wryttin decrete. Nocht that I say this of my fantasie, bot efter the commone maner of the Scripturs speaking, quhilk is accustumit to put the name of the ministers efter the name of God, nocht that thay attrybut thareby to the ministers that appertenes onely to God, bot to testifie unto the warld that God is treulie with thaim, and that thay have attemptit na thing bot that of the quhilk God is the autor; and to conferme the same with authoritie of Scripture, it is wryttin, (Exod. xiv.,) "Thay belevit the Lorde, and Moyses his servand." The people of Israell coulde nocht beleve God and be gydit be his governement, without thay had belevit Moyses, quhome he constitute governoure to thaim; and zit, suppose this Scripture sayis, thay belevit Moyses, we attribut not that faith with the quhilk thay belevit God to Moyses, bot that thay belevit the doctryne that he teachit thaim in the name of the Lorde. Siclyke in this decrete, "It hes plesit the Haly Spirit and us," &c.; efter the Haly Spirit is namit the Apostles, Elders, and brethren, the membris of the Kirk under this worde (us,) nocht that thay could mak ony decrete of faith to thaim that was at controversie, for the Kirk can nocht make ane decrete or article, that may bind man to beleve ony thing as this dois. Quharefore, to speak to the treuth, this decrete is the Haly Spiritis; and it appertenis na mair to the Apostles and Kirk of Jerusalem, nor the Kingis Proclamatione pertenis to the wryttars and heraldis that wryttis and proclamis it.

And on lyke maner, it hes pleasit the Kirk, quhen thare hes bene ony controversie in maters of religione, to convene the maist godly and weill learnit men of the Kirk, nocht to have thair awin judgement, bot be the ordinarie meanis using, to see and understand the

judgement of the Word of God, quhilk is nocht els bot the judgement of the Haly Spirit; for thay have nocht divers judgements, quhilk the Scripturs attributis sumtyme to men, (as Paule, saying, "The spirituall man judgis all, and is judgit be nane," (1 Corinth. ii.) for the unione that is betuix the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Man, that adheris to the Lord God; nocht that the judgement hes Fol. 11. respect to men, quhare Paule sayis, "The spirituall man judgis al," bot to the Spirit of God that revelis and spèkis be men, the judgements contenit in his worde, as his mouth and ministeris; the quhilk, efter the word, is the outwart and declaring judge of the wyll of God to the rest of the membris of the Kirk; quharefore Paule sayis nocht that the man judgis all, bot the spirituall man, in quhom thare is to be considerit the natural man, that can do na thing in spirituall effaris, and the Spirit of God quha usis the man (as his mouth) to declare his wyll and judgement to the warld, quharefore Paule attributis judgement to spirituall men. Conforme to this sayings, is alswa Augustine aganis Maximinus, the Arriane, saying, Nother I, the Councell of Nicene, nor thow, the Councell of Ariminence, soulde bryng in to prejuge, nor I be the autoritie of this, nor thow be the autoritie of it, sould be bound, bot be the autoritie of the Scripturs, nocht to ony man proper, bot commoune wytnes of baith, lat ane mater with ane uther, ane reasone with ane reasone, ane cause with ane cause, contend. Heir Augustine wyll nother grant to him self nor uthers sic privilege, that the Councell of Nicene, or Ariminence, sall prejuge ony mater, bot he wyll have the veritie of the cause judgit be the Scripture, quhilk he haldis of greatare autoritie nor the Councell. Quharefore we may see planelie that Augustine, siclyke, gevis na autoritie to men that is convenit in the Councellis, or utherwayis, to judge controverseis, bot to the Scripturs, the testimoneis of the Haly Spirit.

Swa wyll we consider the mater of judgement, in al controverseis for religione perfytlie, we sall fynd the Worde and Spirit of God to be the onely judges, be the quhilk all controversie concerning religione is judgit, endit, and pacefyit, and nocht the Kirk. For

in all debait concerning religione, the Kirk man first heare quhat the Worde of God sayis, spokin be the Spirit of God, for it is the lycht in all doutsum materis of religione, and with that part of the controversie that ever the Word of God standis and aggreis, the Kirk man stand and consent with the same; for, give the Kirk aggreit and consentit with ane uther part of the controversie, than the Word of God consentis and aggreis with, the Kirk war aganis the Scripture, quhilk war ane great absurditie, and swa it walde cease in that part to be the Kirk of God. And sen it is swa, that the Kirk man stand and aggré to the delyverance and judgement of the Worde of God, the Word of God man have first judgit and endit the controversie, to the quhilk the Kirk man consent and aggré, or it can aggré thareto; for na thing can aggré, nor consent
Fol. 11, b. to the thing it knawis nocht. Tharefore, the controversie man be first endit and judgit be the Worde of God, utherwayis the Kirk can nocht consent mair to ane part, nor to ane uther of the controversie. As was done in the controversie quhilk was brocht before the Apostles fra the Kirk of Antiochia to Jerusalem, quhare the Kirk culde judge na thing, quhill the Worde of God was firste harde in thair Assemble, quhat it judgit in the mater. And because the Word of God judgit that the Gentiles, quhilk belevit, mistert nocht to be circumcisit for thair salvatione. The Apostles, Elders, and brethren, followit the judgement of the Worde of God, quhilk was confirmit be miraclis, as Paule and Barnabas testifeis, and geving of the Haly Spirit to the Gentiles, as Peter schawis; swa the Kirk of Jerusalem culde ascribe na judgement of the controversie to thaim self, for onely it appertenit to thaim to utter to the warld the judgement of God's Worde, conforme to the discretione gevin to thaim be the Haly Spirite.

Fynally, gif the Kirk had bene appointit judge be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, quhensumevir questione had rysen for the understanding of the same; it had been necessare, that the Latine Kirk, and the Greik, had bene firste appointit be God judges, to have decernit quhilk text of Greik and Latine had bene faithfully, according to

the originall, translatit, and quhilk nocht, or thay had bene appointit judges, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang. Bot in na part of the Scripture hes God appointit the Kirk as Judge, to decerne quhilk text is trewly translatit, according to the original, and quhilk nocht. And, thairfore, hes he nocht appointit the Kirk to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; for the decerning of the rycht text fra the wrang man precede the rycht understanding and interpretatione, be reasone thair was never men unto this day that culde be judges, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, of ane text quhilk thay understude nocht, or that war wrang interprete, as the commune translatione is, in divers and sindrie places, and notit be sindrie cunning men, as be Augustinus, Eugubinus, Erasmus Roterodamus, Nicolaus De Lyra, and sindrie uthers, quhare nother the Greik nor the Latine text aggreis with the originall text of Hebrew of the Auld Testament, nor zit the Latine text aggreis with the original Greik text of the New Testament. And sen the Latine Kirk hes admittit ane text to be red and interprete neirby ane 1166 zeris, be thair judgement, that is notit to be Fol. 12. wrang translatit, in sindrie and divers places, (of the quhilk Kirk I beleve Mr Quintine speakis,) thair is na man that can think justly, that God wald appoint thaim to be judges, to decerne betuix the rycht understanding of the text of the Scripture and the wrang, that culd nocht judge perfytlie on the translatione of the text; for than God had appoyntit us ane blynd and uncertane judge, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; for he that is uncertane in the text, of necessite he man be uncertane to make ane glose on the text. And give ony man thinkis (because oure forebears is departit at peace of the Lorde God, having na uther translatione nor the commune translatione that the Kirk hes receavit) that it is ane great arrogance, to desyre of the Scripture ane new translatione mair perfyte, or that ony uther interpretatione soulde be socht nor hes bene usit before be the ancient Fatheris, quha was weill exercit in the Scripturs; I answer, that it is nocht alyke, to be ane Interpretour, ane Prophet, or ane Evan-

gelist, for the Prophete and Evangelist can nocht dissave nor be disseavit. Bot give I say, that ane interpretour hes errit fra the mynd of the author, throw obscurenes or ignorance of the languagis, I do him na wrang, give the place of the Scripture be schawin quharein he hes failzeit; quhilk was the mynde of Hierome in the Epistole ad Fretelam, and alswa of Augustine, libr. 2, De Doctrina Christiana: Quhen thay desyre us to go to the originale text quhen ony questione happinis in the Greik or Latine text, for it is ane manlie office to interpret, quhilk of ane Prophete or Evangelist, I dar nocht say. Siclyke it is nocht wrang to saye that thare is ane great difference betuixt the understanding of the Law of God, that is sufficient to be knawin for ane mannis salvatione, and the understanding of the Law of God, that is requirit in ane prechour, and in thaim that sulde be membris of generale or provinciale Councells to quhom it appertenis, to have sa perfyte understanding, that thay can give ane compt of the leist poynt of the law. Tharefore, it may stand weill, that be the commune translatione men mycht be instructit sufficientlie to thair salvatione, and that thay quha hes bene estemit cheif Pastors of the Kirk, and men able to have bene members of generall or provinciall Councels, coulde nocht be instructit sufficientlie, be the commune translatione in all controverseis that mycht happin for maters of religione. And gif it mycht be, that the Romane Kirk hes receavit be it awin judgement, the commune translatione, quhilk coulde
Fol. 12, b. nocht serve thaim for all controverseis concernyng religione, throw the errors that is found in the translatione, thair is na man that can say than that thay warre worthy to be judges, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; or to interprete the Scriptures that understude not perfitely the text, for he that is uncertane in the text, of necessitie he man be uncertane in the exposition. Quhairfore I may weill conclude, be Reasone, Doctors sayingis, and Scripture, that the Kirk is na wayis appointit judge be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; bot the Worde and Spirit of God is chosin Judges be thaim quha is at controversie for religion, for the causes before

exprimit: for quhidder thay that is at controversie for religione, referris the judgement of thair controversie to the Worde of God, or to ane multitude of men, speaking be the Spirit of God, alwayis it is force that thay, and alswa the multitude, to quhom thay referre thair controversie, man aye referre the controversie quhilk is referrit to thaim, to the judgement of the Worde and Spirite of God. For the Kirk, be it awin judgement or warldly reasone, can nocht interprete the Scriptures, nor pronounce sentence, nor decerne the rycht understanding fra the wrang of the Scriptures, as judges; bot as ministers of God's Worde, the Kirk may declare the difficill Scriptures, quhilk is in controversie, as uther places of the Scripture mair plaine gevis the trew interpretatione of thaime, and to schaw the warlde the thing that the Worde judges to be done, and the sentence quhilk it gevis thaim to pronounce be the ordinarie meanis, and that as the Spirite of God gevis thaim utterance.

As to the cause, quhairfore he wald have the Kirk to be the onely appointit judge be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, in all debaitis concerning religione, and the decreitis gevin be the judgement of his Romane Kirk, (as appearis,) he wald have unchangeable and eternalle, as thay war the Law of God, saying, Because, and that thing be brocht in disputatione againe, quhilk is done be the hiare powers, conforme to thair vocatione, at the desyre of private men, than sall the warld live in perpetuall debait and controversie, I answer, that he hes na les nor cause, to desire thay thingis that is judgit and decretit be the Romane Kirk, (quhilk I dout not bot he callis the hiare powers,) to be haldin be the warld unchangeable; for and the lawis and decreits of the Romane Kirk be brocht to examina- Fol. 13.
tione to the tueche stane the Worde of God, and thareby examinat and judgit, thare salbe mony of thaim found full of superstitione, latting be to speake of thare ungodlynes: quhilk, give thay hade bene groundit on the Worde of God, thay wald never have fearit quhow oft thay had bene examinat and brocht in disputation; for na examinatione can subvert the veritie, bot make it the

mair strenthy and the mair manifest to the warlde. Bot now, because thay knaw that thare constitutions can nocht byde ane tryall, as thay decretis may do quhilk is groundit on Goddis Worde, thay cry, that and the thing that is done be the hieare powers be brocht in disputatione againe be private men, the warlde sall leve in perpetuall debait. Thay walde faine fley us with the wynde of the worde of perturbatione, as we suld oversee and neglect the worke and wyll of God, for feare of ony warldlie perturbatione that may cum upon us or uthers, for gainstanding of thare ungodlie decretis; thay disseave baith thaim selves and all uthers quha lippinnis in thaim: For thare is na private man that wyll desyre thare decretis callit to desputatione for his pleasoure, bot because the plaine Worde of God movis thaim thareto, quhilk is the thing that thay gainstand, and the onely cause of the perturbatione of the hale warld. And because thay can nocht sufficientlie prove thare decretis be Scripture to be godlie, nor zit can thay deny bot thay have bene ane great part of the perturbatione of the warlde, and now, because thay ar able al to fal throw wanting of ane gude ground, for the establesing of thaim, thay have inventit ane uther groundles ground, alledgeing the cheif pastours to be the Kirk, and without authoritie of Scripture, this Kirk to be the onely appoyntit Judge be God, to judge all controverseis concerning religione, having power of the hale universall Kirk to make decretis and gif sentences as thay please. And this decretis thay wald have unexaminable: quhilk in my mynde can never want suspitione of sum falset, superstitione, hypocrisie, idolatrie, or singulare commoditie, quhilk walde cum to the lycht to thare schame, and thay tholit ane tryall to be tane of thare decretis, that thay hade aneis set furth. Bot this is farre by the simplicitie and consuetude of the Kirk of God: for nocht onely hes it bene content that the decretis, quhilk is groundit on the Word of God, and dytit be the Haly Spirit, and that it hes put in writ, thole judgement and triall of the Word of God, bot alswa the Apostles (quha brocht na thing in the Kirk, bot that quhilk the Haly Spirite spak be thaim as his mouth) was content, that thair doctrine sould be examinat

be the judgement of the Scripture; as Paule was content that his doctrine, quhilk he teachit in Antiochia, sould be tryit be the judgement of God's worde before the Apostles, Elders, and brethren in Jerusalem, as is writtin in the 15 chap. of the Actes. Siclyke the Thessalonians ar commendit in the Scripture, because that thay searchit the Scriptures daylie gif Paules doctrine was trew or nocht, (Acto. xvii.) Mairattoure, this maner of examinatione appearis to bring na lytle profet to the Kirk of God, for the ofter that ony decrete or doctrine be tryit be the Scripturs, the mair sure it is; and thay that hes bene waik in the faith that thay have had be the doctrine of man, or ony decrete groundit on the Scripture, the triall hes gevin thaim occasione to be weill confirmit in thair faith. For it is no mervall, bot ane man sall beleve that thing rather quhilk hes oft tymes tholit tryal of Scriptures, nor it that hes never tholit. Now, gif ony man thinkis heirfore that I beare disdane at the generall Councels, because I wald have thay decretis brocht againe in disputatione, quhilk had bene aneis decretit be thaim, quhairin thair was or is ony suspitione of disaggreance betuix thaim and the Worde of God; I answer, That thair is mony questions cum in disputatione thir dayis, that hes never bene justly and sincerely discussit be the Councels, quhilk gif thay be brocht againe at this tyme in controversie, and allutterly abolisit be the solide and unfallible testimoneis of the Scripture, thair is na godly man that can be justly offendit. And quhowbeit the decretis of sum Councell had bene the decretis of the Haly Spirite, and it had pleasit the Kirk to have socht be the judgement of the worde of God gif thay decretis had bene conforme to the Worde of God or nocht, it had done na injurie to the Haly Spirite: for it is nocht the will of the Haly Spirite that our faith leane upon the decretis of man, in place of God's Worde. And thairfore, gif ony decretis of the Romane Kirk, be the judgement of God's Worde, had bene found not to have cum of the Haly Spirite, and had bene haldin be the warld to have bene the Haly Spirites, the Kirk of God had done gude service to God for the abolysing of thaim: for it is bot reasone, that the Worde of God be knawin fra the Fol. 13, b.

decretis of men, quhilk can nocht be, bot be tryall of the Word of God.

Bot at this tyme, I will say na mair of the Councels: bot, God willing, I sall schaw Mr Quintine clerely, quhow thair hes bene verray few godly Councels, sen Silvester's dayis, (quhow dewely that ever thay appearit to the warld thay war convenit,) conforme to the Councell of the Apostles, quhilk is maid mentione of in the 15 chap. of the Actes of the Apostles; mak of thair de-
Fol. 14. cretis quhat he please: nocht that I beare disdaine at the generall or provinciall Councels, for I beleve that na godly man is of that mynde, bot he wald have godly and weill learnit men (quhilk, with the Spirit and Worde of God, makis the trew Councels) convening to reasone, to conferre, and to use all thay ordinarie meanis, quhareby the Spirite of God gevis understanding of his Scriptures, and the Scriptures gevis trew judgement of all controverseis to the Kirk, that thair may be peace and tranquilitie aye thairin; quhairof presently I will nocht speak, bot leavis Mr Quintinis Conclusion with sic reasons as my sobre wit could finde aganis the same, for the mantenance of the veritie, to the judgement of thayis quha with brotherly and godly lufe wil support my imperfection, quhair I have neglectit or oversene ony thing, pertening to ane sufficient confutatione of his firste Conclusione; and passis to the impugnatione of thay reasons, quhairwith he takis to prove and confirme his foresaid Conclusione.

Heir followis Mr Quintinis Firste Reasone, quhairby he thinkis that he confermis his foresaid Conclusione without Scripture.

We prove the foresaidis on this maner:—It is sure, that lyke as Almychty God hes appointit his Kirk and Congregatione necessarelie to be unite together in ane faith be Baptisme, having his worde and law; swa it is necessare that provisione be had, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, specially, quhensumevir question or debait rysis for the samyn;

utherwayis the having of the Scriptures, without the understanding of the samyn, war lytle or na thing profitable to the Congregatione: bot swa it is, that all hereseis war supprest, and the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang was decernit in all aiges, zeris, and tymes, (sen the tyme of the Apostles,) be the general Councels; thairfore, it followis weill, that the generall Councels war the speciall membre of the Congregatione appointit be God, representing the hale Kirk, to tak ordour in all maters of debait concerning religione.

Mr Jhone Davidsonis Answer. Fol. 14, b.

I WYLL nocht stand to give Mr Quintine the First part of this reasone grantit: bot I affirme the Secund part heirof to be fals quhare he sayis: "Bot swa it is, that all hereseis war suppreste, and the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang was decernit in all aigis, zeris, and tymes, (sen the tyme of the Apostles,) be generall Councels:" and this I prove be divers reasonis, (he taking the generall Councels and the Kirk for the cheif pastours of the universall Congregatione, as his foresaid interpretation of the Kirk testifyis him to do;) for the hereseis that rays in the Kirk of God, sen the tyme of the Apostles, was not uther wayis supprest, nor be na uther lawfull meanis than thay war in the Apostles tyme. For God hes appoyntit na uther maner of way for the suppressing of thaim in his Scripturs, be command, or exemple. Bot in the Apostles tyme, sum was only supprest be the Haly Spirit, and the Worde of God properlie and trewlye spokin be the Apostlis and Elders, (the mouth of the Haly Spirit,) Act. xv.; as was thare heresie quha teachit, that the Gentiles that belevit could nocht be save without thay hade bene circumcisit. For tharefter that Peter had maid his exhortation, quhilk mycht have bene collectit of the Scripturs, for the maist parte, James cytit Amoz the Prophete to confute the heresie; quhilk is nocht els, bot ane testimonie of the Haly Spirit, quha tharefore is put first as president in the

decrete of the Councel quhilk was send fra Jerusalem to Antiochia to conferme the brethren. For give thay had wantit the Haly Spirit, and the Worde of God, it had nocht bene possible to the Apostles to have knawin quhidder thay sulde have consentit with Paule and Barnabas, or with thaim quha teachit circumcisione to be necessare to the Gentiles that belevit. And farre mair is it unpossible to ony generall Councell that hes bene haldin sensyne, to knaw quhat part thay sulde consent to, or fra quhat part thay sall dissent, in controverseis of religione, without the Worde of God and the Haly Spirit. Quharefore, sen in this conventione of the Apostles, this heresie was nocht supprest be thaim that was men of the Councell, bot be the Haly Spirit and Worde of God: all hereseis hes nocht bene supprest be generall Councels, that is to say, be the cheif pastours of the universall Congregatione. For as na man walde have gevin credence that the Apostles hade supprest this heresie, and thay had decernit ony thing concerning it, be thare awin fantasie and manly judgement, before the judgement
Fol. 15. of the Worde of God had bene hard, siclyke na mair can we beleve, that other general or particulare Councels that hes bene sensyne, hes supprest ony heresie, quhilk hes not hard first the judgement of the Worde and Spirit of God: "For all men is leirs," (Psalme cxv.)

And quhowbeit na man can deny (as I beleve) bot the Haly Spirit is principall suppressar of al hereseis, zit sum man peraventure wyll think, that I have said over farre of the Word of God, that it suppresis hereseis with the Haly Spirit: considering the Worde of God is bot as ane dead instrument, be the judgement of man, be the quhilk the cheif Pastours, the lyvelie membris of the Kirk, suppressis the hereseis. Tharefore mony wyll judge, that (as I buire hatred to the Councels and cheif Pastours of the Kirk) I wranguslie attribute to the instrumentis that thing quhilk appertenis to the lyvelie workare: as be exemple, commondlie it is spokin of the craftis men and thare instrumentis, that the craftis men is the principall workaris, and thare instrumentis is the secund causis of thare workis, and is bot ane helpe to thaim,

quhareby thay worke. Quharefore it appearis that we sulde saye siclyke of the cheif pastours, and the Worde of God, That the cheif Pastours of the Congregation is the principal suppressours of the hereseis, and the Worde of God is the instrument quhareby thay suppresse the hereseis: and swa thay wyll say, that the suppressing of the hereseis is to be attribute to the cheif pastours representing the generall Councels, as the principall workars and governours of the Councell, and not to the Word of God. I answer:—

The Worde of God is nocht to be estemit as ane deade thing without operatione, or strenth of itself, as the worde of man is, quhilk peresis quhow sone it is spokin, bot it is to be estemit as Paule estemis it, (Hebrew iv.,) "lyvelie and mychtye in operatione, and scharpar than ane twa egged sworde," quhilk the Lorde God spekis to the warlde be men, as be his mouth. Quharefore Peter sayis not in the 15 cap. of the Actes, that amangs us God chesit me out, that the Gentiles be me soulde heare the Worde of the Evangell, and beleve, bot he sayis, "be my mouth:" as he walde say, the Evangel that I preache to the Gentiles is nocht my wordis, bot God's. Siclyke in the first cha. of the Actes, Peter sayis, "The Scripture man be fulfyllit, quhilk the Haly Gaist, be the mouth of David, spak before of Judas." Alswa, Christ Jesus callis Paule his chosin weschel, (Actor. ix.) Quhairfore, sen the Apostles confessis thaim self and the prophetis to be bot as instrumentis, the mouth of the Haly Spirite, and ane weschele to beare the name of Christe, Fol. 15, b. the cheif Pastors of the Congregation sen syne, in na Councell can be comparit properly to the craftes men, and the Worde to the instrumentis, bot be the contrare: for the Worde of God is the lively thing, and mychty in operatione, the saule of all gude Councels; and the Pastors, quhow cheif that ever thay be, is bot as deade creatures, (without the Worde of God, the lyfe of the saule,) as all men ar that wantis it, quhowbeit thay live corporally. Quhairfore, Paule speaking of the preaching of the Evangell, he sayis, "We have this treasure in earthen weschels, that the excellencie of that power mycht be of God, and nocht of us," (2 Cor. iv.) Quhairby we

may see, that all men is bot fragile and unworthy weschels, to contene sa great treasures as is the worde of God, war nocht it war God's pleasure, thairby to schaw his Almychty power to the warld. And gif Paule estemit him self as ane earthen weschell, that contenit bot the worde of God, and nocht as ane creature quha be him self had power to speak the worde of God, quhat kynde of weschels mycht thay have haldin thaim self than quha hes estemit thaim self the cheif Pastors of the Congregatione sen Paule's dayis? Had thay weill weyit thir wordis of Paule, I dout not bot thay wald have grantit thaim selves nocht suppressors of hereseis, bot unworthy instrumentis to do sic thing, in ony Councell that ever hes bene; latting be to speak, that thay wald be sa bauld as to preferre thaim self to the worde of God, in suppressing of hereseis, taking to thaim self the excellent power of God's worde, quhilk Paule attributis onely to God. Quharefore I inferre of this comparisone of Paule's, quhair that he comparis him self to ane earthen weschell, that as the leame pote that contenis the medicine dois na thing to the healing of the patient, na mair dois the generall Councels, that is to say, the cheif Pastors of the Kirk, (that contenis, or sould contene, the Worde of God, quhowbeit mony of thaim hes contenit verray lytle or na thing of it,) to the suppressing of hereseis: for as the leame pot, quhilk can do na thing of itself, servis the medicinars of thair medicine, powring it out, or receaving it in, quhen ever thay please to use it: Siclyke the faithfull ministers, quha can do na mair in godly maters be thair awin nature, nor the leame pot can, thay serve the Haly Spirite quhen it pleasis him to speake his Worde be thaim (as his mouth) in all Councels, for the suppressing of hereseis. And thairfore, the suppressing of hereseis can nocht be attribute to the Kirk, that is to
Fol. 16. say, the cheif Pastors, bot to the Haly Spirit and the Worde of God. Secondly, "The naturall man perceavis nocht the thingis of the Spirit of God, for thay ar foulishnes unto him;" as sayis Paule, 1 Corinth. ii. 14. Bot Mr Quintinis Kirk, that is to say, the cheif Pastors of the universall Congregatione, quhilk is representit be the generall Councels, hes nocht bene onely naturall men,

bot alswa sa fleshly, that for the maist part, nocht onely misknew thay the thingis contenit in the Scriptures, bot alswa thair lyfe hes bene sa detestable, that it was nocht lesum to ony Christiane man to eat with thaim. And thir Pastors (quhome he walde have to be ane generall Councell) hes bene swa, for the maist part (as testifeis sindrie famous Historiographeurs) sen the tyme of Silvester, Bischope of Rome, before quhome, efter the Apostles dayis, thare was haldin few godly Councels: bot sic men hes nocht bene, nor zit can nocht be participant of the Haly Spirit, without quhom, na heresie can be supprest. For thare is na societie betuix God and the devill; quhairfore, (suppose thay appearit ane general Councell to thaim quha knew nocht quhat ane generall Councell was,) thay being bot naturall and fleshly men, thay could suppresse na hereseis, nor zit decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, quhilk cumis alswa of the Haly Spirite.

Thridly, The same thing that principally gainstandis the heretykes, in maters of religione, suppressis thare hereseis: bot principally the Spirite and Worde of God gainstandis the heretykes: for Augustine sayis, with the plaine testimoneis of the Haly Scripture, that thing is to be provin, that we wald have belevit: and aganis the enimeis of the Kirk thay ar to be usit, (Contra Epistol. Petili. Donatist. de Unitate Eccle. cap. xix.) In the quhilk sayingis, he makis na mentione of the cheif Pastors of the Kirk, or Councell, to be usit aganis the heretykes, enimeis to the Kirk of Christ, bot onely of the plaine testimoneis of the Scripture, the sworde of the Spirit of God, (Ephe. vi.) Quhairfore the Spirit of God, and his Word, onely suppressis the hereseis, and nocht the Kirk, representit be the generall Councels. Siclyke, Augustine, teaching us, to have the surest maner of interpretatione of the Scriptures, he sendis us nocht to the doctours, nor to the Councels, nor to the decretis of the Papis, bot to the Scriptures. For the best maner of interpretatione of Scripturs, (sayis he,) is to expone ane place be ane uther of the same, that is mair manifest, (Lib. iii., De Doctrina Christiana, cap. 26.) Quhilk is not els

Fol. 16, b. bot that ane part of the Scripturs decernis the rycht understanding of ane uther Scripture fra the wrang. And sen the discretione of the rycht understanding of the Scripture and the wrang is na uther thing bot the discretione of the rycht interpretatione of the Scripturs and the wrang: the rycht understanding of the Scripturs fra the wrang may be hade be uther meanis than be the generall Councels: Tharefore, the rycht understanding of the Scripturs fra the wrang hes nocht bene ay decernit be generall Councels. And als, give the hereseis hes bene supprest onely be the generall Councels, Augustine hes nocht had ane rycht judgement, to schaw quhow the hereseis sulde be supprest, and the Scripturs rycht exponit and understand: bot in his sayings foresaid, he hes bene contrarius to God, insafar he sendis us to the Scripturs, quhare Christe hes send us (as Mr Quintine alledgis) to the generall Councels, for to seik the suppressing of hereseis, and rycht understanding of the Scripturs; quhilk I beleve Mr Quintine wyl nocht grant, bot Augustine had ane rycht understanding, baith of the suppressing of hereseis, and of the exponing and interpreting of the Scripturs.

Feardlie, Betuix the Apostles dayis, and the first Councell generall, callit Nicene, that was haldin in the zeir of our Lorde 328, thare rang mony hereseis, as testefeis syndrie Historiographeurs. Than give Mr Quintine wyl sustene that all hereseis hes bene, be ane generall Councell or uther, onely supprest, takyng tryall and instructione be the Scripturs; than say I, That the Haly Spirit, be all the godlie Doctours and wrytars, baith before the first generall Councell and efter, travalit in vaine. And alswa thay doctours tynt thare tyme; to quhom is attribute (because thay, be argumentatione and uther wayis in thare preaching or wryting, schew to the warld the judgement of the Spirit and Worde of God, betuix his treuth and thay hereseis) the thing that appertenit onely to the Spirit and Worde of God, (nocht efter the veritie, bot efter the commond maner of speache:) as to Dionisius, Origenis disciple, the confutatione of Sabellius, and Nepos Chiliastes; to Archelaus, Bischope of Mesopotamia, the confutatione of

all the arguments of Manicheus, the cheif heretyke; and to Origene the confutatione of divers heretykes, before that thare was ony generall Councell, uther nor the Councell of the Apostles maid mentione of in the 15 cap. of the Actes: And efter the Councell of Nicene, was attribute to Epiphanius the confutatione of 80 hereseis; to Augustine and Hierome, the confutatione of syndrie hereseis: as testifeis Trithemius, Pantaleo in his Cronicles, Fol. 17. and Hierome in the Cataloge of the Ecclesiasticall Wrytars. Quha tuke nocht tryall and instructione onelie be the Scripturs to confute, convict, or suppresse thay hereseis; bot rather be the Scripturs, and the ordinarie meanis (quhareby the Spirit of God gevis the understanding of the Scripture) thay oppinnit the Scripturs, that be the oppinning of thaim, the warld mycht als manifestlie and surelie see, quhow that the Spirit and Worde of God suppress thay hereseis; as ony man understandis the nature of the thing that is oppinnit to him, be the essentiall and maist proper definitione of the same; or, as he seis his awin face in ane myrour, give thare be ony spot on it, or nocht: Swa that na man for the controverseis of thay dayis, that be the Scripturs was rychtuouslie and sufficientlie decydit, mystart the judgement or sentence of other generall or provinciall Councels, mair nor the man that hes ane fair myrour before him mystaris to byde quhill ane cum fra Rome or Jerusalem to tell him give he be fair or nocht. And alswa thay Doctours, be the ordinarie meanis and Scripturs, solvit the heretykis reasons, that appearit to mak for thay hereseis, schawing to the warld that thay war of na effect: swa na man of gude reasone can say, that the Haly Spirit, and al the weill learnit and godlie men, travalit in vaine, baith in thare wryting, preaching, and reasoning, aganes the hereseis of thare dayis: bot sum of thaim did als mekle in using of the ordinarie meanis (quhareby the warld mycht perceave and understand thay hereseis be the Spirit and Worde of God suppress) as ony Councell of thaim all did: for fardare the Councels could do nocht. Quharefore I conclude, that na hereseis hes bene suppress be generall Councels, (as Mr Quintine allegis,) bot be the Spirit and Worde of God: for give he wyll attribute confutatione, sup-

pressing, convicting of the hereseis to the Councels, he sall fynde the same things attribute to the Doctours, be divers godlye wryttars in thare bukis; and swa, give he attributis sic things to the Councels, lat him attribute the same things to the Doctours: for the suppressing, convicting, and confuting, is attribute to the Councels, bot for the same self cause, that thay ar attribute to the Doctours; quhilk is nocht els, bot for using of the ordinarie meanis, to oppin the Scripturs, and for schawing of the judgement and wyll of God, contenit tharin to the warld, as the Spirit of God gevis thaim understanding and utterance.

Fyftlie, Give Mr Quintine wyll say, that all hereseis is suppresst onelye be generall Councels, it is na better to the people quhen
Fol. 17, b. ony hereseis ringes, to be under ane weill learnit pastoure, than under ane ignorant: because ane gude and weill learnit pastor can do na mair to quiet the conscience of his people (as to the hereseis) nor ane ignorant, gif it be trew, that hereseis onely be general Councels is suppresst, (as Mr Quintine alledges:) for thay man baith abyde the cumming of ane generall Councel, (as all the simple and thrawart Papistis dois,) quhilk gif it cummis nocht in thare lyfe tyme, nother of thaim can luik for quietnes in thare conscience, bot with troublit conscience man depart, quhare God pleasis, quhilk war ane great absurditie.

Sextly, The Councels hes oft tymes consentit with the heretykes, as the Councel callit Ariminense, haldin in the zeir of God 362, favorit the Arrians: quha held ane Councel in Antiochia, of Syria, and confirmit thare awin erroure, sa far as Councell could conferme it, in the zeir of God 346. (Hystoria Tripar. 2, ca. 10.) The second Councel of Ephesus favourit the errour of Eutites. The Councel haldin be Cypriane, and the Bischoppes of Affrick, concludit the heretykes to be rebaptisit, in the zeir of our Lord 260; and Stevin, the Bischope of Rome, not onely decernit be thaim, that thay sould not be rebaptisit, bot thay, quha baptisit thaim, or decernit thaim to be rebaptisit, he thocht worthy to be curst. (Augustinus de Unico Baptismo, contra Petili. cap. 14.) And in the Councell of Nicene, thare was sevintene that favourit

Arrius: of the quhilk, alevin subscrivit efterwart with thare handis, and nocht with thare hart, to the Councel; and sex was baneist with Arrius, that wald nocht consent to the Councel. Quhairfore, thair being sa mony erroures mantenit be Councels, and sa great controversie amangis thaim that was of the Councels, I may surely conclude that all hereseis hes nocht bene suppresst be generall Councels; nor zit the rycht understanding of the Scriptures fra the wrang, hes bene decernit be thaim, bot rather the contrare be mony of thaim. And gif Mr Quintine will say, that thay war Provinciall Councels that fell in erroure, and nocht Generall, I answer, That ane generall Councell may fall in errour, or heresie, als weill as ane provinciall Councell; for God hes nocht promisit mair to ane generall nor to ane provinciall Councell, that it sall nocht fall in erroure. For it is bot ane dreame devoitly dreamit that ever thare wes ane universall Councel, sen the Apostles dayis, representing the Kirk of God. For siclyke Councell hes nother exemple nor command in the Worde of God, nor zit hes it the promes of God, mair of his assistance, nor ane particulare Councell, godly convenit: for the Councell of the Apostles Fol. 18. sal nocht be easely provin to be ane universal Councel. Siclyke gif the generall Councels had suppresst all hereseis sufficiently, (as Mr Quintine alledges was done be thaim,) than say I, That thay maters had nocht rysen againe, that had bene aneis suppresst: bot thay thingis quhilk thay suppresst for heresie, (as was the forbidding of meatis on certane dayis, and at certane tymes, forbidding of baith the kyndis gevin in the Supper of the Lorde to the commune people, forbidding of the Ministers mariages of the Kirk, and siclyke uther thingis,) is now rysen againe, and godly authorizit be the Scripture, in the Kirk of God. And be the contrare, thay thingis quhilk thay establishit for the treuth and veritie, (as was Purgatorie, Transubstantiatione, the Sacrifice of the Masse, worschipping of Imagerie, and siclyke uther thingis,) without general or provincial Councel of men, be the worde of God, thay ar sa far suppresst, that thay ar never able to ryse againe. Quhairfore, as we see that na thing standis sure concerning religione, bot it

that is groundit upon God's worde; siclyke, thare is na thing that suppressis thay thingis, quhilk is aganis the trew religione, bot the Spirite and Worde of God.

Quharefore, leaving this part sufficiently provin, be the reasonis foresaid, that all hereseis hes nocht bene supprest be generall Councels, nor zit that the rycht understanding of the Scriptures fra the wrang hes bene decernit be thaim: I say, be na strenth of argumentatione, inferris he weill his Conclusione, that the generall Councels was the speciall membre of the Congregatione appointit be God, representing the hale Kirk, to tak ordoure in maters of debait concerning Faith.

Heir followis Mr Quintin's Second Reasone, quhairby he laboures to confirme his Firste Conclusione without Scripture.

Gif thare be sum (as I think thare be mony) quhilk ar stif neckit, bearing perpetuall disdaine aganis the generall Councels, specially sic as wald have libertie to thraw the Scripture to thare appetite, desyrous of vaine glorie, and to be thocht singulare in thair awin opinione, I will ask thaim of ane questione, quhilk is verray easy till answer to, that is, Gif ever thare was ony hereseis sen the tyme of Christe, or nocht? I am sure, thare is na man sa schameles, and he war never sa drownit in heresie, bot he will grant thare hes bene mony great hereseis; for quhy? Thare is nocht ane article of our faith bot it hes bene impugnit and brocht in dout againe be heretykis, affermand thare hereseis, for the maist part, all be Scripturs, falslie alledgit and interprete.

Fol. 18, b.

Than wyll I speir, Give thare was ane ordour tane to suppresse the hereseis or nocht? I am sure thare is na man wyll thynk that God neglectit the Congregatione, that it sulde lyve in perpetuall debait for the faith, and na ordour to be tane thairupon.

Than wyll I inquire, Quhat was the ordour (give it was nocht be

the generall Councels) quhilk was tane? Treuly I beleve, thare wyll na man schaw ane uther meane quhareby heresie was supprest, bot be the general Councels, specialie quhilk rays of the wrang understanding of the Scripture of God; as all hereseis commonlie dois.

Than sen we ar assurit that thare hes bene mony abhominable hereseis incontrare our faith, and the ordour quhilk was tane for the samyn wes evir onelie be the generall Councels dewly convenit, it may be justlie inferrit, that the general Councels was the membre of the Congregatione sterit up be God, representing the universal Kirk of God, having denomination, strenth, and effect, of all the membris of the Congregatione.

I beleve thare is na man of reasonable judgement, bot he wyll thynk that thir twa argumentis abone rehersit sufficientlie perswadis, zea, and convictis the general Councels to be the member of the Congregatione representing the universal Kirk of God.

Mr Jhone Davidsonis Answer.

I GRANT, that thare hes bene mony hereseis sen the tyme of Christ, and that we have exemple in the Scripturs, quhareby we may understand that be the Worde and Spirit of God thay war supprest, (Acto. xv.) But quhare he sayis, "Treuly I beleve, thare wyll na man schaw ane uther meane quhareby heresie was supprest, bot be the generall Councels, quhilk rays of the wrang understanding of the Scripture of God." I am not trewly of this beleve, bot affermis that na hereseis sen the Apostles dayis, nor in thare dayis, nor before thare dayis, hes bene supprest be generall Councels, quhidder thay hereseis hes rysin of the wrang understanding of the Scripturs or Fol. 19. nocht: Bot all hereseis hes bene supprest be the Haly Spirit and Worde of God. For nother Councell nor Kirk, quhow universale or particulare that evir it was, can say, (as he interpretis the Kirk or Councell,) that the greatast heresie that evir was, was

heresie: nor zit can it say that the rycht understanding of ony hard and difficile place of the Scripture, set furth be the greatest doctor that evir was, is the rycht understanding thareof: nor the wrang understanding of the same Scripture, set furth be the greatest heretyke that evir was, is the wrang understanding thareof, without the Haly Spirit and the Worde of God. For it is only thay that may assure us in our conscience of the trew understanding of the Scripturs. For give we mycht say, of twa interpretations of ane harde place of Scripture, that the ane war heresie, and the uther nocht; or of ony difficile place, that this war the rycht understanding thareof, and this nocht, at oure pleasour: than we mycht leid men to ony faith we pleasit, as we war lords over thare faith, quhilk war ane arrogant thing.

Tharefore, quhen the Kirk of God, or ony private member thareof, hes ane doutsum questione or controversie in ony mater of religione, as in all hereseis, it apperteanis to thaim be sic ordinarie meanis and gracis, as the Haly Spirit hes indewit thaim with, to see quhilk of the partis of thare doutsum questione aggreis with the Scripture of God, and quhilk nocht, as the Apostles did, (Acto. xv.) And that the understanding quhilk is found of the difficile Scripture that is socht for ony controversie, consent and aggré with all uther places of the Scripture, preceding and following, and disaggré with nane; quhilk is to be socht, as Augustine teachis us, saying, be the things following of the same text, and that quhilk is adjoynit thareto, the dout, or the repugnance, is to be tane away, (Libro 3, De Doctrina Christiana, cap. 2, et contra Faustum Manicheum, libro 9, cap. 67.) He sayis nocht, that the dout is to be tane away be the general Councel or be the doctours, bot be the thingis following of the same text, and that quhilk is adjoynit thareto. Quhilk being tane away, (nocht be the Kirk, or ony membre thairof, bot be the Worde of God,) it appertenis to the Kirk and every membre thareof, to consent with that part of ony doutsum questione, in maters of religione that the Scripture of God aggreis with; and disassent fra that part that the Scripture disaggreis with, as the Apostles did in the Councel of

Jerusalem. And efter that the heresie be supprest be the Spirit and Word of God, it pertenis to the hale Kirk to adjoyne that authoritie, quhilk God hes gevin to it, to the part aggreing with the Scriptures. As for exemple: and this dout or questione wer movit in the Kirk, Is it lesum to ony man to make to him self ony gravin image, to bow doune thareto in the Temples? Than quhat can the Kirk or Councell say thareto? Na thing, quhill thay luik quhat the Scripture of God, the testimoneis of the Haly Spirit, hes judgit and determinat. And because the Kirk or Councell, in the Scripture findis that images is forbiddin and condamnit be God, all the godly members of the Kirk and Councel consentis to the Haly Spirit and Scriptures, spokin be the members of the Kirk, as his mouth; and be the authoritie that God hes gevin to the Kirk, it commandis that thay that makis images to thaim self, to bow doune to thaim, and worschip thaim, be haldin as ethnikis and publicanis; or efter ane admonitione or twa, that all men flee fra thaim, and as idolaters, that na man tak meat with thaim. Siclyke, thare is ane great controversie betuix the Protestantes and the Papistes, upon the understanding of thir wordis, that Christe Jesus said in his Supper, "This is my body," ilk ane thinking thaim self to have the rycht understanding heirof. Than quhat sall the Kirk of God do in this mater? Sall it stand onely to the determinatione of the Councels, without farder tryall taking in the mater? Or to the determinatione of the best learnit men? Nother; bot the Kirk, and the best learnit men that ever was, sould luik first be the ordinarie meanis and Scriptures, quhilk is the understanding heirof. And because the sacramentall speachis of the Scripture servis best to oppin this place of the Scripture, for the quhilk the controversie is: tharefore, the Protestantes, seing the Scripture of God, in the sacramentall speachis, to gif the name of the thing that is signifeit be the sacramentall signe, to the signe: as (in the 12 chap. of Exod.,) quhare it is writtin, "This is the Pasover of the Lorde;" and "Quhare sall we prepare to thé the Pasover?" (Mat. xxvi.) "This is my Covenant," (Gen. xvii.) Quhilk is als mekle to say as, This is the signe of

Fol. 19, b.

the Pasover. This is the signe of my Covenant. Swa the Protestantes, seing that this is the understanding of this sacramentall speachis, to the quhilk this sacramentall speach, "This is my body," is alyke, the Protestantes is assurit, be the Worde of God, to have the rycht understanding of this place, "This is my body." For as the Kirk of God, and the members thareof, consentit in all aiges this to be the understanding of this Sacramentall speach, this
Fol. 20. is the Pasover of the Lorde, this is the signe of the Passover. Siclyke it sould consent that of this sacramentall speach, "This is my body," this is the richt understanding thareof, this is the signe of ony body. Not that I meane thareto be onely ane baire signe, bot ane Sacramentall signe, with the quhilk God exhebitis to the receaver worthely, that thing quhilk is signifeit be the same signe. And not onely sould the Kirk consent thareto, bot alswa, be the authoritie it hes of God, it sould command its awin members, to hald all thaim quha belevit the bread and the wyne to be transubstantiat in the body and blude of Christe, or Christe Jesus body to be inclosit within the formes of bread and wyne, as ethnikis and publicanis, (as all Papistes sould be haldin amangis trew Christianis;) and to flee fra thare company, as heretykes and idolaters, quha be the determinatione of thare Councels, without Scripture of God, hes commandit, as lordes over Christiane mennis faith, that all men beleve the bread and wyne to be transubstantiat in the body and blude of Christ Jesus, als lang and braid, as he was borne of the Virgine Marie, and crucifeit on the Croce, under the formes of bread and wyne; quhilk altogether is wickit. For thare is na Councel that can move ony man to beleve ony thing concerning religione, be ony authoritie that ever thay may alledge thaim self to have, without God's Worde. For Augustine sayis, that it is necessare to be provin, be the manifest testimoneis of the Haly Scripturs, that we wald war belevit, (Contra Epist. Petili. Donatist. de Unitate Eccle. cap. 19.) Siclyke he sayis, he wald nocht have belevit the Evangell without the authoritie of the Kirk had commovit him: (Contra Epist. Manichei, quam vocant, Fundamenti.) Marke weill his worde, Commovit, and

nocht movit; for be this worde 'Commovit,' he meanis, that the authoritie of the Kirk, or decretis thareof, is nocht sufficient be thaim self to move ony man to beleve the Evangell, bot with the Spirite and worde of God, to commove the myndes of God's chosin people to beleve. Quharefore, sen nother the Scripture of God, nor the doctoures sayingis, nor zit na gude reasone, teaches us to seik the suppressing of hereseis, or the rycht understanding of the Scriptures fra the wrang, bot at the Haly Spirite and the worde of God; I beleve Mr Quintine, nor na godly man, will attribute to the generall Councels that thing quhilk appertenis onely to the Haly Spirite and the worde of God; as is the suppressing of hereseis, and the discretione of the rycht understanding of the Scriptures fra the wrang, utherwayis the warld wald live in perpetuall debait and contentione, without the hereseis war supprest, be infallible and Fol. 20, b. eternall things, (as is the Haly Spirit and the Worde of God,) and nocht be generall or particulare Councels, that may baith dissave the warld, and be dissavit.

And give ony man wald object, That the Kirk of God hes receavit sum Scripturs as Canonicall, and hes refusit uthers as Apocripha; quharefore it appearis to be sure that the Kirk hes power onely to decerne and judge the Scripturs; and having power to judge the Scripturs, farre mair sulde it have power (as appearis) to judge quhilk is the rycht understanding, and quhilk is the wrang, of the Scripturs, and swa peraventure to sum men, al wyl appeare to be wrang that we have said:—I answer, That the Kirk receavit the Scripturs, na uther wayis than thay war offerit, and delyverit be thaim that wrat thaim to the Kirk; quha was knawin surely be the rest of the Kirk, to be full of the Haly Spirit; bot thay war nocht offerit nor delyverit to the Kirk to be judgit, or to be receavit be the Kirkis judgement. Bot of thay Scripturs that was delyverit as Canonical be the Apostles and the Evangelistis, the Kirk, fra tyme to tyme, hes borne faithfull wytnes thareof to the posteritie, that thay war Canonicall, of the quhilk the Kirk could never take on it to judge. For the Apostles and Evangelistis of thare awin wyll chesit not to bryng in the Kirk ony thing, bot that

quhilk thay receavit fra Christe, faithfully thay schew it to the nations, as sayis Tertuliane. For as the Scripturs of the Auld Testament was not judgit be the preistis, nor ministers, nor be the Synagog, to be Canonicall or Apocrypha, bot was kepit (as sayis Augustine) in the Temple of the Hebrew people be the deligence of the succeeding preistis, (Deut. xxxi.; Josue ultimo; Heb. ix.,) swa the Kirk nother receavit nor refusit, nor zit judgit it ony Scripture be its awin autoritie; bot thay buikis quhilk it receavit fra the Apostles and Evangelistis, sen the Apostles and Evangelistis dayis, without interruptione of tyme, hes brocht thaim on to this tyme: (Contra Faustum Manicheum, lib. 28, cap. 2, e.) And in the same buke he sayis, (cap. iv.,) Quhen the Apostle Paule, efter the Ascensione of the Lorde, was callit of the heavin, give he had nocht found the Apostles lyving, with quhom he mycht have appearit to have bene of the same fallowschipe, be communicatione and conferring of the Evangell with thaim, (Gala. ii.,) the Kirk on na wayis had belevit him. Be this sayings of Augustine, it may be clearlie sene, that the Kirk of God nother admittit nor refusit the Scripturs be its awin autoritie. Bot because the Kirk of the
Fol. 21. Apostles dayis had communicatione and conferring of the Scripturs with the Apostles and Evangelistis, and thay Scripturs that the primitive Kirk receavit of thare handis, the Kirk succeding as ane faithfull wytnes, hes brocht thay Scripturs to be belevit on to our dayis. And tharefore, nother Kirk nor Councels had power to judge the Scripturs, nor to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripturs fra the wrang, be thare judgement and pleasour. For Augustine sayis, (Lib. 13. Confession. cap. 23,) It is nocht lesum of sa hie autoritie to judge, nor zit of thy buike: zea, suppose thare be sum thing thare nocht manifest, because we submitt to it oure understanding, and we halde it sure, zea, and it that is hid to our sycht, rychteouslie and trewly to be said: "Ane man quhowbeit he be now spiritual, and renewit in the knawlege of God, according to his image quha hes creatit him, nochtheles, he sulde be ane doar of the law, and nocht ane judge." Tharefore, the Apostles being in the primitive Kirk, quha be the inspiratione of the Haly Spirit

wrat the Scripturs, and delyverit thaim to the Kirk, (manifestlie contening all thingis that concernit faith and gude maners,) the Kirk hes borne witnes of thay Scripturs to the warld, that thay war Canonicall. Bot efter that this was done, it was nocht lesum to the Kirk succeeding, to interprete thay Scripturs at thare pleasoure, bot the Spirite of Christe first was to be hard, and the mutuall consent of all the places of the Scripture was diligentlie to be considderit. Of the quhilk we have this familiare exemple; as when the Kingis letters cummis to ony citie, the rewlars and governours of the citie, of ane custome may take tryall give thay letters be fenzeit or nocht that is presentit to thaim in the Kyngis name; bot quhen thay understand thay letters not to be fenzeit nor corruptit, it is nocht lesum, at thare pleasoure, to alter or change thaim, nor to mak expositione or glose on thaim, bot obey the Kyngis command, as it is set furth tharein. And na uther wayis can we judge of the Kirk: for quhowbeit it is ane faithfull keipar of the Scripturs, zit it is nocht lesum to it to constitute ony uther thing of thaim, utherwayis than God hes determinat. Quharefore, sen the Councels (as he interpretis thaim, the cheif Pastours of the universall Congregatione) is men for commounlie blynde, affectionat, and dull of spirit, and takis on thaim to decerne and determine thay thingis that is proponit in thare Councels, quhilk appertenis onely to the Halye Spirit and Word of God: I say, na man is oblest to subscrive or consent to the sentence of thay Councels, mair nor to the sentence of ane private man, be reasone of the Councels; bot because thay aggré with the Word of God, (quharein is contenit the mynde and will of the Haly Spirit,) approving it to be trew, be the quhilk it takis the strenth, efficacie, and denominatione; for gif Peter (quha appearit to be ane pillare of the Kirk, (Gal. ii.,) and was sa great Apostle) had errit, and Paule had nocht resistit unto him, quhat sall we say than of the Congregatione of men that is led up and doune with affectionis, blyndnes, and errour, as hes bene mony of the Councels sen the Apostles dayis, in the quhilk thare hes nocht bene sa mekle as ane schaddow of the Haly Spirit? Tharefore, lat all thingis concerning

Fol. 21, b.

religione be brocht to the Scripturs of God, the testimoneis of the Haly Spirit, the twiche staine, and equale judge, that be thay things that is certane and stable, ordoure mat be tane in doutsum maters: and not to lat doutsum maters be judgit be uncertane and mutable things, for as the Spirit and Worde of God is solide and immortall, and full of veritie, swa is thare decretis and sentences eternall and immortall: and as men (quhow great nombre that ever thay be) is mortal, mutable, and be nature gevin to lie, swa thare decretis and sentences is uncertane, changeable, and never wanting suspitione of falset.

Bot zit I wald not that ony man thocht me of that mynde, that I wald have all things drawin to the tryall of the Scripturs, as that I wald have godly and weill learnit men not hard in godly Councels, quha hes the ordinarie meanis quhareby the Spirit of God gevis the understanding of his Scripturs, or that I laboure to evacuat the authoritie of the Kirk or Councels, and to have the godly Fathers and members thareof neglectit. Bot I wald have the Kirk, the Councels, and Fathers thareof, quhow godly that ever thay war, acknawledgeing the things that properly appertenit to the Haly Spirit and the Worde of God (as is suppressing of hereseis) nocht to apperteane to thaim; and that thay war bot as instrumentis movit and usit be God, to mak manifest unto the warld (as his mouth) the treuth and veritie of all controverseis, as thay ar determinat and decretit be his Spirit and lively Worde. And tharefore, quhare he sayis in the beginning of his argument, "Gif thare be sum (as he thinkis thare be mony) quhilkis ar stif-neckit, bearing perpetuall disdaine aganis the generall Councels, specially sic as walde have libertie to thraw the Scripturs to thare appetite, desyrous of vaine glorie, and to be thocht singulare in thare awin opinione:" I submit my self to the judgement of the Reader, quhidder we be worthy to be callit stif-neckit, and bearers of disdaine aganis the Councels, that wald have the judgement of Councels, and all men, quhatsumever thay war, subject to the judgement of the Spirit and Worde of God; or thay, quha will nocht subdew thare understanding in the service of Christe, bot

Fol. 22.

wil have his Word judgit be the uncertane and arrogant judgement of men? And gif we seik ane libertie, that contenis us within the Word of God, and is content that we and all our actionis be judgit thareby; or thay, quha wald have the Scripturs and thare interpretationis, quhow godly that ever thay war, subject to thare Councels, that is, to thare awin judgementis, and to have na greater strenth nor be thare Councels, be thare Doctours sayings, zea, and thare Papis decretis thay receave? that quhen ane of thir servit thaim nocht to thare libertie, that thay mycht loup to ane uther, fra the Scripturs to the Councels, fra the Councels to the Doctours, fra the Doctours to the Papis decretis, as it war ane fox, loupynd fra hole to hole, seiking ane strenth. And I wald we war judgit, quhidder we be thrawers of the Scripturs, that desyris Scripturs to interprete Scripturs; or thay, quha wald have thaim interprete be the Councels, thrawing thaim to the judgement of men? Or quhidder we be desyrous of vaine glorie, and singulare in our awin opinione, that referris the glorie of all gude Councell, the decretis, the suppressing of hereseis, and the rycht understanding of the Scripturs, to God and his Worde; or thay, quha attributis the halding of Councels to thaim self, and furthsetting thare decretis to the warld as the decretis of men, to be obeyit as the decretis of God, usurping to thaim self the suppressing of hereseis and understanding of the Scripturs, quharein thay schaw thaim self mair nor singulare in thair awin opinione?

Heir followis Mr Quintinis Thride Argument, groundit upon the Scripture, quhare with he confermis his Conclusione principall, as he alledgis.

Nochtheles, perchance thare is sum sa religious and clene fingerit, that thare wyll na thing perswade thaim without testi- Fol. 22, b.
moneis of the Scripture, we wyll schaw gude wyll to satisfie thare curiositie sumpart, and on this maner:—It is wryttin be the Pro-

phete Aggé, "Great sal be the glore of this laitter housse, mair nor the first." I wyll aske at thé, Quhat is signifeit be the laitter housse bot Christis congregatione and kirk, unite together in ane faith be Baptime? Quhat is signifeit be this first housse bot the chosin people of God, quhilk war before the Law of the Evangell? Have we nocht expreslie in Deuteronome, that provisione was had in the auld Law, quhensumevir questione or debait rays amangs the chosin people of God for the understanding of the Law, recours was hade onely to the Preistis of the trybe of Levi and the Judge, to be pacifeit in all thare doutis; and that the people suld na wayis make questione, under the paine of death, bot to receave the jugement of the ministers quhilks war for the tyme.

Art thow nocht than, be the wordis of the Prophete abone rehersit, compellit to say that the ministers of the new Law (quha occupyis the place of the preistis of the trybe of Levi, zea, and hieare place) hes the samyn place, (zea, and ane greater place,) to stay all doutis quhilk rysis amangis the rest of the membris of the Congregatione, for the understanding of the Scripturs and Law of God? And utherwayis, quhow sall the wordis of the Prophete be of veritie, saying, "That the glore of this laitter housse sulde be mair nor the firste," give thare be nocht als sufficient ordour providit be God to stay all doutis quhilk rysis amangs thaim of this laitter housse; and give the ministers of the samyn hes nocht als great place to take ordoure in all maters of debait concerning the faith of thaim quhilkis ar of the laitter housse, as had the ministers of the first house?

Thane we sall (conforme to God's worde, and uther gude reasone) conclude, the generall Councels dewly convenit, (quharein ar the ministers of the new Law,) to represent the universall Kirk of God, having full power and autoritie of God to take ordour in al maters quhilk ar in debait, (speciallie to decerne the rycht understanding of God's worde fra the wrang,) as hade the ministers of the auld Law, and rather greater.

Mr Johne Davidsonis Answer.

As to this Thrid argument that he groundis on the Scripturs, alledging Aggé 2, and the 17 cap. of Deuteronomie, I wyll lat his interpretatione of the first and laitter housse gang with him, be- Fol. 23. cause it makis lytle to the purpose. Bot as to the Second part, in the quhilk, because he is far wanderit by the rycht way, I man answer, quhare he sayis, 'Have we not expreslie in Deuteronomie, that provisione was had in the auld Law, quhen evir questione or debait raise amangs the chosin people of God for understanding of the Law, recours was had only to the preistis of the trybe of Levi and the Judge:' in the quhilk he is far dissavit, thynking hereby that God send thaim to the preistis and judge for the understanding of the Law of God; for gif he had luikit to the text, he sall fynde that it speakis of na siclyke thyng, bot it sayis, "Gif ony difficil and doutsum thing to thé (that is, judge of ony citie) in judgement ryse, betuix blude and blude, pley and pley, plaig and plaig, in the maters of controversie within thy gates, &c.; and thow sall cum on to the preistis of the Levitis, and on to the judge, (president or governour,) that salbe in thay dayis," &c. First, It may be here clerelie sene, quhow that this place servis na thing to his purpose that he wald be at, for the thing that the Scripture speakis of, first here in generall, (as commonlie it dois in mony uther places,) it exponis the same heirefter in special, be membris, in the chaptours following of the same buike, as betuix the slauchter of the innocent and nocent, betuix slauchter of sett purpose and be chance, betuix byars and sellars, contractars in civile actions, and betuix plaig and nocht plaig, and siclyke uther civile maters, understand be this three termis, blude, pley, and plaig; under the quhilk na mentione is maid of the understanding of the Scripturs, bot thare is comprehendit the hale civile controverseis of the auld Law, quharein the Leviticall judge or president sulde have schawin to the inferior governours of the citeis of Israell the sen-

tence of judgement, as the Levitical preistis, keipars of the law, had gevin him councell be the Law of God: at quhome thare was na judgement socht for the understanding of the Law, nor zit this text makis na mentione of ony power thay had to juge, bot to schaw be the Law to the inferior judgis, quhow thay sulde pronunce the sentence and judgement of God contenit in his Law, of ony difficile thing that happinnit within the citeis, quha, in this place of Scripture, is nocht properlie callit ane judge, bot ane President, or Civile governour, (efter the significatione of the Hebrew terme,) because he was executor of God's judgement, (as God desyrit Salomon to be, nocht ane judge, bot ane executor of his
Fol. 23, b. judgementis, 1 Reg. vi. 12,) quha is heir in this Scripture conjoynit together with the preistis to figure the Kingly preisthead of Christ Jesus, quha baith was Preist and King. And tharefore this President, that is heir commonly callit ane Judge, he was not ane judge, because he judgit ony thing be his awin warldly reasone, or wit, bot because he was executoure of God's judgement, and pronouncit (as the mouth of God) betuix God and the inferiour judgis, the thing that was determinat be God, and judgit be his Law. For, quha pleasis to consider the text, thay may planely see the judgement is referrit to the Law of God, and the schawing of the sentence of judgement, the telling, the informing, or teaching, is referrit to the Preistis and the hie President, suppose it was onely bot for civile actions amangs the people, that he was constitute President be God: Tharefore, in this place of Scripture, it was nocht the mynd of God to teach ony ordoure for the understanding of the Scripturs; bot for the civile controverseis amangs the people, he schawis quhom at the inferior judges sould seik the judgement, as he hes determinat and defynit in his Lawis, for doutsum and difficill maters; for in the auld Law thay Judges followit onely the literall sense of the Scripture, for the quhilk thay had na controversie, bot thay keipit the ordinance of God, as he requirit thaim be his writtin Word. Quharefore, his argument of similitude betuix the ministers of the new Law, and the Leviticall preistis and judges, be the wordis of the Prophet Aggé that he

alledgis, compellis me, nor na uther man to say, that the ministers of the new Law hes the place of the preistis of the trybe of Levi, to stay all doutis quhilk rysis amangs the rest of the members of the Congregatione, for the understanding of the Scripture and Law of God; bot dissuadis me allutterly, for be the cumming of Christe Jesus, the Leviticall preisthead endit. And tharefore, it having na mair place, the ministers of the New Law occupyis nocht the same place, bot Christe Jesus raise up efter ane uther similitude, to wit, the similitude of Melchisedec, and occupyit his place in the hie priesthead, and because this preisthead of Christe was nocht carnall and changeable, as the Leviticall was, bot spirituall and eternall, he hes maid us all preistis, baith men and women, to offer up na carnall nor fleschly things, bot our selves, ane lively and haly sacrifice, quhilk standis in the refusing of our selves: before the quhilk thare is nane of our sacrifices (as our prayers, our almous, and all uther godly workis that he requiris of us in his Law) acceptable unto him. Quharefore, nother the ministers of the new nor auld Law had sic power grantit to thaim be Fol. 24. God to stay ony doutis, or to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, bot only the Haly Spirit and the Worde of God, quhilk may be easily persavit be the Scripturs and reasonis foresaid; quhilk wer tedeous againe to repete. And this makis na derogatione to the wordis of the Prophet to be of veritie, suppose nother the ane nor the uther House ascribe to thaim the staying of doutis in the Scripturs. For the glorie of the Second House standis nocht in the staying of doutis, bot in the excellencie of the spirituall giftis that was exhibit to us in the cumming of Christe; for thare could na greater glorie be grantit to the Second House, than quhen the Majesty of God the Father apperit in the presence of his Sonne Christe, be the quhilk the Second House had all things that was requirit to ane solide and perfyte glorie.

And granting to Mr Quintine, for disputationis cause, that the ministers of the new Law occupyit the place of the ministers of the auld Law, zea, or ane greater place, as he alledgis, it sall mak

na thing to his purpose, bot rather contrare to the same; for we see that thay Preistis, quha succeedit linealy to Aaron, held ane Councell in the Apostles dayis, as is writtin, (Actor. iv.,) quhilk was mair dewely convenit nor was the Councell of the Apostles, (of the quhilk mentione is maid in the 15 chap. of the Actes,) gif we will hald the conventione of the cheif pastours and bischoppis, ane dewely convenit Councell of the universall Congregatione: for the text bearis this words, "It come to pas on the morne, that the princes, elders, and scribes, was gatherit together at Jerusalem, and Annas the cheif preist, and Caiphas, and Jhon, and Alexander, and als mony as war of the kinred of the hie preistis." First, heir we finde the Romane princes, quha had the governance of Jerusalem at that tyme, convenit with thaim the elders and scribes quha had knawledge of the law, for na man was admittit to be preist or scribe without knawledge of the Scripturs. Siclyke, thare is heir namit speciallie the hie preistis that convenit, with all thare kinred, quha was institute hie preistis, as God had ordanit in his law, and approvit be the people, as our preistis hes nocht bene this mony hundreth zeris bygaine. And thay mycht have said that thay succedit to Aaron, Eleazar, Abiathar, and sic uthers, abone ane thousand five hundreth zeris, gif we wyll compt fra Aaron to the Apostles dayis.

Now I beleve na man can deny bot this was ane general Coun-
Fol. 24, b. cell, dewly convenit, (taking ane generall Councell for the cheif pastours of the universall Congregatione.) Zit, because thay wantit the President of all gude councell, the Haly Spirit, and luikit nocht to the judgement of God's word, quhat it judgit in the mater thay convenit for, thay could nocht have decernit the rycht understanding of God's word fra the wrang, nor zit could thay suppresse ony hereseis; bot thay stablesit the ground of all hereseis, quhilk was, that the Apostles sulde nocht preache in the name of Christe Jesus. And as we have schawin this generall Councell of the ministers of the auld Law to have done wickedlie and schamefullie errit, we can conclude na uther thing of the ministers of the new Law and thare Councels, quha in thare Councell hearis nocht

first the judgement of the Spirit and Worde of God. Alswa, because the Jowis hes the Scripturs of God of the Auld Testament, contenyng the effect of the New Testament, and mony styf-neckit and obstinat Papistis hes baith the New and Auld Testaments. And alswa, sum of thaim hes the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God usis commonlie to give the understanding of his Scripture. Notwithstanding thay can nocht decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang; and that only because thay want the Haly Spirit, the onely Spirit of al solide and sure discretione. Quharefore, the ministers of the auld or new Law hes nocht be thare successione, or places, occupying the discretione of the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, bot be the Spirit and Worde of God: and tharefore, nother conforme to God's worde, nor gude reasone, sall Mr Quintine conclude, (as he alledgis he dois,) that the generall Councels (quhow dewlie that evir thay be convenit) has be ony way full power and autoritie of God, to decerne the rycht understanding of God's Word fra the wrang, as the ministers of the auld Law had, for the ministers of the auld Law had na siclyke power that can be schawin be God's Worde.

HEIR FOLLOWIS MR QUINTINIS CONFIRMATIONE OF HIS CONCLUSIONE, GROUNDIT (AS HE ALLEDGIS) ON THE FYFTENE CHAPTER OF THE ACTES, AS EFTER FOLLOWIS, &C.

FOR fardar confirmatione of our purpose, thow sall marke it that is wryttin in the 15 of the Actes of the Apostles, as efter followis:—

"And certane men quhilks come fra Jowrie, and teachit the Fol. 25. brethren, Except ze be circumcisit efter the maner of Moyses, ze can nocht be savit. Nocht ane lytle seditione being movit to Paule and Barnabas aganis thaim, than thay decernit that Paule and Barnabas, and certane uthers of thaim, sulde passe to Jerusalem to the Apostles and Eldars about this questione. Quhen thay war cumin to Jerusalem, thay war receavit with the Congrega-

tione, and Apostles and Eldars. Than raise certane of the sect of the Phareseis quhilks did beleve, saying, That it was neidfull to circumcide thaim, and to command thaim to keip the Law of Moyses. And the Apostles and Eldars come together to reasone upon this mater. Quhen thare was mekle disputatione, Peter raise up and said unto thaim, Ze men and brethren, ze knaw quhow lang quhyle syne God chesit amangs us, that the Gentiles, be my mouth, soulde heare the worde of the Evangel, and beleve: (and efter followis the same text,) And quhen thay held thare peace, James answerit, saying, Ze men and brethren, harkin onto me: Symon tauld zow quhow God, at the beginning, viseit the Gentiles, to receave thaim ane peple in his name: to this aggreis the words of the Prophete; as is wryttin, "Efter this wyll I returne againe and big the Tabernacle of David, quhilk is fallin doun:" (and efter that James had cytit and conferrit the Scripturs, it followis in the text.) Quharefore, I judge, that we trouble nocht thaim, quha fra amangs the Gentiles ar turnit to God; bot that we writ to thaim, that thay abstene fra fylthines of idols, fra fornicatione, fra it that is wyreit, and blude."

Benevolent Reader, give thow diligentlie wyll marke, and considder the wordis abone rehearsit, thow sall fynde and perceave divers godlie and proper lessons, aggreable for the establesing of our purpose.

First, Thow sall mark and considder, that albeit Paule and Barnabas (as the Scripture teachis us) war twa Apostles appoyntit be God to be prechours to the Gentiles, and that thay had the Spirit of God to preache the treuth and veritie, (as Paule himself testifeis in mony places,) zit wald thay nocht be sa bauld as privatly to decerne upone the questione movit in the Congregatione, unto the tyme thay com to Jerusalem, quhare Peter, the cheif Apostle, was, with the rest of the Apostles and seniors. Be this exemple of Scripture, we ar sufficiently instructit, na private nombre, (quhow godly or weill learnit that ever thay be,) to be sufficient, or ganand to take ordoure in maters concerning faith and religione. And als we may perceave, quhow vaine and un-

certane is the judgement of mony in thir dayis, that foulishly followis and addictis thaim self to the wickit opinione of sum private factious men towart the interpretatione [of Scriptures, reputand and settand at nocht the interpretatione [1]] of the ancient generall Councels, to quhom it appertenis (be the ordinance of Almichty God) till interprete Scripturs, &c. Fol. 25, b.

Mr Johnē Davidsonis Answer to Mr Quintin's Firste Lessone, that he hes collectit of the text foresaid.

Of Mr Quintinis lessone and exemple quhilk he inferris of the foresaid text, I have learnit twa lessonis, quhilk being schawin, I sall heirefter declare, God willing, that he hes nocht markit and gatherit sa weil of this text his lessone as he belevis. And my first lessone is this, quhare he sayis, That the Apostles Paule and Barnabas, appointit be God, having the Spirit of God, wald nocht tak on thaim to decerne privatly upon the questione movit in the Congregatione, unto the tyme thay come to Jerusalem: I learne than, that the Papis, quha is na Apostles, bot men wanting of the Spirite of God, hes bene in the wrang this mony hundreth zeris, taking on thaim to decerne maters of faith, and all controverseis in religione, quhom I beleve Mr Quintine will hald to be na general Councell. My second lessone is, quhare he hes learnit be this exemple of Scripture, that na private nombre, quhow godly and weill learnit that ever thay be, to be sufficient to tak ordour in maters concerning religione and faith: I learne, gif his lessone be trew, that all the doctours hes labourit in vaine, quhais labours was principally to have had the trew understanding of the Scripturs and hereseis suppresst, quhilk was nocht els bot to tak ordour in maters concerning faith and religione. Zea, and I am assurit that thare was never ane Councell that disputit sa quickly, be the ordinarie meanis, (quhareby God gevis the understanding of his Word,)

[1] The words within brackets, which are omitted in Davidson's Tract, are supplied from the Abbot's own publication. See p. 105.

aganis sa mony errours and hereseis as ane doctour, Augustine, hes done, and uther private men. Quharefor, gif Mr Quintine will accuse men of folishnes for following of private writars efter his warldly judgement, I beleve thare warldly folishnes salbe wisdome before God. And quhare he callis thaim factious men, because thay will not subscrive to Scriptureles Councels as he dois, I wald
Fol. 26 he conferrit the new writars with the auld writars and Councels: and for the veritie of this mater, I appeill to his awin conscience, read and conferre thaim quhen he list.

Now that he hes nocht markit weil his lessone, I prove on this maner:—

Paule, writing to the Galathianis, 2 chap., sayis, "Efter fourtene zeir, I went up to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and tuik with me Titus also; and I went up be revelatione, and conferrit with thaim the Evangell, quhilk I preach amangis the Gentiles." Hierome, wryting on this text, affirmes this journey of Paules to Jerusalem to have bene quhen the disputatione, for the abolishing of the ceremoneis of the auld Law, was had betuix the belevers of Antiochia and the Jowes. And swa being, as Hierome affirmes, quhais saying I beleve Mr Quintine will nocht put in dout; than be this foresaid text we may cleirly see, that Paule and Barnabas went not up to Jerusalem, as doutsum of the thing quhilk he had preachit ane lang tyme to the Antiochianis that belevit, quhilk was, that it was nocht necessare to thaim to be circumcisit for thare salvatione; bot because thare was sum of the brethren in Antiochia that doutit gif that Paules doctrine was trew or nocht.

Thay hearing sum fals brethren, adversours to Paule, quha under the culloure and name of the Apostles that was in Jerusalem, preachit that it was necessare that the Gentiles that belevit in Antiochia sould be circumcisit, and that the doctrine of Paule was contrare to the doctrine of the Apostles in Jerusalem; quhilk mycht have causit men of ane sincere faith to have doutit, hearing the doctrine of the principal Doctours disaggré: he ascendit to Jerusalem, "And I conferrit (sayis Paule) the Evangell with

thaim, that I preach to the Gentiles;" quhilk, as Hierome notes on this worde, Ἀνεθέμην, is, quhen thay things that we knaw, we conferre with ane frend. And, as in his bosum we lay it, that thay things that we knaw with ane uniforme Councell may be approvit; tharefore, be Hierome's sayings, we may understand that he ascendit, nocht that the rest of the Apostles sould have teachit him, for it is ane uther thing to conferre, and ane uther thing to be teachit, for betuix thaim that conferris thare is equalitie, and betuix the teacher and him that is teachit thare is inequalitie. Quharefore he ascendit to rehears that quhilk he had teachit, to the effect that thay of Jerusalem mycht subscrive to the treuth with him: nocht that his preaching, quhilk was the veritie of God's worde, nedit the consent or witnessing of men, (for he schawis it already to be confermit be God, in sa far as he ascendit be revelatione,) bot that he mycht have ane testimoniall of the Haly Spirit, and Apostles that was thare, to mak it manifest to the warld, that it was na uther thing that he teachit in Antiochia, bot that the Haly Spirit and the rest of the Apostles had approvit be thare testimoniall; be the quhilk, gif that Paules adversours had objectit efterwart, circumcisione to have bene necessare to the Gentiles that belevit, be reasone thay mycht have said againe that the Apostles had swa teachit in Jerusalem, that this testimoniall of the Kirk of Jerusalem, quhilk wes in sindrie places devulgate, mycht have convictit thaim of falset. And be the same testimoniall, that thay quha belevit sould have na dout of thare salvatione, suppose thay had not bene circumcisit, considdering in the Apostle's Epistle is contenit the decrete of the Haly Spirit, in the quhilk is decretit that the zok of the law be nocht put upon thaim that belevit in Christe. And tharefore it was send to Antiochia, be the hand of Judas, callit Barsabas, and Silas, to stanch the disputatione betuix the Jowes and the Gentiles, Quhidder, gif circumcisione to the Gentiles that belevit was necessare, or nocht? Fol. 26, b.

Quharefore be the Scripture, and als be Hierome's sayingis, for the causes foresaid, I may justly conclude, aganis Mr Quintinis

Firste lessone, that Paule went nocht up to Jerusalem to decerne upon ony questione movit in the Congregatione, nor zit to move ony questione as douting in him self, for he had preachit aganis the fals teachers that come fra Jerusalem to Antiochia, that circumcisione was nocht necessare to the Gentiles. And tharefore, the scripture of the 15 chap. of the Actes makis na thing for his Firste Lessone that he gathers thareon.

Heir followis Mr Quintinis Seconde Lessone collectit of the 15 Chap. of the Actes, for Confirmatione of his Firste Conclusione.

Secondly, It is to be markit of this text, that efter Paule and Barnabas was receavit be the Congregation, the Apostles and El-
Fol. 27. ders onely convenit to dispute and decerne upon the questione movit in the Congregatione, betuix the Jowis and the Gentiles. Quhareby we ar learnit, that it appertenit to the Apostles and Elders, dewlie convenit together, to dispute, reasone, and pronunce sentence of maters brocht in debait concerning the trew understanding of the Worde of God; as the speciall membre of the Congregatione appoyntit be God to that office: and thare deliberatione in maters concerning faith and religione, and interpretatione of Scripturs, to have the samyn denominatione, strenth, and effect, as the hale rest of the membris of the Congregatione had concurrit tharewith.

Mr Johne Davidson's Answer to Mr Quintinis Secund Lessone.

This text foresaid bearis record that the Apostles and Elders convenit to dispute upon the mater; bot it sayis nocht thay onely convenit to dispute: Quharefore this argument is na worthe, the text makis mentione of na uthers bot of the Apostles and El-

ders that convenit to dispute, tharefore, al uthers fra the disputatione was secludit. For be the same text, in twa divers places, it may be perfytelie provin, that thare was far ma at that disputatione than the Apostles and Elders; for betuix Peter and James reasoning, it is wryttin, that "The hale multitude held thare peace." And efter that James had schawin his reasone, quhy the Gentiles that belevit sulde nocht be circumcisit, it is wryttin, "That it pleasit the Apostles and the Elders, with all the Kirk, to cheis men amangs thaim and send to Antiochia." Mairattoure, he can nocht deny bot the Brethren ar expresly namit in the superscriptione of the Apostles letter and understand onder this worde 'us,' in the wryttin decrete of the Haly Spirit. Quharefore, it being verray lyke that the multitude had bene speakyng before, because the Spirit of God sayis, "The multitude held thare peace," efter Peter's reasoning; and siclyke, the brethren is mentionat in the decrete, and is lyk to have reasonit, he can not inferre tharefore the Apostles and Elders to have onelie dispute. And quhowbeit thay had only dispute the mater, as it is nocht lyke that thay did, for it can nocht be provin be the text, zit the rest of his lessone, quhilk he sayis he hes learnit, is on ane boddomles ground. For the Scripture foresaid, of the 15 cap. of the Actes, makis na mentione that it appertenit to the Apostles and Elders to pronunce sentence in maters brocht in debait, concerning the trew understanding of the Worde of God; nor zit that thare deliberatione in maters concern- Fol. 27, b.
ing faith, religione, and interpretatione of the Scripturs, sould have the same denominatione, strenth, and effect, as the hale rest of the members of the Congregatione had concurrit thareto; as salbe schawin heirefter, in the Confutatione of the Confirmatione of his Thride Lessone.

HEIR FOLLOWIS MR QUINTINIS THRIDE LESSONE, COLLECTIT OF THE TEXT FORESAID, FOR CONFIRMATIONE OF HIS CONCLUSIONE.

THRIDLY, It is to be notit that, efter Paule and Barnabas had op-

pinnit and declarit to the Apostles and Elders the questione and debait that rase in the Congregation betuix the Jowes and the Gentiles, the Jowes being indurit, persuading circumcisione to be necessare with baptisme, the Gentiles, be the contrare, disdaning the zok of circumcisione, thinking baptisme onely sufficient; rase up Peter, and efter conferring of Scripturs, declarit baptisme sufficient without circumcisione. And als James cytit the Scripturs to beare witnessing, and approvit the sayingis of Peter; quhilk being done, James, in the name of the rest of the Apostles, (because he was pastor and bischop of Jerusalem, quhare the Apostles convenit for the tyme,) pronouncit sentence and said, "I judge:" Marke, gude Reader, Peter and James to call to remembrance the testimoneis of the Scripture as witnes bearer of the will and mynde of the Lorde, and the Apostles to occupy the place of the judge, to the questione movit in the Congregatione. For quhy? The Apostle James said nocht, the Scripture judges, decernis, nor gevis sentence, bot he takis the place of the judge (in the name of the rest of the Apostles) upone him self, saying, "I judge."

Mr Johne Davidsonis Answer to Mr Quintinis Thride Lessone.

Quhare Mr Quintine heir sayis that James, in the name of the rest of the Apostles, (because he was bischop of Jerusalem, quhare
Fol. 28. the Apostles was convenit for the tyme,) pronouncit sentence, I say, his sayingis hes na ground, and that I tak to prove be divers reasonis: Firste, We may see in the disputatione, that Peter's reasone is quhy the Gentiles that belevit sould nocht be circumcisit, for "God (sayis he) wald have thaim, hearing the Worde of the Evangell be my mouth, and beleve;" and he hes put na difference betuix us that is Jowes and thaim that is Gentiles, in gevin thaim the Haly Spirit, and be faith hes purifeit thare hartis: tharefore now, quhy tempt ze God to lay ane zok on the disciples neckis? And thir last wordis is rehearsit againe, in the decrete

of the Haly Spirit, put in writ be the Councell, placing this worde burdene for zok, quhilk signifeis heir baith ane thing. James, heirefter to approve Peter's reasone, he alledges Amoz the Prophet, and upone him he groundis his reasone quhy the Gentiles that belevit sould nocht be circumcisit; making his exhortatione to the Congregatione on this maner, saying, "Quharefore, I think best, that we trouble thaim nocht of the Gentiles that ar turnit to God; bot that we write to thaim, that thay abstene thaim selves fra filthynes of idoles, and fornicatione, and that is wirreit, and fra blude;" and of James's wordis, thare is sum put in the decrete siclyke. Than I say, gif this had bene the sentence that James had gevin in the name of the hale Apostles, as Mr Quintine alledgis, James failzeit to Peter, that maid na mentione of his wordis, of the quhilk the hale Councell in the writtin decrete makis mentione. And mairattoure, the Councell had failzeit to James, that wald nocht write the sentence of the Councell as it was pronouncit be him, gif he pronouncit the sentence in the name of the hale Apostles; for in the writtin decrete of the hale Councell thare is mekle left out that James spak in his exhortatione, quhilk Mr Quintine callis James's sentence: bot thare was na sic variance amangs thaim.

Quharefore, in the decrete of the Councel, nother Peter's nor James's sayings is followit, bot the effect of baith thare sayings (as members of the Councel, geving thare reasonis, as uthers did, in the disputatione that was thare) was concludit, saying, "It hes pleasit the Haly Gaist, and us, &c., to lay na uther burdene upone zow," as Peter sayis; "bot that ze abstene zour selves fra filthynes of idoles, and fornicatione, and that is wirreit, and from blude," as James sayis.

Secondly, That James gave sentence in this Councell, it can nocht be provin be this worde 'Judico,' in Latine, for the Greik terme κρίνω, of the originall text, it signifeis nocht onely 'Ju- Fol. 28, b.
dico,' bot 'Arbitror,' 'Censeo.' Quharefore Erasmus, and Sanctes Pagninus, men weil sene baith in the three languagis, interpretis the Greik terme κρίνω, be the Latine verbe 'Censeo,' quhilk proper-

lie is, nocht to judge or to give sentence, bot to think to be gude or best. Mairattoure, Ireneus, in the 12 chap. of his Thrid buke, readis this place of Scripture on this maner, 'Propterea ego secundum me Judico.' Eiking to this verbe, κρίνω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ. quhilk wordis restrykis the significatione of this verbe κρίνω[1] to ane speciall man, forsamekle as he spak at that tyme bot for him self; For insafar he readis, 'Secundum me,' he schawis that James was nocht so arrogant and lordlie over his brethren, as that he tuke on him to pronunce sentence in the name of the rest, or that he wald have al uthers addictit to his sayings in the Councell; bot schawin his judgement by it self, quhat he thocht best to be done, according to the Scripturs, in the controversie proponit before thaim, he leavis place to all uthers that was thare present, quhat thay thocht best to be done in the mater; nor it is nocht lyke that James wald have bene sa rasche as to have gevin sentence quhill his reasone first had bene hard and apprevit be the Councell, or that he wald have said, 'I judge,' bot, 'We judge,' give he gave the sentence in the name of the rest, for thay had all bot ane commissione of God.

As to the cause, quharefore he alledgis James sulde have tane upon him to pronunce sentence in the name of the rest of the Apostles, because he was Byschope of Jerusalem: This cause soundis verray neir to the ambitione of the Papistrie, quhilk I beleve na godlie man wyl think to have bene amangs the Apostles; for in lykewayis Paule mycht have said, that he was Apostle and byschope constitute be God to the hale Gentiles of the hale warlde, and to thay Gentiles quha had the governement of Jerusalem at that tyme, that he sulde have pronuncit sentence in

[1] When Davidson's work was published there were no Greek types in Scotland, and the words are supplied in MS. Lekprevik, (the printer of both works,) in his address to the Reader, prefixed to George Hay's "Confutation of the Abbot of Crossraguel's Masse," 1563, offers an apology for his want of Greek characters, which he was forced to have supplied by manuscript, that in case of any error the Author might not suffer in his reputation. (Herbert's Ames's Typogr. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 1487.) In Davidson's tract the words that are thus supplied are nearly illegible, from the ink having faded.

maters perteyning to thaim to quhome he was Apostle; and Peter alswa mycht have said, that he sulde have pronuncit sentence, because he was cheif Apostle, (as Mr Quintine stylis him,) quhilk was mair than to be byschope of ane toun; and alswa, Peter was Apostle to all the circumcisit, nocht onely in Jerusalem, bot throuchout the hale warlde, quhilk was ane greater thing to be, than to have bene byschope of ane citie of Jerusalem: upon the quhilk Peter and Paule was alswa constitute Apostles, because thay war constitute be God Apostles baith of Jow and Gentile, (Gal. ii.:) bot James was chosin be the Apostles byschope of Jeru- Fol. 29. salem, as testifeis Hierome in the Prologe of the Ecclesiasticall wryttars: and that, as Egesippus wryttis, sayis Hierome. Quharefore, it hes na appearance, that he, quha was chosin be the Apostles, walde take on him in thare presence, as ane byschope to pronunce sentence, quhilk is the office of the heast powar. And, besides this, give James was not byschope of Jerusalem at the tyme of this Councell, bot was chosin efter the Councell, the cause quharefore Mr Quintine alledgis him to pronunce sentence is fals.

Mairattoure, I say (which perdone of Hierome and Egesippus his autor) it is nocht lyke that ony of the Apostles, quha was chosin be Christe to be preachours to the hale warlde, that thay walde addict thaim self, bot give it war for ane schorte tyme to ony special kirk, bot follow thare maister Christis command: quha commandit nocht Peter to be byschope of Rome, nor Paule byschope of Antiochia, nor zit commandit he the Apostles to make James byschope of Jerusalem, to have autoritie amangis thaim be reasone of the place that he occupyit, bot he gave thaim all ane common charge, saying, "Pas in to the hale warld, and preache the Evangel to every creature," (Marke xvi.) Quharefore it is nocht weill inferrit that James gave sentence because he was byschope of Jerusalem, suppose he had said, as the vulgare translation bearis, "I judge."

Thridlye, This cause quharefore Mr Quintine alledgis that James sulde have pronuncit sentence, is of na effect, for it savoris of twa

ungodlie things, First, Of Papistrie; for the principall thing the Paip hes for his usurpit autoritie of judgement and sentence geving over the hale warlde, is, because he is byschop of ane toun callit Rome, and successour unto Peter, *nomine tenus:* Secundlie, It savoris of ambitione, give thay regardit ony of the Apostles amangs thaim self, be reasone of the place thay war chosin to, and that ambitione was croppin in amangs thaim; quhilk I beleve na man wyll saye.

Ferdlie, Give thir wordis of James had bene the sentence gevin in the name of the rest of the Councell, quhare he sayis, "I judge nocht to trouble the brether, bot wreit to thaim to abstene thaim self," &c., thir wordis, 'bot wreit to thaim,' had bene impertinent to have bene put in the myddis of ane sentence. And give he wyll say, that the sentence followis thir wordis, 'bot wreit to thaim,' than I say, that the sentence (as he callis it) that James gave, and the decrete that was wryttin in the Councell to the Gentiles of Antiochia, aggreis nocht, as ony man maye see, quhilk ware ane greate inconvenient.

Fol. 29, b. Quharefore, be thir reasonis I conclude, that nother James (because he was byschope of Jerusalem) pronouncit sentence in the name of the rest of the Apostles, nor zit inferris he weill of this place that the Scripturs was nocht judge, bot that the Apostles was judge. As salbe schawin plainely heirefter in the confutatione of his Confirmatione that James gave sentence, (as he alledgis,) quhilk heirefter followis, &c.

Heir followis Mr Quintinis Confirmatione of his Thride Lessone.

And to the effect, that thow sall mair cleirly perceave the Apostles till occupy the place of ane judge to the interpretatione of the Worde of God, and the Scripture to be as witnes berare of the will and mynde of the Lorde, quhareby the Apostles tuik instructione; thow sall mark the sentence put in writ, and send away with

Paule and Barnabas, and sum uther of the rest of the Congregatione, saying thir wordis :—

"It hes pleasit the Haly Gaist, and us, to put na uther burdene upon zow, bot till abstene fra filthynes of idoles, and blude, it that is wirreit, and fornicatione: fra the quhilkis ze keiping zow, ze do weill; and weill fair ze."

Marke, gude Reader, the wordis of the sentence, saying, "It hes pleasit the Haly Gaist, and us," as the Scripture wald say, and us as judges, appointit be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of God's Worde fra the wrang. Als it may be notit, that thare is na testimonie of the Scripture put in the sentence; be the quhilk it may be perceavit, the judgement onely referrit to the Apostles, and the Scripture na wayis to occupy the place of ane judge towart the interpretatione of the Scripturs.

Mr Johne Davidsonis Answer.

Ane bairne may judge on this interpretatione of Mr Quintinis, that other he speakis effectionatly, that grounds his argument sa weakly, to prove the Apostles to be Judges, or els he hes nocht understand his text that he reasonis upone; for quhare he sayis, 'Mark, gude Reader, the wordis of the sentence, saying, "It hes pleasit the Haly Gaist, and us," as the Scripture wald say, and us as judges, appointit be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang.' This maner of interpretatione, the Fol. 30.
hale warld may see that it is na worth, for in it thare is manifest wrang done to the Haly Spirit, in sa far as Mr Quintine sa slychtly overseis him, (quhom it hes pleasit the Apostles, the Elders, and brethren, to put principall and first, as the onely trew judge in the decrete,) and gevis onely the dignitie of judgement and presidencie to the Apostles, quhilk thay wald never have tane on thaim selves. And mairattour, I mervell quhow he hes dreamit this interpretatione, and 'us as judges,' considdering thare is na mentione maid of judgement before thir wordis nor behinde,

except that James sayis "I think best;" quhilk I have sufficiently schawin before, that thir wordis meanit of na judgement geving.

Secondly, Under this worde 'us' is contenit not onely the Apostles, bot alswa the Elders, and brethren, as may be easylie perceavit be the letter writtin in the Councell of the Haly Spirit be the Apostles: for the inscriptione of the letter contenis "the Apostles, Elders, and brethren," quhilk he hes pretermittit in his Tractive, that he mycht interprete this terme 'us' as he pleasit, quhilk he could not have done and he had lukit to the superscriptione of the letter; quhareby we may cleirly see that it is the Scripturs quhilk gevis the rycht understanding of the difficill places of the Scripture, and the discretione betuix the rycht understanding of thaim and the wrang, for the quhilk thare is ony controversie. For the superscriptione of this letter of the Councell gevis, to thaim that luikis on this mater, the rycht interpretatione of this worde 'us;' and alswa discretione betuix the rycht understanding heirof and the wrang, without the quhilk, na warldly creature could interprete it, or zit could thay decerne quhidder Mr Quintine hes interprete it rycht or wrang: and tharefore, I have put in writ the Epistle of the Councell, that all men that hes ony judgement may perfytely see quhow Mr Quintine hes cloikit the mater, gif he hes pretermittit the superscriptione of the Apostles Epistle of set purpose; and gif he hes done it of ignorance, I have put the same Epistle in writ, that the warld may have petie of his ignorance, and be war in tymes cumming that thay be not dissavit be his writings. And alswa, that the warld may see quhom this worde 'us' rehearsis, and to quhom it hes respect.

Fol. 30, b. (The Superscriptione of the Councel's Epistle:—)

"The Apostles, and the Elders, and the Brethren, to the Brethren of the Gentiles of Antiochia, Syria, and Celicia, greating," &c.

(The Narratione of the Councel's Epistle:—)

"Forsamekle as we have harde, that certane quha departit

fra us hes troublit zow with wordis, and combret zour myndis, saying, Ze man be circumcisit, and keip the law: to quhom we gave na command; it semit to us thareforé gude, quhen we com togither with ane accorde, to send chosin men on to zow with our belovit Barnabas and Paule, men quha hes jeoperdit thare lyves for the name of our Lord Jesus Christe. We have send thareforé Judas and Sylas, quhilk sall also tell zow the same thyngis be mouth."

(The Decrete of this Councell, and Conclusione of the Epistle:—)

"For it hes pleasit the Haly Gaist, and us, to put na uther burdene on zow than thir necessare thingis; that ze abstene fra fylthines of idols and blude, it that is wyreit, and fornicatione: fra the quhilks ze keipyng zow, ze do weill; and weill fair ze."

Heir it may be planelie sene, that this worde 'us' hes not onely respect to the Apostles, bot alswa to the Elders and brethren contenit in the superscriptione of the letter. And, tharefore, this worde 'us' in the decrete is als mekle to say as the Apostles, Elders and brethren. Quharefore it is evill interprete, and 'us as judges,' quhilk he referris onely before to the Apostles. Bot it happinnit weill, that he was not all hale blynde that happinnit on the Apostles, quha is put in the first part of the superscriptione, and neglectit nocht the hale membris of the Councell. Bot it is nocht marvell that he oversaw the Elders and brethren that was understande under this worde 'us,' and last, in the superscriptione of the Councel's letter; considering he oversaw the Haly Spirit, for his awin avan- Fol. 31.
tage, quha is president of the Councell; quhilk come (as I think) bot of ane kyndlie kirkmannis head, quha walde nother have the Haly Spirit, quha knawis all, nor zit the Elders and brethren, quha knawis part, understanding that ony thing sulde be done in Councels bot be the Apostles, to quhom Mr Quintine and his cheif pastours haldis thaim self successours, that thay may ryng over all mennis conscience onely as thay please. Tharefore, all men that consideris the ordoure of this Councell, may clerelie see, that he hes oversene

himself in the expositione of this terme 'us,' for under this terme 'us' is comprehendit the Apostles, Elders, and brethren; under the quhilk namis is comprehendit the hale Congregatione of Christ Jesus's kirk; for thare is na gude trew Christiane man, bot he is other ane Apostle, or ane Eldere, or ane brother: and nane of this ordours of men sulde be secludit fra Generall, Provinciall, or Synodale Councels, swa thay be qualifeit tharefore, suppose thay war nocht admittit in the Papistrie.

Thridlie, Quha pleasis lay the text of this Scripture together and his glose, I beleve thare salbe found na man bot he sall hald him war nor blynd, and he see nocht quhow Maister Quintine is marvalouslie wanderit be the way in this mater: for quhat affinitie hes this text, "It hes pleasit the Haly Spirit, and us, to put na uther burdene on zow, bot to abstene fra filthines of idols, and it that is wyrreit, and fornicatione;" and this his glose, "It hes pleasit the Haly Spirit, and us as judges, appoyntit be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of God's word fra the wrang?" This text and glose is lyke the vulgare interrogatione and the deif mannis answer that is commonlie rehearsit, quhen twa thingis is alledgit to have aggreance together that hes nane. "Quhow mony myle to Montrois?" R. "Ane poikful of plombes." Siclyke ze may se quhow uncraftelie he makis, be his secunde notatione, the judgement to be referrit onely to the Apostles, and the Scripture na wayis to occupie the place of ane judge. Lat ony man considder that please, this is ane weake maner of reasoning; 'Thare is na testimonie of the Scripture put in the sentence: *ergo*, the judgement is onely referrit to the Apostles.' For give he wyl have the judgement referrit to thaim that is put in the sentence, (as he callis it,) the judgement sall nocht onely be referrit to the Apostles, bot to the Haly Spirit, as principall president and judge of the Councell, and to the Elders and brethren, quha is put als weill in the sentence as the Apostles, and contenit under this worde 'us' in the decrete: Quharefore the judgement is nocht to be referrit to the Apostles, zea, I will
Fol. 31, b. say mair, that the Apostles hes na mair ado to be judges in this mater, nor they have to be judges over the hale Scripture; for this

decrete is nocht to be esteamit as the decrete of man, bot as the decrete of the Haly Spirit; quha with his word hes judgit that the Gentiles that belevis is exemit fra the Law of Moyses, and nocht the Apostles: for quhowbeit the Apostles, elders, and brethren, is namit in the decrete, zit the decrete is nocht to be callit thare decrete, bot the Haly Spirites. And quhowbeit it be callit the decrete of the Apostles, it is bot efter the judgement of the warld, and efter the commone maner of speaking of the Scripture, because the world judges be the thing that it seis and hearis. And tharefore quhen men hearis the Apostles, elders, and brethren, adjoynit with the Haly Spirit in the making of this decrete, because the Haly Spirit is nocht corporall nor visible, that thay may see him and have communicatione with him visibly, thay having thare communicatione with the Apostles, elders, and brethren, quha was corporal and visible men lyke unto thaim self, appointit be God to reule and teache his Kirk, as his instrumentis quhairby he furth settis his lawis, decretis, and judgementis to the warld; quhilk movit Paule to call him self God's labourare, not that he wrocht sic things be his awin strenth, or be ony vertew of his awin in him, mair nor the deade instrumentis workis with warldly craftismen; bot, be his grace and power, (1 Cor. iii.) thay call the decretis of the Haly Spirit the decretis of his ministers, as Paul callis the Law of God the Law of Moyses, and that efter ane familiare maner of speach usit in the worde of God, quhilk communicatis and attributis unto men that thing quhilk appertenis onely to God, as Paule callis him self father of the Corinthianis (1 Cor. iv.) be the Evangell. Quhowbeit God is all our onely Father, baith of body and saule: zit as he communicatis the dignitie of ane carnall fatherhead to men; siclyke, suppose God be onely our spiritual Father, zit the Scripturs attributis the spiritual fatherhead to men, be quhom the Worde and Sacramentis is distributit to us, be the quhilk we are regeneratit. And conforme to this, Hierome sayis, that thare is mony thingis spokin of in the Scripture conforme to the opinione of the tyme, that thay thingis is done, and nocht according to that quhilk veritie contenit:

(Hierome in Jeremi. xxviii., et in Math. cap. xiv.,) As the Virgine Marie said to hir sonne Jesus Christe of Joseph, "Behauld, thy Father and I murning socht thé," (Luk. ii.) Alswa the
Fol. 32. wonderfull actes that was done in the primitive Kirk be the Haly Spirit and the name of Christe Jesus, thay ar callit the actes of the Apostles, quhilk was done be God, and be men as his instrumentis. Quharefore, as thay actes that was done be God was attribute to men, siclyke this decrete is callit the decrete of the Apostles, because it was put in writ, and maid manifest to the Kirk be the Apostles, quhowbeit it was onely the Haly Spirit's.

Mairattoure, in sa far as the Haly Spirit is put first in this decrete, he can nocht say, that it was the Apostles decrete, or that thay ar namit heirin as judges, without he will attribute to thaim that appertenis onely to the Haly Spirit; or els to say, that the decretis of the Haly Spirit is the decretis baith of God and man, quha will have na companzone with him in making of his decretis. And in sa far as he attributis, be the notatione he makis in the confirmatione of his Thrid lessone, and be this sentence or decrete foresaid, (call it as he please,) the judgement onely to the Apostles, he dois great injurie to the Haly Spirit: for quhatsumever thing he attributis to the Apostles, he sould attribute the same and mair to the Haly Spirit, because he is put in the writtin letter before the Apostles to quhom he gevis the hale judgement, making na mentione of the Haly Spirit.

Bot happin some men will ask perchance, Quhow can the Haly Spirit be ane judge in maters of debait concerning religione; or quhow can he decerne the rycht interpretation of the Scripture fra the wrang in the earth? I answer, It is sure that the Haly Spirit was send to the Apostles in the earth as Christe Jesus promisit, (John xiv.) to teach thaim and the Kirk of God to the end of the warld all veritie. And tharefore, sen he was and is ane doctour of the veritie, send to thaim and the Kirk in earth, quhatever thay be that wald tak the judgement of his awin doctrine (that is the Scripturs and the interpretatione of thaim) fra him, or the judgement of that thing that is contrare to his doctrine, (as he war ane crea-

ture that understude nocht gif it war rycht or wrang he teachit,) or gif thay wald not grant that he had the properteis convenient for ane doctour, as is judgement of the mater he teachis, and that he hes dytit and delyverit be his ministers to the Kirk of God, they wald have him haldin war nor ane dum doctour, quhilk war ane blasphemous thing to be harde.

And gif ony man wil object, because the Haly Spirit hes not ane mouth as man to pronounce sentence, to interprete Scripturs, and to have communicatione with men as earthly judges hes, he sulde Fol. 32, b. nocht be properlie haldin ane judge or ane interpretoure of the Scripturs:—I answer, That the mouth of the Haly Spirit was the Apostles, quha spak nocht the scripturs, nor decernit na thing of thaim be thaim self; bot the Haly Spirit spake and decernit be thaim. Tharefore Christe Jesus said to thaim, "It is nocht ze that speakis, bot the Spirit of zour Father that speakis in zow," (Mat. xvi.) Siclyke quhen Stevin held disputatione aganis the Libertines and Syrenitis, (as is writtin, Actor. vi.,) quhilk coulde not be without cytatione, interpretatione of the Scripturs, and discretione betuix the rycht understanding of thaim fra the wrang; zit of this disputatione the Scripture attributes na thing to Stevin, bot to the wysedome and Spirit that spake in him, quha was na uther spirit bot the Spirit of God, quha spake be his prophetis, apostles, and ministers, (as his mouth,) before this tyme; and siclyke ay sall speake be his ministers in the earth, (as his mouth,) all godlie maters, and specialie concerning scripturs, to the end of the warlde, according to his promes.

Mairattoure, the Scripturs schawis planelie that the devils spake on to Christe, saying, "Give thow castis ws oute of this, send ws in the heird of swyne," (Math. viii.) Siclyke thay cryit, saying, "Thow is the Sonne of God," (Mark iii.) Now thay that wyll grant the devyll to speak, I wat thay will nocht denye speache to the Haly Spirit. Quharefore, sen the Haly Spirit be the scripturs is perfytlie knawin to be ane doctour in earth, and hes communicatione with the warlde be his ministers, (as be his mouth,) and thay have na godlie thing bot be him; nocht onely may I collect that,

in this Councel of the Apostles, the Haly Spirit is the onely speaking judge and sentance gevar be his worde, and the Apostles, eldars, and brethren, is bot men, be the quhilk (as instruments) God the Haly Spirit speakis his worde. And siclyke the secunde part of his notatione, quhilk he makis on the text, (as he alledgis,) is verray slycht, saying, 'Thare is na testimonie of the Scripture put in the sentence: tharefore the Scripture na wayis occupyis the place of ane judge.' I answer, The Haly Spirit is first put in the wryttin decrete, quha is never seperat fra his scripturs, nor judgis na uther wayis nor they do, nor the scripturs judgis na uther wayis nor he dois. And tharefore, he being in the decrete, quha be the mouth of James and Peter pronuncit the Scripturs conteyning the sentence, (as his mouth,) it was nocht neidfull that
Fol. 33. the Scripturs, his testimoneis, quhilk before wes cytit be Peter and James, sulde have bene repetit againe in the decrete. Mairattour, and the decrete had bene maid in this maner, It hes pleasit the Haly Spirit and us, or it hes pleasit the Worde of God and us, it was necessare that the warlde hade obeyit the decrete. Tharefore it wes sufficient that ane of thaim was exprimit in the decrete; and had nother of thaim bene exprimit in the decrete, it had gottin credit bot as the decrete of men. Quharefore, be the autoritie of the Scripturs and reasons foresaid, I conclude, That the Kirk of God (interprete the Kirk as he pleasis, and geving him for disputation's cause that it is representit other be general or particulare Councels, quhow dewlie that ever thay have bene convenit) is on na wayis appoyntit judge be God to decerne and interprete the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, quhensumever questione or debait rysis for the understanding of the same, nor zit na mortall thing. Bot men that hes bene at controversie for maters of religione hes chosin the Worde and Spirit of God to be thare judges, be thame to have the trew interpretatione of the difficile places of the Scripture, and discretione of the rycht understanding of the same fra the wrang: and alswa pronunciatione of the sentence in thare controversie, that hes bene at debait for ony mater of religione. And thay have nocht chosin men to be thare

judges in controverseis; bot give it war for the using of the ordinarie meanis quhareby all men quhilk was of sound judgement mycht perfytlie see, quhen ony men was at controversie, quhat was the judgement and sentence of the worde and Spirit of God, that God walde have schawin to the warlde for thaim baith. Because, and thay quhom Maister Quintine haldis presently the cheif pastours, (quhilk he callis the Kirk,) war appointit judges be God to decerne and interprete the rycht understanding of the Scripturs fra the wrang, throw thare ambitione and warldly affectionis the warld sould live in perpetuall debait and controversie. For not onely wald thay interprete the Scripturs at thare pleasure, bot alswa decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripturs to be wrang, and the wrang to be rycht, and pronounce sentence without the Word of God, (as thare antecessours hes done before in sindrie maters of religione,) or thay losit ane unce of thare levingis, or ane grane of thare vaine honours.

And swa leave I my Conclusione, direct contrare for the maist part to Maister Quintine, confirmit be Scripturs, Reasonis, and Doctours sayingis, trewly alledgit, (as he alledgis his Conclusione to be,) to the judgement of the godly and indifferent reader: Praying the Almychty God to communicat to him, and to all Fol. 33, b. thais quha is of his factione, samekle of his wonderful graces as he thinkis expedient for thaim to acknawledge thaim self, laying all warldly affectionis asyde, and to do that thing quhilk is rycht in his sycht quha is blissit for ever.

Maister Quintine Kennedeis Epistle, directit to the Brethren Protestantes.

Deirly belovit Freindis and Nychbours, I am advertisit that thare is sum learnit men of zour sect and opinione, quhilk hes promisit schortly ane Confutatione of the hale Tractive, quhilk I have laitly set furth. In favour of zow, I will do him (quhatsumever he be) sum ease and pleasour. And to that effect, I have drawin

and collectit the hale substance and effect of my Buik, in lytle boundis: And gyf he, and all the rest quhilk favours his sect and opinione, wyll confute ony part of this breve rehears of our Buik be Scripture, Reasone, and Authoritie, conforme to the doctrine of Ancient Fathers, sic as Hierome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregore, Chrysostome, Damascene, Tertuliane, Cypreane, Theophilact, Origenes, or Ireneus, or ony of the rest of the Ancient Fathers, being trewly alledgit and applyit, in contrare my purpose; it sal be all alyke as he had confutit all our hale work. And als I obleis my self, be this my hand writt, to renounce my Religione, and subject my self to zour factione: quhilk I rekin na less, nor to renunce the assurit treuth, and subject my self to great confusione and incertitude. &c.

To Maister Quintine Kennedy, Commendatore Abbote of Crosraguel, M. Johne Davidsone wishit grace, health, and peace, frome God the Father, throw Jesus Christe oure Lord. &c.

I dout not, bot zour Lordschip remembers ze send me ane Schort Tractive, a lytle before the beginning of the Reformatione of the Religione in the Kirk of this Realme, contening the hale substance and effect of zour lytle Buik, quhilk is, That the Kirk representit be the generall Councels, dewely convenit, is (as ze alledge) the onely Judge appoyntit be God, to decerne the rycht understanding of the Scripture fra the wrang, quhen questione is for the understanding of the same; to have bene presentit in that troublus tyme to James Betoune, Archebischope of Glasgo, our gude Lorde and Maister, to have had his judgement and mynde of zour said Buik, before that tyme laitly prentit: Quhilk for that present tyme, we approvit baith to be gude and godly, bot sen syne, I finding the Scripturs sa weill oppinnit, be the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God communicatis unto men the understanding of his Scripturs, that I could nocht be langer of zour opinione, without I

wald have mantenit, as ane schameles man, that thing quhilk had nother ground of Scripture, gude Reasone, nor approbatione of the ancient Doctours. Quharefore, for the brotherly luife I beare to all men in Christe, and for the aulde Parisiane kyndnes that was betuix us, to bryng zour Lordschip, and the people of this countrie, fra the errour and blyndnes that this lytle Buik of zours hes haldin zow and thaim baith in; be sindrie Scripturs and Reasonis I have travellit, using me heirin efter the commone maner of reasoning, without dispyte, or reproche; and on the most gentile maner I could, I have schawin zow, quhow ze have far oversene zourself in this Buik, of the quhilk, in my hart, trewly I am sorie. Praying zour Lordschip heirfore, gif ze finde the Reasonis I bring in aganis zours, to have evacuat the reasonis of zour Buik in ony sorte: understand my labours not to be, that I desyre zour Lordschip (quha excedis me far in understanding, and in all kynde of subtile reasoning) to acknawledge zour self to be overcum be me, bot lat the veritie beare away the victorie for us baith. And be zour acknawledging of thay things ze have oversene in zour Buik, lat als mony people cum to the lycht of the Evangell, as ze have haldin fra it be the same, for God will require thare blude of zour handis and ze perseveir in ane wilfull obstinacie, without knawledge.

And gif zour conscience dytis zow to fauld and aggré to our sentence, as ze promes in zour bill, heir before writtin, gif ony part of zour Tractive be confutit: Think nocht that ony man of Christis religione, luikis for the glorie of zour cumming to the trew religione teachit us be Christe, as that ze come for wryting or reasoning of man: for we understand all, that thare can cum na man to Christe Jesus, bot he quhom his Father drawis to him; quha is drawing zow and all men daylie. And tharefore, as zour freind, I wish zow to subdew zour understanding, in the service of Christe, and of zour cumming, gif it please God, that ze cum to Christe Jesus religione, we sall attribute na glore thareof to ourself, bot with zow of all our cummin and calling, we sall give God the glorie and thankis, quha oft tymes suffers ane Pharo or uther, to wring

amangis his chosin people, be quhom he may baith declare his name throuchout the earth, and exercise his people. And because "He will have mercy on quhom he will, and quhom he will, he will hardene," (Roma. ix.,) of quhais will na man can give ane reasone. Tharefore, tak head to zour self, quhat ze write, that ze be not as ane Pharo halding the people of Egypt in idolatrie and errour, fra the trew worshipping of thare God, as he hes appointit in his law: Bot cry for his mercy and grace (as I sall do with zow) to illuminat zour hart with the trew knawledge of his Worde, that ze may leave zour religion inventit be man, and embrace that religione quhilk is set furth in the lively Worde of God, quhareby onely ze may cum to the porte of salvatione. And swa fare ze weill, as ze luife the Lorde Jesus, and avancement of his kingdome.

At the Paedagoge of Glasgw, the firste of Marche, 1562.

[SINCE the sheet containing the notice of Principal Davidson of Glasgow (page 177, &c.) was sent to press, I find, from Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii., pp. 541 and 664, that the vicarage of Calmonel, in Carrick, was held in 1562 by "Mr John Davidson, Master of the Pedagog of Glasgow;" that this living, which was in the patronage of the Archbishop of Glasgow, produced L.40 yearly; and that Davidson enjoyed a pension of 100 marks yearly from the revenues of the parsonage of Glasgow, which he appears to have received for a period of eighteen years.—MS. Rental Book, 1561-2, pp. 17, 18.]

LETTER

FROM

THE ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUELL

TO

JAMES ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW;

TOGETHER WITH

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE ABBOT AND JOHN WILLOCK.

M.D.LIX.

THE following letters relating to a proposed disputation between the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Willock are mentioned in the preliminary notice to the "Compendius Tractive," page 93. As the work in which these letters first appeared must only be in the hands of a very small number of the Members of the Wodrow Society, I have thought it advisable to insert them in this place. They form a suitable sequel to the Abbot's more prolix and formal treatise, while they possess a greater degree of interest, as serving not only to illustrate the manner in which literary disputes were then conducted, but to throw some light on the personal character of the intended disputants.

It must indeed be admitted, that such controversial works as those of Kennedy and Davidson are not likely to excite much interest in an ordinary reader of the present day; but it should be considered that few other specimens of polemical writing of that age have been preserved, and that those persons who would wish to form an accurate conception of the spirit of the times, and the mode of treating subjects in dispute between the two great parties, in regard to the dogmas of the Romish Church, must necessarily have recourse to such publications by Protestant writers, as the work of Davidson which precedes this, or the similar treatise of George Hay, described at page 94, but of which the only copy I know of in Scotland is at present inaccessible.

JOHN WILLOCK, one of the leading Reformers in Scotland, was a native of Ayrshire. He was born in the earlier part of the sixteenth century; and as he doubtless received a liberal education, it has been conjectured that he may have been a student in the University of Glasgow. He entered one of the religious houses in

the town of Ayr, and, on the authority of Spottiswood,[1] he is usually styled a Franciscan friar: but, according to the contemporary authority of Bishop Lesley,[2] he belonged to the order of St Dominick, or the Black Friars. Having early embraced the reformed opinions, he relinquished his monastic habit, and retired into England, probably at a period not later than 1539. In that year (31 Henr. VIII. cap. 14) was passed, "An Act for abolishing diversity of opinion in certain Articles of the Christian Religion." This oppressive measure, directed against the Protestants, is known as the Statute of the Six Articles. At this time, Willock seems to have been a preacher in the Chapel or Church of St Catharine's, London; as Foxe, in his Book of Martyrs, mentions him in connection with that parish, when recording the names and sufferings of those who were persecuted in London; but he assigns this to the year 1541. His words are: "Willock,[3] a Scotish Friar, prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against Confession, holy water, against praying to Saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory, and holding priests might have wives," &c. And one of the charges against William Clinch, of the parish of St John Baptist, Walbrook, was, "for burying his wife without Dirge, and *causing the Scot of St Katherine's* to preache the next day after the burial."[4]

After his liberation, and during the more peaceful reign of Edward the Sixth, Willock became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Gray; but upon Mary's accession to the throne, in July 1553, he was one of the Protestants who escaped to the continent; and having taken up his residence at Embden in Friesland, he practised there as a physician.

In 1555, and again in 1556, he was selected by his patroness, Anne Duchess of Friesland, to proceed to Scotland on a mission to the Queen Regent, respecting the trade between the two countries; but, in the words of Knox, his "principal purpose

[1] History, p. 93, Lond. 1655, fol.

[2] "Joannes Willoxius, qui a Dominicana familia jampridem deficiens," &c. Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 577, Romæ, 1578, 4to.

[3] "Willock," erroneously printed "Wilcock" in Foxe's work.

[4] Book of Martyrs, vol. v. pp. 448, 443, edit. 1838, 8 vols. 8vo.

was to essay what God would work by him in his native country." On both occasions he was eminently successful by his exhortations, his prudence, and resolution, in encouraging "the brethren, who did show then that they had an earnest thirst of godliness." Having a third time revisited Scotland, in October 1558, he then undertook the public office of the ministry.

At the close of 1558, the Archbishop of St Andrews had summoned Willock and some of the other Protestant preachers, upon a charge of teaching heretical doctrines; but their trial was postponed, by the Queen Regent's orders, and they were summoned to appear before the Court of Justiciary at Stirling, on the 10th of May 1559. In consequence of their non-appearance, they were declared rebels, and their cautioners subjected to heavy fines. Notwithstanding these proceedings, the preachers boldly and successfully pursued their public labours in various parts of the country; and Willock's sermons at Ayr, in March 1559, on the subject of the Mass, occasioned the challenge to a public disputation, and led to the following correspondence. "If the proposed conference had taken place, (as Mr Scott remarks,) it is more than probable that acts of violence would have been committed. Neither the one disputant nor the other would have acknowledged himself defeated in the controversy, and the irritation of their friends might have become ungovernable."[1]

These letters formed part of the Collection of Archbishop Beaton, which he bequeathed to the Scotish College at Paris.[2] Copies of them were communicated to Keith, who fortunately published them in the Appendix to his History, as it is more than doubtful whether the originals are still preserved.

It is not necessary to enter into any details respecting Willock's subsequent career. In July 1559, it was found unsafe for Knox to remain in Edinburgh, and Willock continued to officiate in his place

[1] Lives of Reformers, p. 67.

[2] Beaton was advanced to the see of Glasgow in 1551. Having left Scotland after the Reformation, he was appointed by Queen Mary Ambassador at the Court of France; and was continued by King James in this office till his death, which took place, at Paris, in April 1603, in the 86th year of his age.

for twelve months. In order to mark their sense of his valuable services at such a crisis, the Council, on the 29th of August 1560, ordered the sum of thirty-two crowns of the Sun to be presented to him "for recompense of the great traveill sustenit be him during this haill yeire bygane, in preching and administering the sacraments within this burgh; and ordanis ane member of the Counsell to thank him for his gret benevolence, and for the greit traveill forsaid." In the previous month, he had been appointed Superintendent of the West; and he chiefly resided in Glasgow.[1]

He was several times elected Moderator of the General Assembly. In 1566 he went to England, where he seems to have spent most of his latter days; although the Assembly, in December 1567, addressed to him a special letter inviting him to return to Scotland. After the murder of the Regent Murray, in January 1570, Willock wrote a letter to Knox, expressive of his heavy regret at this national calamity;[2] but how long after this Willock may have survived is uncertain. He probably died about the year 1574.

A full account of Willock's Life is contained in the "History of the Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland," by the Rev. James Scott of Perth, Edinb. 1811, or 1817, 8vo; and many additional particulars are inserted in Dr M'Crie's Life of Knox. See also Wodrow's "Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and most eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland," vol. i. p. 97-116, Glasgow, 1834, 4to. Bishop Lesley mentions Willock's disputations with John Black, a Dominican friar, and with Robert Maxwell, master of the grammar-school at Glasgow, in 1561; and Dempster, who describes him by various opprobrious epithets, ('perfidus apostata,' 'nefandus sectarius,' &c.) says, he wrote "*Impia quædam, lib.* 1, sed non vidi;" nor is he known as the author of any separate work.

[1] In the Appendix to Keith's History, p. 488, is a letter to Archbishop Beaton, from his factor in Glasgow, dated 10th October 1560, in which it is said, "John Willocks is going to London, with the Ambassadors, to bring home his wife." And when the Ambassadors returned, on the 3d of January 1560-1, they "brocht with thame Johne Willokis wyff." (Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 281.)

[2] Rich. Bannatyne's Memoriales, p. 21.

Letter from Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguell, to James Archbishop of Glasgow.

My Lorde, Eftir all hertlie commendatioun of service, I resavit twa wryttingis of zour Lordschip, fra this berir, this 7 of Apryll; and sall nocht faill (God willing) to meit zour Lordschip in Glasgo at zour seynze, accordyng to zour wrytting. As to the secret purpois quhilk zour Lordschip wryttis to me, I haif herd little or nathing therof as zett, bot sall labour to gett the intelligence that I can, and thereftir adverteis zour Lordschip with dilligence; therefore referris ferther in this purpois, till the tyme I speik zour Lordschip, quhilk salbe (God willing) as said is. Ferther pleis zour Lordschip to witt, accordyng to zour wrytting sent to me with the Priour of the Black Friaris, I passit on Pasch evin till Ayr, and thair remainit aught dayis. Afoir my cumin, Willok had prechit with intolerabill exclamatiouns, cryand out on the Messe persuadand the haill peple, that he exponit certane Scripturis allegit be him, truelie conforme to the jugement of the doctoris, and allegit thame to be expreslie aganis the Mess, and the ydolatrie usit be it. The names of the doctoris quhilk he allegeit wer thir, Irenæus, Chrysostome, Hilarius, Origene, and Tertulliane. Fra hand, eftir that the mater wes schawin to me, I persavit the craft of the knaif, quha belevand to haif gottin na recountar, allegeit sic doctoris, belevand thair workis had nocht bene in this cuntre, quhairthrow he mycht apply thame as he pleasit: It fortunit I had all the doctoris he alledgit, and diverse uthers, quha treittis *quod cœna* is *sacrificium*, speciallie Irenæus and Chrysostome; I persaivand the peple abusit in the maner, I wes constreinzit on my conscience to oppone my self to this wickit lymmaris heresie and doctrine, and nochttheles eftir ane generall maner, and causit

my wryttingis to be maid manifest to all the honest men of the town: Schortlie thair wes diverse wryttingis past amangs us, sic as I beleif zour Lordschip hes nocht herd of befoir, of the quhilk zour Lordschip sall resave the just copie. For conclusioun, I draif the lymmar to that point, that I constreinzit him to refuse the interpretatioun of the doctoris allegeit be him and all utheris, bot sa far as he thocht thay war agreable with the Worde of God, quhilk wes as gud as rycht nocht. Quhen the day of Ressoning come, I causit ane gentilman of this cuntre (quha is very expert) pass with ane notar and witnesses to the house quhair our ressoning sould haif beyn, and tak documentis that I wes reddy to fulfill my promise conforme to my wryttingis; and that the Ressoning ceissit on his pairt, in sa far as he gaif me nevir answir to my wryttingis, nor zit baid at his sayingis, as zour Lordschip will cleirlie persaif be baith our wryttingis. Zour Lordschip sall undirstand, that quhen the day of our ressoning come, (quhilk wes Sounday last wes,) thair convened above four or five hundred to fortifie him: Truelie, my Lord, and I had pleissit, I culd haif beyn twyse als mony; for my broder sone, my Lord Eglinton, and all thair friendis and servandis, wes in reddines as I wald pleisse to charge, bot alwyse I wold nolder suffer thameselfis nor zit thair servandis to cum; for gif I had done utherwyse, it had not failzied cummyr: Thairfoir I wes allutterely cumpanied with religious men, with swa mony gentilmen as I causit bere witnes to the mater; for I tuke documentis baith att the Mercat-croce and in the Parische-kirke oppinlie, he beand at his precheing, of the quhilk the principallis of the broder wes mervelouslie miscontentit. I assuyr zour Lordschip my Lord of Glencarne did not his pairt to me, as the berrar will schaw zour Lordschip at lenth. Eftir my opinioun, this cuntre may be easilie helpit, quhilk to wryte to zour Lordschip war owr prolixe; thairfoir I referr it to our meitting, as said is. Nottheles, thair is sum thingis quhilks wald be presently done, (and that in ane verray secreit maner,) as zour Lordschip sall persaif on the uther syde of the leafe;[1] zit I may wryte *un mot* to zour Lordschip, quhilk the

[1] This memorandum is not given by Keith.

Laird of Loffynorys[1] schew me, sayand, That thair wes diverse of the new sect of the principallis that are in thir partis, that said till him, that I wes nocht qualifiet to ressone with Willok, because he wes chosin Primat of thair religioun in this realme, and I wes bot ane meyne man in our estait: swa that thair wes nane qualifiet to ressone with him bot my Lord of Sanct Androis. Prayand God, gif the haill actioun wer referrit to thame twa, swa thai had competent jugeis, for my opinioun. Als zour Lordschip pleis to witt, thair come ane of the brether to me, within twa dayes eftir that I had givin in my wryttingis aganis Willokis, and said, Gif I pleissit, Willok wold come himselfe, and ane boy with him, and speik with me in my awin chamber, quhilk I alwyse refusit. Truelie, my Lord, Willok wryte nevir ane worde to me, bot he hes twenty or twenty-four landit men and gentilmen of his counsell, and causit evir the wryttingis to be deliverit to me, owther quhen I wes passand to my bed, or to my supper: Quhairfoir zour Lordschip man tak in pacience, albeit my answeris be not swa perfyte as myster war; for truelie thai war wryttin in gryte haist, bot I held me evir fast at ane grounde. I pray zour Lordschip appardone me that I molest zou with sic tryffils. I am swa hamelie with zour Lordschip, that I thinke I cannot abuse zou.

It will pleise zour Lordschip to commend my hertlie service to my Lord of Sanct Androis, and lat his Lordschip knaw sic novellis as ar amang us and the brethir in this cuntre. I assure zour Lordschip, the Priour of the Black Friaris in Ayr, zour Lordschip's oratour and servand, did his pairt as become him to haif done in all sortis, and that rychte manfully: Bot he wes alluterlie dissobeyit, and culd haif na entres in the Peroche-kyrke; as I haif wryttin to the Quenis Grace, and als sent to hir Grace the copy of WILLOKIS COLLOQUIUM, and myne, sic as I beleif hir Grace hes not oftymis seyne of befoir. Zour Lordschip will nocht beleif swa satisfiet as money are, that thai refuse the jugement of the doctoris towart the interpretatioun of the Scripturis; for thai maid the cuntre till beleif, that the auld doctoris war for thame all the way, and wald

[1] George Crawfurd of Leffnorys.

not beleif me for na sayingis I culd say, speciallie some of my awin friendis, quhill now that it come till this prief. Willok and the rest of his Counsell labourit earnestlie to sie gif I wald admitt the Scripture onlye Juge, and be that meines to haif maid me contrarray to my awin buke ;[1] bot thair labouris wes in waist. This referris to the berrar, prayand God to haif zour Lordschip in his keiping. Att Mayboil the 7 April 1559, be

Zour Lordschipis awin,

CORSRAGUELL.

THE FIRST WRYTTING GENERALL.

CORSRAGUELL.

QUHASUMEVIR will mayntene, byd att, and say, that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will preif him ane heretick be the express Worde of God, conforme to the doctryne, jugement, and understandyng of the maist anceant and godlie wryttaris and doctoris, quhilk evir hes bene sen the tyme of Jesus Christ unto thir dayis ; and is contentit that he (quhatsumevir he be) cheis twelf, sic as he thinkis gude, to be auditoris, (quhilkis ar men of resonable jugement and understanding ;) and I uther twelf, providand that I be advertist twenty-four houris afoir hand, that I may bring all the doctoris and auld wryttaris that I may gett, to the effect that every manis allegeance may be seyng : And failzeing I do the samyn, God willing (as said is) I oblyss my self, be this my subscriptioun, to be punist as ane heretick. Att Ayr the 26 day of Marche 1559.

WILLOK.

PROVOCKIT be this wrytting, I answer this for the present tyme ; Quhasumevir affirmes that he is habill to preif the Papis Mess to

[1] The Abbot means the book set forth by himself under the title of "Ane Compendius Tractive," &c., which is reprinted in the present volume, page 53-156.

be the Supper of the Lorde, or Institutioun of Jesus Christ our Lorde, be the Worde of God, affirmis that thing quhilk he sall not be hable to preif thereby; for I do affirme it to be nane of bayth, bot playn ydolatrie and vayn superstitioun: And I am contentit to admitt the conditioun expressit within the wrytting deliverit to me; the tyme and place beand appoyntit (openlie) be the noble and gentlemen of the schyr, quha (as I understand) will be in this town schortly, att quhais comeing, advertysement sall be maid of the day and company, with the names of sic personis as is requirit; aggreand to the number conteinit in the said wrytting. Att Ayr the 27 day of Marche 1559.

WILLOK, eftir langer Advysement.

THESE may be to advertyse zou, that the daye which wee have thought gude for disputatioun is Sounday nixt to cum, at ten houris of the clok, afoir noon, in Sanct John's Kirk of Ayr, oppinlye; because I do teache my doctryne oppinlye befoir the pepil thair. The auditoris, my Lord of Glencarne, my Lord Boyde, my Lord Uchiltre; the Sherriff of Ayr, the Laird of Craigy, the Laird of Cesnok, the Laird of Bar, the Laird of Carnell, the Laird of Keris, the Laird of Rowallan, the Laird of Blantyre, the Laird of Dregarne, Robert Campbell of Kinzanecleugh, the Laird of Carleton, the Laird of Sornebeg, the Laird of Kelwode,[1] twelf of this foirnaimit personis, conforme to zour awin wrytting, daittit at Ayr the 26 day of this instant: The order of disputatioun to begin at Goddis Worde, as the said wrytting proportis, desyring zour answer in lykewise agane in wryte,

[1] The persons whom Willock has here named as auditors or special witnesses on his side, besides the three noblemen, Alexander Earl of Glencairne, Robert Lord Boyd, and Andrew Lord Ochiltree, were the following: Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, sheriff of Ayr, John Wallace of Craigie, George Campbell of Cesnock, John Lockhart of Barr, Hugh Wallace of Carnel, David Crawfurd of Kerss, John Muir of Rowallan, John Dunbar of Blantyre, John Fullerton of Dreghorn, Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, John Cathcart of Carleton, Andrew Schaw of Sornebeg, and George Corry of Kelwood.

with the names of the twelf personis to be send quhilkis ze cheis for zour pairt, to be delyverit to thir honorabyl berirs. Att Ayr the 29 day of Marche 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

MY answir to ane wrytting of John Willok, deliverit to me in the Gray Friaris Kirk of Ayr the 29 day of Marche instant, by the Laird of Keris, is this: I am content on Sounday nixt to cum, afoire none att ten houris of the knoke, to cum till ony lugene within the town of Ayr, and bring with me twelf resonable and honest men to be auditoris for my pairt, he bringand twelf sick-like, providand always that there be na ma bot twenty-four personis allannerlie for baith the sydes, nolder in the house where wee ressone, nor zit on the back-stairs, loftis, nor back-dooris, because this samyne numer is sufficient to be auditoris; for I desyre nolder tumultuatioun, cummyr, nor stryfe, bot only the just tryal of Goddis Worde, in sic maner as may be to the glore of God and quietness of the Congregatioun: And in this maner foirsaid, I oblyss my self be this my hand-wryte, with the grace of God, to preif him ane heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the doctryne, jugement, and understandyng of the maist anceant and godlie wryttaris and doctoris quhilkis evir hes bin syn the tyme of Jesus Christ untill thir dayes, gif he will saye and byd att that the Mess is ydolatrie; and I am content to begyn at Goddis Worde to preif the samyne. Att Ayr the penult day of Marche, the zeir of God 1559.

WILLOK.

GIF this uther wrytting like zou not, because of the desyred publick place, I am contentit, according as the letter deliverit to me offeris, to joyne and conveine in the Laird of Carnel's house in this town, having the nowmer that ze zourself desyre, desyring zou to proceid in the disputatioun, begynnyng with the Worde of God, according to the said letter, by whiche I am content also to be

jugeit accordingly; and the said disputatioun to be upoun Sounday nixt to cum att ten houris befoir none, att the place foirsaid appoyntit. Zour answer we requyer in wryttinge. Att Ayr this Wednesday the penult day of Marche 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

I HAVE receaved ane wrytting, to the quhilk I accorde all through, except that in the hynder-end thairof is ane worde quhilk may give occasioun of cavillatioun, superfluous stryfe and contentioun, rather than that our intent sall take effect: the worde is this, Zee desyre that the ressoning begyn att the Worde of God, (of the quhilk I am verray hartilie content;) bot quhair zee desyre to be jugeit be the Scripture, that is to mak bot ane endless pley; for quhy? Zee will say that the Scripture is for zou, and I in lykwise will say it is for me; and appeirandlie wee are not able to have ane competent juge presentlie to decerne quhilk of us alleiges the Scripture maist truelie, (and I desyre effectuously that thair be na difference:) Quhairfor the maist competent jugeis quhilkis we can haif presentlie (in cace we differ for understandyng of the Scripture) are the anceant fatheris and doctouris, sic as Irenæus, Origenes, Cypriane, Chrysostome, Damascene, Gregor Nazianzene, Hilarius, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophylact, and Tertullian, quhais wryttingis are a thousand zeir auld, and of quhome ane greit pairt sufferit martyrdome for Christ's saike; and but dout, without affectioun, schaws truelie thair jugement toward the undirstanding of Goddis Worde: and on thys maner, quhilk is according to all my wryttingis, and as I am informit of honest men, was zour awin desyre and allegeance to resaive the jugement of the Doctouris towart the true interpretatioun of the Scripture, swa that frute may be had of our ressoning. I am gladly content to keip day, tyme, place, and nowmer of personis contenit in zour last wrytting: Desyrand that ze be schortlie resolvit; for this wrytting, and all the rest quhilkis I haif wryttin sen our first commonyng of this purpois, is but declaratioun of my first wrytting, quherby I

will stand, and nolder eik nor pair; because I traist it sall be found be men of ressonable jugement, agreable with Goddis Worde and all ressone. Penultimo Marcij 1559.

WILLOK.

I HAIF receaved twa letteris this penult day of Marche, the first quhairof schawed that ze are content with the place, tyme, and company, and also that ze desyre the just tryal of Goddis Worde, and that ze ar content to begyn the disputatioun att the samyne; all quhilk I do well admitt and allow. But in the second, it appearis to me that ze think it sall be ane endless pley to stand att the jugement of the Scripturis, except I suld admitt the jugement of those Doctouris that ze name upoun the samyne. This may be thairfoir to geif zou advertysement, that my mynde is and evir was (as it may appeir by my letteris) to stand to the jugement of Goddis Worde onelie, be whiche all maner of heresies must be confoundit, as it evir hitherto hath benè: And the mynde of those and uther doctouris, I will glaidlie admitt, sa lang as thai speake not contrare thairto; I meyn, that I will allow all the Doctouris, sa far as thair sayingis and jugementis aggreis with the said Worde of God, expresselie contenit in the Holie Scripturis; utherwayis not. Att Ayr the day above wryttin, 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

THIS is my answer schortlie to zour third writtinge, quhair ze say, that zee are glaid to admitt the sayingis and jugementis of the anceant Doctouris, sa far as thai are not contrary the Worde of God, and aggreis expresselie thairwith; and utherwayis nocht. It is as meikle to saye, as zee will be juge to the anceant Doctouris, and decerne upoun thair jugementis towart the understandyng the Scripturis. Truelie in my conscience I cannot gif zou that preëmynence and place, but gif I knew some excellent godlie learning and gude lyfe in zou mair than all the anceant Doctouris, quhilk as

zet is conseillit fra me. Thairfoir gif ze will be contentit, accordyng to my first wrytting, to stand to the interpretatioun of the Doctouris, rehersit in my uther answer, or ony uther anceant, godlie, and approven Doctouris, without cavillatioun or exceptioun, (quhensumevir question arises amang us for understanding of the Scripture,) quha assuredlie wryt nolder for affectioun of zou nor me, and sall be found alwyse agreable with Goddis Worde: I am contentit, accordynge to the rest of all my wryttingis, to kepe tyme, place, and nowmer of personis afoir mentionit in my uther wryttingis, utherwyse the hail warld may se that is but difference that ze desyre, and not to haif the mater at ane perfyte tryall, considerynge ze haif said in pulpit planelie, That the anceant Doctouris are alwyse for zou, as I will preif be honest men: And I am contentit to admitt in special sic anceant Doctouris as ze haif allegit alreadie. Forther, that all the noble gentlemen of this schyre sall perfytly knaw how ze go about to circumvene and abuse thaim be zour preching, speciallie this day, quhare ze haif oppynlie cryit out, bot older Scripture or Doctour, affirmand falslie and ungodlie, That it is ane false ydoll quhilk is usit in the Mess: Gif ze will produce ony approvin anceant doctour or wryttar sen the tyme of Jesus Christ, unto thir dayes, that sayes, as zee saye, or zit find ony text of Scripture that hes ony maner of appearance for confirmatioun of zour doctryne, conforme to the interpretatioun of the anceant Doctouris or wryttaris, I quyte zou the haill cause without farther disputatioun. Zee may thraw the Scripture as zee pleis contrare the godlie meining of the samyne, and in contrare the doctryne of the Kirk of God, and all the anceant Fatheris thairof, quhilk hes evir bene famyliar to all heretykis in all ages, zeirs, and tymes. And take thys for finall conclusioun, conforme to my first purpois and wrytting, quherat I abyd, and evir did, and sall do. Att Ayr the penult day of Marche 1559.

WILLOK.

I HAIF ressavit zour wrytting thys last of Marche at elevin of the cloik befoir none, daytit the penult day of the samyne; quhairin zee interprete my saying, that I sayd I wald admitt the Doctouris sa far as thai aggré expresselie with the Worde of God, utherwyse nocht; eftir this maner it is, saye zou, as meikle as to saye, that I will be juge to the anceant Doctouris, decerne upoun thair jugementis towart the understandyng the Scripturis; quhilk place and pre-emynence (zee saye) zee will nocht gif me, because baith my lernyng and gude lyfe are to zou unknawin: Thairfoir, ze will me to be contentit, accordyng to zour uther wrytting, to the interpretatioun of the Doctouris allannerlie, or else the differring of the cause may be (as zou saye) justlie imputit unto me. This is the sum of the first pairt of zour letter. To the quhilk I answer, The jugement of the old authoris as well as new, is and evir hes bene referrit to the godlie redars: Nether wald the auld authoris be utherwyse usit thamselfis, as it may appeir be St Augustine's wordis, ad Hieronymum Epistola, *Jampridem charitati tuæ:* And be Hierome, ad Letam, De institutione filiæ; quhairin he wald haif her to be ane juge to mony of the Doctouris; et ad Demetriadem; and be Tertuillian in his buke De præscriptionibus Hæreticorum; and be diverse utheris places as I can allege be the saidis doctouris, as of Augustyne contra Maximinum, and upoun the 147 Psalme, and be Justyne the Marthyre, contra Markionem, and be Ambrose l. iii.,De virginibus: All quhilk Doctouris appellis to the Scripturis as thair juge, and exhortis men to the samyne from thame, so as thay seek no ferther credyte bot quhen thay aggre with the Scripturis, as I am be thame well able to preif, sa as it may appeir I seik na unressonable thing; whiche as zou refuse to lat me haif, so must I refuse the samyn unto zou, becaus zour lernyng and gude lyfe are lykewise to me unknawn. Nether do I in ony point differr the caus, nor will nocht. Gif ze war juge, and the mater nocht zour awin, I wold aske quhilk of us differreth the caus,

quhether he that promiseth to preif ane heretyke be the express Worde of God, and also sayeth he is contentit to beginn his disputatioun at the samyne, and now falleth to the interpretatioun of doctouris; or he quhilk seiks the jugement of his caus att Goddis Worde only? I saye, quhilk of both is the differrer of the caus? I nevir sayd I wold byde be the doctouris contrare to the Scripture, nether will I saye att this present: Bot I am contentit to be jugit be the Scripture, truelie understand; for I knaw the Holie Goist and the Scripture are not contrare one to the uther. To the second pairt of zour last wrytting, quhairin ze burthen me with circumventioun, false and ungodlie prechingis: I answer, Ze haif said that quhilk ze are not hable to preif, for I proved my doctryne thair be gude argumentis, groundit upoun the Scripture, without collusioun, for whiche I sall be alwyse reddy to answer be Goddis Worde, as well be oppin disputatioun as be my pen. Bot becaus I thinke ze will kepe zour daye appointit for Ressoning, and this mater is that quhilk ze go about to impreif, I will differr the full answer for my pairt to the daye of our ressoning: Doyng zou to wit, that I haif nocht thrawin the Scripturis, as zou do wryte, contrare to Goddis menyng. Take thys for my last answer, nocht mynding to trouble zou with ony ferther wrytting unto the daye of our Ressoning be past. Att Ayr the said last of Marche 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

I RESSAVED zour wrytting this day, quhilk to reherse were owre prolixt. Schortlie I answer to zou, conforme to all my wryttingis sent to zou of befoir, that gif ze will saye that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will preif zou ane heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the doctryne and interpretatioun of auld, godlie, anceant doctouris, and wryttaris thairupon: and is content to beginn our ressoning at Goddis Worde, providande alwyse, that gif we differr for the understandyng of the samyne, that the declaratioun thairof be referrit to the Doctouris, as sayd is; and failzeing of thys, I can per-

save na fruit can cum of our Ressoning, bot rather contentioun and stryfe. As to the uther pairt of zour wrytting, quhair ze saye, Ze will submitt zou to the jugement of the Scripture onlie: Quhat saye zee in that pairt bot as Arrius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and the maist deplorit heretykis quhilk evir wes, sayd, ay allegeand Scripturis for thame, standand at thair awin interpretatioun for the samyne? Quhairfoir I conclude, the interpretatioun of the Doctouris are necessar to be admittit for us baith, or else na fruit sall be had of our Ressoning, as sayde is: And all thys by my pretense I haif wryttin, not beleivand bot ze wald haif biddin att the jugement of the anceant Doctouris, specialie sic as zour self in pulpit did allege. Att Ayr the last day of Marche 1559. And zour finall answer, quhether ze will Ressone conforme to thys wrytting or nocht.

Willok.

These are to advertyse zou, that I will kepe the daye, the houre and the place, with the nowmer of the personis, God willing, as is appoinetit; cheis zou quhether ze will kepe or nocht. Att Ayr the last daye of Marche att nyne houris att nycht, 1559.

Secundo Aprilis, Anno Domini 1559. Indictione prima Pontificatus Pauli Papæ IV. Ann. 3. In mei Notarii publici, et testium subscriptorum præsentiis Joannes Blayre de Middillanchnidrane, nomine venerabilis patris Quintini Commendatarii de Crosraguell, hoc modo vulgariter publice loquutus est. "This is to be answerit to John Willok, in presence of zou that are heir; quhair my Lord of Crosraguell writtand ane generall wrytting in thir wordis, 'Quhasumevir will manteyne, byde at, and saye, that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will preif him ane heretyke be the express Worde of God, conforme to the doctryne, jugement, and understanding of the maist anceant wryttaris and doctouris, quhilkis evir hes bene

sen the tyme of Jesus Christ,' as in the said wryttin at mair lenth is contenit: To the quhilk wrytting I haif gottin na answir as zet conforme thairto; thairfoir I take ane Instrument, that the caus of the Ressoning ceassing is in the said John Willok, as baith our wryttingis testifie thameselfis." Super quibus omnibus et singulis præfatus Joannis Blayre, nomine dicti Commendatarii a me Notario Publico subscripto,———et successive petiit instrumentum publicum. Acta erant hæc primo apud domum Hugonis Wallace de Carnele intra burgum de Ayre; et deinde statim apud Crucem foralem ejusdem burgi, immediate post horam decimam ante meridiem. Præsentibus Joanne Lokart de Bar, Hugone Wallace de Carnele, Waltero Kennedie de Knokdoune, Fergusio Kennedie suo fratre germano, Joanne Kennedie in Grenline, Joanne Kennedie, suo filio, Hugone Kennedie, et Davide Blayre filio dicti Joannis Blayre. Post hæc dictus Joannes Blayre (quia Joannes Willok neque apud dictam domum neque Crucem foralem tempore prædicto præsens fuit) accessit ad Ecclesiam parochialem de Ayre, et ibidem hora duodecima in meridie intimavit verba antedicta (vulgariter scripta) Joanni Willok personaliter apprehenso in suggesto dictæ Ecclesiæ. Præsentibus Dominis et nobilibus, Alexandro Comite de Glencarne, Joanne [Andrea] Domino Uchiltre, Matthæo Campbello filio et hærede apparente Hugonis Campbelli de Lowdoune militis, Joanne Wallace de Cragy, et omnibus et singulis reliquis testibus suprascriptis. Super quibus iterum dictus Joannes Blayre, nomine dicti Commendatarii petiit instrumentum publicum.

Ita est. Magister Joannes Gervane, Notarius publicus, ad præmissa requisitus, teste manu propria, signisque quibus in talibus uti consuevi.

Collat. JO. GERVANE, *N. P.*

LETTERS

TO

ROBERT CAMPBELL

OF KINYEANCLEUCH, AYRSHIRE.

M.D.LXIV.—M.D.LXXIV.

Of the three following Letters the originals came into Wodrow's possession, and are preserved among his MSS. (Folio Vol. L., Nos. 91-93,) in the Advocates Library. It is matter of regret that their number should be so very limited.

Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, to whom these Letters are addressed, was a cadet of the ancient family of Campbell of Loudoun, who were Sheriffs of Ayr in the 13th century, and were afterwards raised to the peerage as Earls of Loudoun. He was born about the year 1530, as may be inferred from a passage to be immediately quoted. From an early period of life, he displayed a singular zeal and activity in advocating the principles of the Reformed Religion; and by his personal influence, his freedom from all selfish motives, and his sincere piety, he proved eminently serviceable to that cause. As might have been expected, he became the intimate friend of Knox,[1] the Regent Murray, and of the leading persons among the Protestants at that time. His wife was Elizabeth Campbell of Cesnock, in the same county, a family not less distinguished, and reckoned among "the Lollards of Kyle." She was equally devoted with her husband in attachment to the principles of the Reformation.

The earliest of these Letters was written by John Carswell, whose name will always be remembered as the person who first published any work in the Gaelic language. A meagre account of his life is included in the first and only volume hitherto printed by the Maitland Club, of Wodrow's "Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and most Eminent Ministers of the Church

[1] He was one of three most intimate friends who witnessed the last moments of the Reformer, on the 24th November 1572; and Knox, on his deathbed, specially commended his wife and children to his care.

of Scotland."[1] Glasgow, 1834, 4to. In the additional notes, the editor states that Carswell "seems to have belonged to the family of Carswell of Carnastrie, or Carnassery, which had settled as Constables of the Castle of that name, under the house of Argyle." His birth may be placed about the year 1520; and he received his education at St Andrews. From the Records of that University, we learn that in 1540 he was incorporated in St Salvator's College; in the following year that he took his degree of B.A.; and in 1544, that of M.A., on which occasion his name is entered "Jhoes. Carswell, *pauper*." He appears to have taken orders, and to have obtained some promotion in the Church before the Reformation, as he became rector of Kilmartin, the parish in which Carnassery is situated, and chaplain to the Earl of Argyle. He is also described as chancellor of the chapel-royal of Stirling.

In the first nomination of Presbyterian ministers to respective charges, in July 1560, Carswell was one of five Ecclesiastical Superintendents who were then appointed. His district was Argyle and the Isles. In this capacity he was present at the General Assembly in June 1562. His letter to Campbell, in 1564, gives some information of the duties he had to perform in visiting this extended district; it also alludes to certain reports that prevailed to his prejudice, as a person who was given to change. He soon afterwards became titular Bishop of the Isles; having obtained under the Privy Seal, on the 12th of January 1564-5, a grant of the Revenues, although his presentation to the Bishopric of the Isles, and to the Abbacy of Icolmkill, is dated 24th March 1566. At a subsequent period, a formal complaint had been made against him for his acceptance of episcopal dignity; and at the Assembly, on the 5th of July 1569, "Mr Johne Kersewell, Superintendent of Argile, was rebooked for accepting the Bishoprick of the Isles, without making the Assembly foreseen; for

[1] Wodrow has inserted Carswell's letter, but his copy contains several inaccuracies. Thus he dates it at *Dunnivy*, instead of *Dunnvn*, or Dunoon, and on the 29th of March, instead of May, 1564.

ryding at, and assisting of the Parliament holden by the Queen, after the murder of the King."[1] He died before the 20th of September 1572; and, as Bishop of the Isles, was succeeded by John Campbell, Prior of Ardchattan.[2]

The work in Gaelic to which we have referred as published by Carswell, was a translation of the "Forme of Prayers," received by the Church of Scotland, and now usually styled Knox's Liturgy. It was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, in 1567, under the title of "FOIRM NA NURRNUIDHEADH." The preface contains some interesting allusions to the traditionary songs and manners of the Highlanders, which Dr Leyden extracted and published in his interesting volume of "Scotish Descriptive Poems," p. 214-228. Edinb. 1803, 12mo.

The next Letter was a public testimonial from the Church in 1565, in favour of Robert Hamilton, who became minister of St Andrews, and Campbell of Kinyeancleuch. It is uncertain whether they actually left Scotland at that time, and thus took occasion to visit some of the English and foreign Churches. A few months later a change took place in public affairs, and removed any cause that might have affected their safety by remaining at home. Besides this, it appears that Hamilton was appointed Minister of St Andrews, in 1566, in the room of Christopher Goodman, who had returned to England before the end of 1565. In 1574, Hamilton was advanced to be Provost of St Mary's College, St Andrews, and he continued to hold both offices till 1580, although the Assembly, in 1576, had resolved that these should be disjoined.[3] He died on the 16th of April 1581.

The original letter is peculiarly interesting on account of its having the autograph signatures of the three Superintendents,

[1] Calderwood's History, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 490.

[2] See Wodrow's Collections, printed by the Maitland Club, vol. i. p. 133-137, and p. 471-474. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 307, edit. 1824. Scott's (of Perth) Lives of the Reformers, p. 86-93. Edinb. 1811, 8vo. Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Edinb. 1839. 8vo.

[3] Buik of the Universal Kirk, printed for the Bannatyne Club, vol. i. p. 375.

Erskine of Dun, Spottiswood, and Winram, and of the great Reformer. An accurate fac-simile of the chief part of the original letter is annexed.

The third Letter was written by JAMES EARL of MORTON, Regent of Scotland. The Meeting of the Assembly to which Campbell was invited accordingly took place at Edinburgh on the 6th of March 1573-4; when various articles and questions were submitted by the Regent, some of which had reference to "the payment of Ministers Stipends, and assignation of the same." We are unable to say whether Campbell was present at the said Assembly. In the following month, while on a visit in Galloway, he was seized with fever, and died on the 22d of April 1574, and his wife in the month of June following, both of them in the prime of life; or, as their panegyrist quaintly expresses it, when he says,

> For we may easilie considder,
> The way-taking of thir together,
> Of so excellent behaveours,
> *And that almost bot in their flowers;*
> *For nane of them was past throughlie*
> *The age of fortie yeares and thrie,*
> Is not for nought.

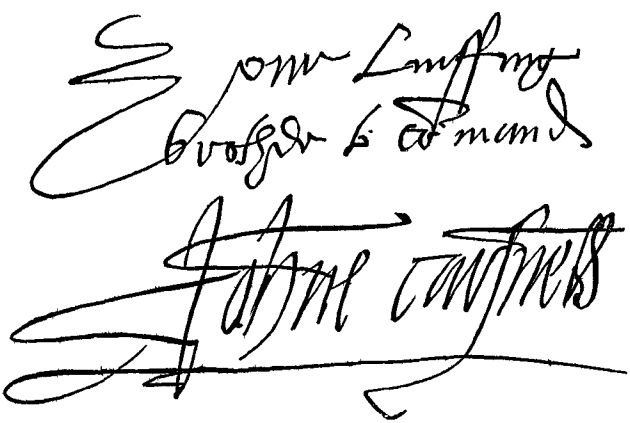
These lines occur in "A Memorial of the Life & Death of two worthye Christians, ROBERT CAMPBEL of the Kinyeancleugh, and his Wife ELIZABETH CAMPBEL. In English Meter. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the King's Maiestie, 1595. Cum privilegio Regali," sm. 8vo, black letter. This tract was written by John Davidson in 1574, although twenty years elapsed before its publication. It is of such rarity, that only one copy is known; but it has been accurately reprinted among "The Poetical Remains of Mr JOHN DAVIDSON, Regent in St Leonard's College, and afterwards minister of Salt-Preston." Edinb. 1829, 8vo.

Continewall Assistance of the Spreit of God be with zow for Salutatioune.

In zour letter directit vnto me, (beluiffit Brother in the Lord,) it apperis to me that ze ar sinisterlie informit towardis me, or ellis in jugement and credit sum part facill. Becaus ze writt as ane mening that ze think the warld and induellaris thairof turnand to[o] fast; and in deid I feir the samin to be maist trew in generall: God forbid it be so in all speciallis. As for my awn part, concerning fast turning in Goddis causis or the faythfullis, I hoip in God, be assistance of his Spreit, to haue them dissauit that so vald report of me, (gif zour mening be thus.) I commonit with our brother George[1] at lenthe, and gif he had informit zow, as I informit him and for my parte offerit him occasioun, I beleiff he culd haue declarit vnto zow my part, for latt thame saye quhat thai list, my conscience vill nocht lat me vse rigour bot aganis the stubburne. Bot in this mater of Teindis, it is nocht myne, bot the factouris. And zit, gif George vald remember how reasonable I was in my ansuer to him, I wonder that he reportit nocht the samin to zow. Bot becaus I am vtherwayis occupyit, I vill nocht impesche zow with vrittingis to contene the haill mater thairin, bot vilbe weill content, owther to continew, or ellis to forgif the haill mater. Howbeit, I can nocht forgif to do my sobir diligens in furderance of the Kirk: For this standis the mater in this cuntrie; gif we craif our stipendis, and remitt tham nocht at thair plesouris, than our preching is on profitable; and gif we remitt tham, than the travell can nocht be sustenit, for falt of sustentatioun of the travellaris; and

[1] The person here mentioned was probably Mr George Hay, minister of Rathven, and Commissioner of Aberdeen. He had previously been sent as Visitor to the district of Kyle, and was employed about the Court.

of sum our travell nocht the better allowit, altho we became beggaris.[1] I am sorye for our brother Georgis seiknes: God confort him. As for the continewance, as is befoir writtin, it salbe vsit, bot becaus I pas presentlie to Kyntire, and thaireftir to the Ilis, to veseit sum kirkis, I can nocht be at the Generall Assemblie, and my brethren the minister of Edinburgh and Superintendent of Glasgo hes vrittin vnto me, that thai vill excuse me at the Generall Assemblie, and thinkis that my travell now in the Ilis may do mair gude to the Kirk nor my presens at the Assemblie; becaus the Ilis can nocht be travellit wele throwch in Wynter, quhilk ze sall also remember at the Assemblie gif ze be thair; and efter my returning, I vald be glaid to commoun with zow as the oportunitie may serve. Thus committis zow to the protectioun of God. Off Dunnvn, this xxix. day of Maij 1564.



To his Luiffing Brother,
Robert Campbell, of Kynnyngclwich.
Deliver this.

1. "The memory of Carswell" (says Dr Leyden) "is still preserved, in Lorn, by tradition, especially in the vicinity of Carnassery Castle, in the parish of Kilmartin, where he chiefly resided. It is by no means popular. The bards, whom he affected to despise, made him the subject of their satirical verses and invectives, some of which are still preserved. Many proverbs, expressive of his rapacity and niggardliness, are still current in that country."

The faythfull brethern wt in the realm of Scotl and underwritten. To the faythfull professor of the Lord Jesus in englond, france, germanye or ellis whare, desyred grace and peace from god the father and from his sone or lorde Jesus christ wth the perpetuall consort of the holyspirit.

Alleit deare brethern, that vertu and trew feare of god planted in the hartis of his chosin will manifest and schew the sefe whaw soeuer it shall pleas his fatherlit providence to conduct and carry his servandis and childern, that of men they need no maner of testimonie. yit because that sathan can transfigure himself into ane angell of lycht and mak his suppostis appeare as manteanars of goddis glory, and pillars of his veritie. and also that many tymes the Innocentie of Joseph is suppressed by preiudiciall accusationn of the wicked worldlings. We haue thought expedient to

From Edinburgh the xxvj of december 1565

yours Loving brethern in christ Jesus

Johan [illegible] of angus and merins superintendent

Johne [illegible] superintendent of lothean and [illegible]

M. Jhon Wyrram of fyffe strathern fodrik & gowrie superintendent

John Knox minister of Edinburgh

THE FAYTHFULL BRETHERN WITHIN THE REALM OF SCOTLAND VNDERWRITTIN, TO THE FAYTHFULL PROFESSOURIS OF THE LORD JESUS IN ENGLOND, FRANCE, GERMANYE, OR ELLIS WHARE, DESYRED GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM HIS SONE OUR LORDE JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUALL CONFORT OF THE HOLY SPREIT.

ALBEIT, Deare Brethern, that vertu and trew feare of God planted in the hartis of his chosin, will manifest and schew the selfe, whairsoeuir it shall please his fatherlie prouidence to conduct and cary his seruandis and childern, that of men they nead no maner of testimonie. Yit, becaus that Sathan can transfigure himself into ane angell of lycht, and mak his suppostis appeare as manteanaris of Goddis glory, and pillars of his veritie, and also, that many tymes the innocencie of Joseph is suppressed by prejudiciall accusatioun of the wicked worldlings. We haue thought expedient to signifie vnto you all faythfull, to whose knawledge these our presentis shall cum, that these, our tuo derrest brethern, Maister ROBERT HAMYLTOUN, minister and preacheour of the euangell of Jesus Christ, and ROBERT CAMPBELL of Kyngincleuch, hath so behaued thamselfes in thare vocations with ws, within this Realme and our natiue cuntre of Scotland, that justlie the veray wicked amangs ws can lay no cryme to thare charge. For the one haith so puirlye taught the word of saluatioun, and the other haith so vprightlie ministred justice in all ciuill actions subject to his charge, that the godlie with ws can not but lament the absence of such tuo notable instrumentis who were lyghtis in the Church of Jesus Christ, confortable to the afflicted, and fearfull to the wicked doaris in the partis whare they travaled. Yf then you ask, Why ar they deiected from ws? We ansuer, Becaus that now, to the greif of many, iniquitie commandis, tyrannie ringis, and the cause of the ryghteous is vttirlie

suppressed amang ws. For, albeit of Goddis greate mercye, we haue yit the evangell of Jesus Christ oppinlie preached, yit dar not the principaill men that haue travaled for the advancement of Goddis glorie in these last troubles, (other then thei that haue determinate to offer thare bodeis a sacrifice for witnessing of his treuth,) appeare before the magistrats, that now for our humiliatioun are placed aboue ws. For causes of treasoun ar laid to the charge of innocent men, thare substances ar spoiled, and thare liues ar sought, becaus thei haue travaled for mantenance of vertu and for suppressing of ydolatrie, of which nomber, these our brethern (according to thare abilitie) haith bene tuo cheif men. Receaue tham, thairfor, we beseik you, as the seruandis of God, and as our derrest brethern. In doing whairof, as you shall please God, so shall you bynd ws to the lik vicissitude vpon the lik assurance. We unfynedlie crave the assistence of your prayers, that God, for Christ Jesus his Sonis saike, will, of his mercy, manteane his owin wark, that potentlie he hes begun amangis ws. This, in the end, we culd not omitt, that you shall not credeth euery Testificatioun, as send from ws. That which we approve will be signed as this is. The Lord Jesus, by his Holye Spreit, confort you and ws to the end, and trode Sathan suddanelie vnder our feitt. So be it. From Edinburgh, the xxvj. of December *1565*.

Your loving brethern in Christ Jesus,

JOHON ERSKYN, of Angus and Mernis, Superintendent.

JOHNE SPOTTISWOD, Superintendent of Lotheane and the Mars.

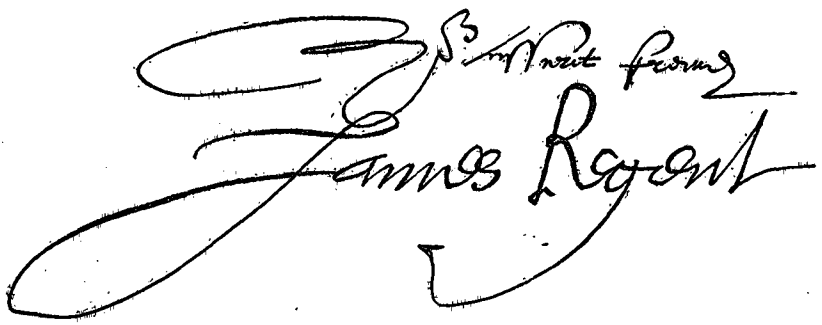
M. JHON WYNRAM, of Fyffe, Strathern, Fodrick and Gowrie, Superintendent.

JOHN KNOX, Minister of Edinburgh.

The Kirkis Testimoniall to Mr Roᵗ. Hammyltoun, and Robert Campbell.

RICHT traist Freind, efter maist hartlie commendatioun, it aucht to be rememberit with thankfull hartis of ws all, how God hes blissit this Cuntrie with the licht of his Evangell, begynand quhen the Souerane authoretie wes aduersar therto, and how in all our troublis past we haue enjoyit the libertie of trew and Christiane religioun, in puritie and vnitie of doctrine, without scisme or diuisioun; howbeit, with na setlit Policie, partlie throw want of the allowance of the auctoritie at the first Reformatioun, and partlie because the benefices of cure wer of lang tyme sufferit to be possest be personis repugnant to the said religioun. Bot now, the same being establishit be law, and our Souerane Lord godlie and virtuouslie instructit thairin, as alsua his Hienes auctoritie assisting the promotioun and advancement of the same: The religioun and governement being sa joynit in mony respectis, as the dangear and inconvenient of the ane mon be commoun to bayth. It is very requisite thairfore, that in this tyme of repose quhilk God hes grantit ws, efter our lang troubles, we be cairfull for the gude ordour and prouisioun of the Policie of the Kirk in thingis ambiguouss and irresolute, or not heirtofore weill obseruit and execute; that the same, with gude deliberatioun may be considerit, setlit, and establissit to the plessour of Almichtie God, the Kingis obedience, and commoun weill of our Cuntrie, and to the removing of sclanderous and infamouss reportis spred of malice to move seditioun in the Kirk of God, and to breid diuisioun amangis the Kingis gude subjectis. For avoiding of quhilkis inconvenientis we haue thocht very expedient, that now, agane the tyme of the nixt Generall Assembly of the ministry of the Kirk, to be in the begyning of Marche nixt, a certane of the Nobilitie, Estates, and Baronis, honorable, wyiss, and of gude reputatioun, that heirtofore hes zealouslie hazardit thame selffis, thair freindis, and levingis, in the caus of God, and for his trew religioun, may also be present; be quhais auise, concur-

rence, and counsall, sic thingis may be treatit, auisit, and concludit, as may tend to Godis glorie, and the setling of the Policie of the trew Reformit Kirk, to the lesting repose thairof, and commoun weill of the realme. Agane quhilk tyme we pray zow, that ze will not faill to address zow to be present in Edinburgh vpoun the fourt day of Marche nixt at the farthest, to the furtherance of this sa godlie and necessary a work, to the effect the same may tak the better end and conclusioun, as ze luife the cause itself, and will do the King gude seruice and ws acceptable pleasour. Sa we committ zow in the protectioun of Almichtie God. At Hadingtoun, the xxiij. day of Januar 1573.



To our rycht traist freind,
Robert Campbell of Kinzeanclewch.

THE

FORME AND MANER OF BURIALL

USED IN

THE KIRK OF MONTROIS.

In chap. xiv. "Of Buriall," in the First Book of Discipline, in order to guard against "superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion and for advantage sake," it was provided that "singing of *Masse*, *Placebo*, and *Dirige*, and all other prayers over or for the dead," should be prohibited; and also burial in churches, and preaching sermons or exhortations at funerals. In regard to the mère external funeral ceremony, in the Book of Common Order, 1556, it was stated, that after the burial had taken place, "the Minister, if he be present, and required, goeth to the church, if it be not farre off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people tuiching death and resurrection;"[1] yet in the First Book of Discipline, 1560, it is said, "We think it most expedient, that the dead be conveyed to the place of buriall with some honest company of the Kirk, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave with such gravity and sobriety, as those that be present may seem to feare the judgements of God, and to hate sinne, which is the cause of death."[2]

Some of the old forms, however, continued to be observed in different parts of the country, although special injunctions to the contrary were passed both by civil and ecclesiastical authority. The form of burial which follows, as used in the Church of Montrose, has no date, but it obviously was subsequent to the Reformation, and from the mention of "Minister *or Reader*," it was no doubt before 1581, when the office of Reader was superseded by an Act of the General Assembly. It is in a hand of the latter part of the

[1] Collection of Confessions, vol. ii. p. 468; Calderwood's Hist. vol. ii. p. 100.

[2] Collection of Confessions, vol. ii. p. 597.

16th Century, having been written on the fly-leaves, at the end of a MS. copy of the Regiam Majestatem, which was transcribed by John Bannatyne in the year 1520.

The verses subjoined are very appropriate to the solemnity of such an occasion ;[1] and it is worthy of notice, that they form one of those godly and spiritual songs which are attributed to John Wedderburn of Dundee, or his brothers James and Robert, and which are said to have greatly assisted in advancing the Reformation. The collection, which is anonymous, first appeared about 1570,[2] but the earliest edition of which a perfect copy is known to exist was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Smyth in 1600.[3] There is a later impression "at Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, 1621," from which this collection, now best known by the title of "The Gude and Godly Ballatis," was reprinted in Dalyell's "Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century," Edinb. 1801, 2 vols. 12mo.

At the end of the above MS. the transcriber has drawn two staves for the music, and has added, "This Sang is to be sung eftir this tune." Unfortunately, he omitted to set down the musical notes: it might, however, have been merely one of the common tunes contained in the Psalm books of that time.

[1] To some readers this Hymn may recall the beautiful Funeral Anthem in Milman's Martyr of Antioch, which begins :—

Brother, thou art gone before us, and thy saintly soul is flown,
Where tears are wiped from every eye, and sorrow is unknown;
From the burthen of the flesh, and from care and fear released,
Where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

. . . . . .

And when the Lord shall summon us, whom thou hast left behind,
May we, untainted by the world, as sure a welcome find;
May end, like thee, depart in peace, to be a glorious guest,
Where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

[2] See Row's History, Wodrow Society edit. p. 6, note 2.

[3] In the Inventory of the stock of Robert Smyth, bookseller, who died at Edinburgh in May 1602, we find 1034 copies of "Dundie Psalmes." I suspect these were copies of the volume of 'Gude and Godly Ballatis,' which includes metrical versions of several Psalms.

The Forme and Maner of Buriall usit in the Kirk of Montrois.

The Bodye being reverentlye brocht to the graiff, accompaneit with the Congregatioun, the Minister or Redare sall say as fallowis:—

Deirlye Belovit, quhen we luke upoun this dead corps heir present, with consideratioun that the lyke sentence of death is pronunceit of God upoun all flesche, it aucht and sould imprent in our myndis the knawlege of our synfulnes; for giff we ware without syn, Death suld haif na power ower us. Death was pronunceit be God to Adam giff he synnit, nocht onlye to him self, bot to all his posteritie: he synnit, and we in him; quhairby followit, of the just judgement of God, death upoun him and all his seid, for as the Apostle sayis, "The reward of synne is death." Now, seing that it is appointed of God that the haill posteritie of Adam sall die, it is trulie maist suirlie knawin that the haill seid of Adam are synnaris, quhairof cummis death, swa that nane haif quhairin to rejoyis or glorye; for "giff we say we haif na synne, (as sayis Sanct Johnne,) we dissave our selfis, and the veritie is nocht in us." And thocht we wald of hypocresye or presumptioun falslye justefye our selfis, the treuth of Goddis jugementis quhairbye he punischis our synne be death will condempne us, and schawis our unrychtuousnes. Quhairfore lat us humble our selfis befoir God, and confes our selfis to be miserabill synnaris in his presence, and ressave death of his hand as a punitioun of our synne, bot sic ane punitioun as procedis of mercye; for the eternall death quhilk we justlye

deservit is changeit in this temporall death, and be the samin death is syn destroyit, takin away and abolischit in all thame that belevis, for Death is the end of synne.

Quhowbeit be the Spreit of God and uther godlye exercise, syn is mortefeit and haldin doun in the faithfull during this present lyfe, zit it remanis and workis, and is nevir put away nor clene rutit out bot by death. Syn is sa rutit in our flesch that it deis nevir quhill the flesch die, quhen the corps departs it deis; swa by death are we delivered and maid fré fra syn, to the quhilk we ar continewallie subject in our flesche during this lyfe, and sa synne being deid, the flesche or corps quhilk be Christ is appointed to ryis agane becumis immortall evir to leve, and that becaus it wantis synne, quhilk is the caus of death; for the samin corps that deis now in waiknes throw synne, sall be the power of God be raisit agane at the last day without syn lyke unto the gloriouss bodye of Christ, and sall with him leve and regnne for evir. But first synne it mon tak ane end by death befoir that it can obtene this felicitie, for, as sayis the Apostle, "flesche and bluid can nocht inhereit the kingdome of God," swa death is nocht to be abhorrit, bot willinglye and glaidlye embraced as the end of our synne and miserie, and the entress and port of our securitie.

For thocht the corps die to the perpetuall destructioun of synne, it is nocht appointed to be haldin undir the bandis of death but for ane schort tyme, and thareftir to ryis in rychtuousnes to eternall lyfe. And as ze se the sentence of death fulfillit gevin be God upoun man for Adames syn, swa lykewyis suirlie beleve that the promeis of lyfe and resurrectioun agane fra death, maid of God to all that belevis in the rychtuousnes of Christ, salbe fulfillit, as it is writtin, "Be ane man come death, and be a man come the resurectioun of the death; for as by Adam all die, evin so by Christ sall all be maid alyve." And in ane uther place, "we luik for a Salviour, evin the Lord Jesus Christ, quhilk sall change our vyle bodyes, that thai may be fassoned lyke unto his glorioue bodye." And the Apostle Paull sayis to the Thessalonianis, "I wald nocht haif zow ignorant concerning thame quhilk are fallin on sleip, that ze sorow

nocht as dois utheris quha hes no hoip; for giff we beleve that Jesus Christ deit and rais agane, evin so thame quhilk sleip by Jesus Christ will God bring agane with him: And this say we unto zow in the Word of the Lord, that we quhilk sall leve and are remaning on the cuming of the Lord, sall nocht cum befoir thame quhilk sleip; for the Lord him self sall discend frome heavin with a schout, and the archangell and trumpett of God: and the deid in Christ sall aryiss first: than sall we quhilk leve and remane be takin up with thame also in the cluddis, to meit the Lord in the air: and so sall we evir be with the Lord: Quhairfoir, comfort zourselfis one ane uthir with thir wordis."[1] Heir the Apostle declaris that our confort and joy consistis in that the croce [corps] being anys deid be syn, sall ryis agane in rychtuusnes, and possess eternall and evirlasting lyfe with Christ, to the quhilk we ware creat. And eftir we tynt the samin, Christ hes of new bocht and purchest it agane unto us, and sall schortlie call us thairto and gif ws possessioun, according as he has passit befoir to prepair the samin for ws, swa we aucht now to say with Christ, "Oure kingdome is nocht of this warld, for we haif heir na remaning citie, bot we luik for ane uthir; for God will nocht that our habitatioun be heir quhair all thingis are temporall and vanisches away as the mist, bot that our habitatioun salbe in heavin with Christ, quhair all thingis are permanent and everlesting."[2]

In this lyfe we are but travellouris, pilgrimaris, and strangearis, seking for ane citie and habitatioun, quhais beildare and maker is God; quhairfoir, according unto the mercyfull ordinance of our God, lat ws lang and seik to possess our eternall habitatioun and the present thingis of this lyfe, use our comodeteis in setting ws furthwart to the end of our jurnay, and put nocht our felicitie nor plesour in beawtye, strenth, wisdome, ritches, honouris, nor quhat sumevir uthir thing that we posses in this present lyfe; bot as strangearis passing thruch this vaile of miserie, onlye use thame

[1] These passages seem to be taken from Tyndale's translation of the New Testament.

[2] A blank leaf in the MS. intervenes in this place, but there appears to be nothing wanting.

passing furthwart to obtene the hie calling of our God, quha hes appointed unto ws eternall and everlasting felicitie and glorye by his Sone Jesus Christ. To quhome be all prais, glorye, and honour, for now and evir.

This being done, the Minister sall pray in effect as followis :—

ALMYCHTYE GOD, with quhome dois leve the spreitis of thame that depart fra this lyfe, in the faith of thy deir Sone Jesus Christ, and in quhome the sawles of thame that be elected, eftir thai be delivered frome the burding of the flesche, be in joy and felicitie. We giff Thee hertlie thankis for that it had plesit thy eternall majestie to deliver this oure Broder *N. S.* out of the miseries of this synfull and corruptibill warld, beseking Thee that it may pleis Thee of thy gratious guidnes schortlie to accompleish the nowmer of thine elect, and to haist thy kingdome, that we, with this our Broder, and all uthir departed in the trew faith of thy holye name, may haif oure perfyte consumatioun and blis baith in bodye and saull in thy eternall and evirlasting glorye, throw Christ oure Lord. So be it.

[FUNERAL HYMN.]

OURE Broder lat ws put in graiff,[1]
And na dout thairof lat ws haiff
Bot he sall ryis at Domisday,
And sall immortall leve for ay.

He is bot earth and of earth maid,
And man returne to earth thruch deid;
Sall ryis syne fra the earth and ground
Quhen that the last trumpett sall sound.

[1] In the Collection of 'Gude and Godly Ballatis' there are occasional minute variations, but they are not worth being specified.

The saull regneth with God in gloir,
And he sall suffir pane no moir;
For that his faith was constantlie
In Christis bluid allanerlye.

His panefull pilgremage is past,
And to ane end cum at the last,
Deand in Christis zock full sweitt,
Bot zit is levand in his Spreitt.

The saull levis with God, I say,
The bodye slepis quhill *Domisday*,
Than Christ sall bring thame baith to gloir,
To regnne with him for evir moir.

In earth he had vexatioun,
Bot now he hes salvatioun,
Regnand in gloir and bliss but weir,
And schynis as the sone so cleir.

Ze faithfull thairfoir lat him sleip,
And nocht lyke Heathen for him weip;
Bot deiplye prent into zoure breist,
That death to ws approcheis neist.

Quhen cumin is oure houre and tyme,
That we man turnit be in slyme;
And thair is nane uthir defence
Bot die in hoip with pacience.

Thocht pest or swerd wald ws prevene
Befoir oure houre to slay ws clene,
Thai can nocht pluk ane lytill heir
Furth of oure heid, nor do ws deir.

Quhen fra this warld to Christ we wend,
Oure wretchit schort lyfe man haif ane end,
Changeit fra pane and miserie
To lestand gloir eternallye.

End sall oure dayes schort and vane,
And synne quhilk we could nocht refrane,
Endit salbe oure pilgremage,
And brocht hame to oure heritage.

Christ, for thy mycht and celsitude,
That for oure synnes sched thy blude,
Grant ws in faith to leve and die,
And syne ressaive oure sawlis to Thee.

FINIS. SO BE IT.

ROBERTI PONTANI

PARVUS CATECHISMUS.

M.D.LXXIII.

PREVIOUSLY to the adoption of the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, several forms of catechetical instruction had received the public approbation of the Church of Scotland, and been more or less generally employed. The earliest of these Catechisms, and the one that continued in use for the longest period, was that of Calvin. The name of the England translator nowhere appears; but it was first "Imprinted at Geneva, by John Crespin, Anno Do. M.D.LVI., the tenthe of February," along with "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Caluyn." This Catechism is specially mentioned in the First Book of Discipline, 1560, (chap. xi. 3,) as "the Catechism printed with the Book of our Common Order; *which Catechism is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk;*" but no edition is known to have been printed in this country at so early a period. It was again reprinted with the Forme of Prayers, &c., at Geneva in 1561; and also in the editions at Edinburgh in 1564, 1575, and various others of later date. It was also translated into various languages, such as Hebrew, Greek, and French, as well as into English. There is besides a Gaelic[1] translation; and in Ames's Typographical Antiquities is the following notice of a poetical version: "The Catechisme[2] in two partes: The first in Scotch poetry, having a kalender before it. The second part in Latin and Scotis prose, entitled, *Catechismus ecclesiæ Geneuensis, hoc*

[1] Printed at Edinburgh, by John Wreittoun, about the year 1631. The only copy known (belonging to the Editor) unfortunately wants the title-page. It is the second work printed in the Gaelic language which has been discovered.

[2] P. 320, edit. 1749; Herbert's edit. vol. iii. p. 1497.

est, formula erudiendi pueros in doctrina Christi. Authore Johanne Calvino. Ubi colloquuntur præceptor et discipulus, vel minister et puer. ¶ The Catechisme, or maner to teiche children the Christiane religioun: Wherein the minister demandeth the question, and the chylde maketh answer; made by the excellent doctour, and pastour in Christis kirk, Johne Calvin. Edinburgh, Imprinted by John Ross, for Henrie Charteris, 1574, 12mo." Of this work the Editor of the present Miscellany will be glad to be informed where any copy is preserved.

At the end of the several editions of Calvin's Catechism, there is subjoined, "The maner to examine Children before they be admitted to the Supper of the Lord." This title might suggest that it was the original of the following Latin paraphrase. Such, however, is not the case, as the latter is rather a brief summary of the Catechism itself, than an amplification of this short form of examination. The author has only given the initials of his name, 'R. P.,' but it may without hesitation be ascribed to ROBERT PONT, a name honourably distinguished for his varied attainments in science and literature.

ROBERT PONT was born at Culross about the year 1526. In 1544 he was incorporated, under the name of Robertus Kilpont, in St Leonard's College, St Andrews. He early joined himself to the Reformers, and held several situations in the Presbyterian Church. Thus, in 1562, he was minister of Dunkeld; in the following year, Commissioner of the Diocese of Murray; and in 1574, he became colleague to William Harlaw, minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, after whose death, in 1578, he enjoyed the vicarage. Pont had previously (on the 27th January 1571–2) obtained a gift of the provostry of Trinity College, Edinburgh, the emoluments of which were very inconsiderable, but having at the same time been raised to the bench, he took his seat as one of the Senators of the College of Justice, by the title of Provost of Trinity College. In May 1584 he was deprived of this appointment in consequence of an act which was then passed, prohibiting "all personis exercising functions of ministrie within the Kirk of God, to

bear or exercise any office of civil jurisdiction;" and he resigned the provostship of Trinity College in 1585. He died on the 8th of May 1606, in the 81st year of his age, and was interred in the Church-yard of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, where he had for upwards of thirty-four years been Minister. His translation of the Helvetian Confession, ordered to be printed by the General Assembly in 1566, is already alluded to, at page 5. The following Catechism might have been intended for the use of academical students; but no notice of it by any contemporary writer has been discovered, and the original is so very rare, that it might be difficult to point out any other copy besides the one preserved in the Advocates Library. Pont's Sermons on Sacrilege, 1599, and his later works, are much better known.

A similar Catechism by PATRICK ADAMSON, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, which excited greater attention, was published at the same time, and was likewise printed at St Andrews, by Robert Lekprevik, in 1573; but all the copies of this edition seem to have disappeared. It contained a prose dedication to King James, dated 15 Calend. Mar. 1572, as appears from the republication in Adamson's "Poemata Sacra, cum aliis Opusculis." Londini, 1619, 4to. The editor of that volume refers to his own edition of the Catechism, as being the second: "Eadem nunc rariora, ac studiosis inprimis desiderata, typis denuo mandare, et secunda hac editione, multo jam castigatiore, emittere," &c. He evidently was not aware that it had been reprinted under this title: "Catechismus Latino carmine redditus, et in libros quatuor digestus, Patricij Adamsoni Scoti, poetæ elegantissimi, opera atque industria. Ad illustrissimum et summæ spei Principem Jacobum Sextum Regem Serenissimum, &c. Edinburgi excudebat Robertus Lekprevik, Anno Do. M.D.LXXXI." Small 8vo. In this republication, which is extremely rare, the dedication to King James is omitted. James Melville, in his Diary,[1] referring to the period when he was a student in St Leonard's College, (1572,) says, "At Mr Knox's coming to St Androis,

[1] Wodrow Society edit. p. 32.

Robert Lekprivik, printar, transported his lettres and press from Edinburgh to St Androis, whar first I saw that excellent art of printing; and haid then in hand Mr Patrik Constant's *Catechisme of Calvin*, converted in Latin heroic verse; quhilk, with the author, was mikle estimed of." Adamson, or Constance, (his original name,) was afterwards held in much less esteem by his Presbyterian brethren on account of his time-serving disposition: but he has always been justly admired as an elegant writer of Latin verse.

Prefixed to Adamson's Catechism are commendatory verses by James Lawson and Robert Pont. Those of the latter may be quoted, as containing an obvious allusion to his own work.

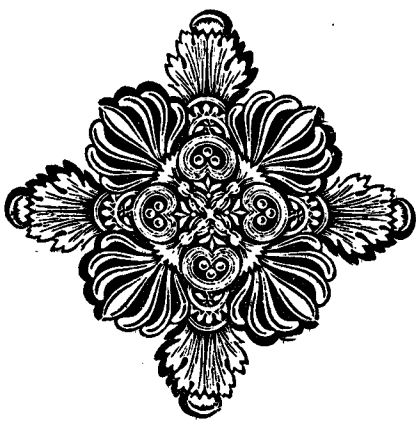
ROBERTI PONTANI CARMEN IN CATECHISMUM.

INVENTIS facile esse ferunt superaddere, rerum et
Fundamenta semel jacta labore sequi.
Utilis illa tamen sæpe est industria, notum
Præsertim splendor si novus ornat opus.
Ecce CATECHISIS, primus quam prodidit auctor
CALVINUS, sacro magnus in eloquio.
Hanc Methodum, ante alias, veræ pietatis amantum
Concio Christiadum publica jure probat.
Hinc variis varie visum est traducere, Græce,
Hebraice, linguis innumerisque aliis.
Hoc ex parte etiam tentarunt carmine fratres,
Atque ego perfecte jam prope finieram,
Vidit PATRICIUS cum Constantinus, opellæ
Admovitque manum noster ADAMSONIUS;
Omnia qui melius percurrens, pene retexit,
Non invita dedit cui mea Musa locum.
Quicquid id est operæ, docilis pietate juventus,
Et nos, et studiis dedicat ille tuis.

PARVVS CATE-

CHISMVS QVO EXAMINARI

poſſunt iuniores qui ad Sacram Cœnam admittuntur. Carmine Iambico, per R. P.



ANDREAPOLI

EXCVDEBAT ROBERTVS LEKPREVIK

ANNO DO. M.D.LXXIII.

[ROBERTI PONTANI CATECHISMUS.]

De Fide. Cap. I.

M. Es Christianus ô puer? profare. P. Sum.
M. Quid ista confert relligio boni? P. Beat.
M. Qui sic? P. Beata res Deum cognoscere est
Hæc una nosque belluis discriminat;
At absque Christo nemo notum habet Deum.
M. Quæ recta summi numinis scientia est?
P. Honore constat. M. Quas honor partes habet?
P. Fidem, timorem, vota, grates publicas.
M. Fides quid ergo est? P. Efficax persuasio
Dei favoris, nixa verbo, quo pater
Nostræ salutis spondet esse in filio.
M. Quæ summa fidei sit recenseas tuæ.
P. Cuncta in potentem credo genitorem Deum,
Cœlumque terræ qui solumque condidit:
Christumque Iesum filium ejus unicum,
Dominumque nostrum; qui Sacro de Spiritu
Conceptus e Mariaque natus Virgine est;
Sub Pontio passus Pilato præside,
Crucique fixus, mortuusque, humo et datus,
Descendit umbras inferorum ad horridas.
Sub tertium surrexit at vivus diem,
Ascendit in Cœlum, potentis omnia
Dei parentis aque dextris assidet:
Atque inde judex omnibus venturus est
Vivis, tot ante mortuisque sæculis.
Confido Sanctum in Spiritum. Sanctam quoque

Credo per orbem Catholicamque Ecclesiam,
Communionem nempe Sanctorum omnium ;
Remissionem criminum contagii.
Surrectionem spero carnis et novam,
Vitæ beatæ et sempiterna gaudia.
Hæc Christianam summa continet fidem,
Sola salutem censeo qua me assequi.

M. Summum Parentem, Filium cum Spiritu,
Unumne plures esse vel putas Deos ?

P. Est una personis tribus divinitas.

M. Confessio quid ista vult paucis refer.

P. Patrem supremum, filii Christi Deum,
Simul per illum nostrum et omnium patrem,
Originem primam esse rerum credimus
Causamque : cuncta semper hunc disponere
Sic et creata, possit ut nutu geri
Illius absque et providentia nihil.
Christumque Iesum credimus, natum Dei,
Dominum piorum, carne terrestre in solum
Venisse tectum, gentis humanæ scelus
Et expiasse, singulis negotio
Plene peractis, quæ salutis opus erant :
Cœlumque conscendisse tandem denuo,
Summi sedere patris adque dexteram,
Omnem tenere quod potestatem sonat
Cœlestis atque terreæ monarchiæ ;
Redibit inde gloriosus hominibus
In fine mundi quodque judex omnibus :
Sanctum quodque esse Spiritum verum Deum.
Divina virtus quum sit et potentia,
Obsignet imis inque cordibus Dei
Promissa nobis facta Christo in filio :
Demumque sanctam redditam esse Ecclesiam,
Et noxiarum liberatam sordibus,

Dei benigna gratiæ clementia;
Post et caducæ terminum vitæ, pios
Vitæ ad perennis excitandos gaudia.
M. Ex temetipso credis istane omnia?
P. Non; ipsa donum nam fides est Spiritus.
M. Quid parta prodest? P. Justificat apud Deum.
M. Quid? Sancta nonne vita nos justos facit?
P. Nemo meretur justus actis effici.
Viri infidelis facta sunt enim omnia
Peccata, fructus ut mali malæ arboris;
Nec justa prorsus vita sanctis est Dei,
Sed mixta inhæret carnis imperfectio.
M. Quo jure justos reddit ergo nos fides?
P. Quia apprehendit firmiter clementiæ
Promissa nobis facta per Christum Dei.
M. Expers bonorum num fides operum valet?
P. Imo esse nescit. Ignis haud enim caret
Calore. Christus nostra nec redemptio est
Tantum, regignit Spiritu sed et Sacro
Suos, ut actis innovent vitam bonis.

De Lege. Cap. II.

M. Qui rite summo serviendum numini est?
Humana nunquid suadet uti inventio,
Mandata tantum cœlica aut ut ordinant?
P. Divina lex est insequenda regula,
Fucata non intentio mortalium.
M. Quæ norma vitæ cœlitus nobis data est?
P. Hæc ipsa voce quæ tonantis est Dei
Prolata denis hisce sub sententiis:
1. Adverte gens Hebræa, sum Deus tuus,
Ego Jova te qui servitute Ægyptia

Durique solvi regis e tyrannide.
Extraneos ne habeto me coram deos.
2. Idola faxis sculpta ne tibi; neque
Delineatam numinis ad imaginem
Quamcunque formam, quam superne continent
Augusta Cœli templa, tellus aut patens
Infra, sub imo lympha vel terræ sinu.
Non hæc adora procidens, honoreve
Dignator ullo. Nam Deus fortissimus
Ego æmulator sum tuus Jova, qui patrum
Delicta in ipsos mulcto vindex filios,
In tertium quartumque in illorum genus
Exosa queis est nostra vis; clementiam
Monstrans in horum stirpis et millesimos
Qui nos amantque jussibusque obtemperant.
3. Jovæ tremendum ne Dei nomen tui
In rebus usurpato vanus irritis:
Insontis illum non enim feret loco,
Frustra suum qui nomen usurpat, Deus.
4. Memento sanctum Sabbati serves diem:
Luces labori sex habeto, sed Deo
Septena sacra Sabbati dies tuo
Jovæ est. In illo non operis exerceas
Quicquam, nec ipse, filius, nec filia,
Nec servus, ancilla, aut pecus, qui intra tuas
Portas moratur hospes aut extrarius.
Nam sex diebus machinam Cœli Deus
Terræ globumque finxit, et mare, omnia
Quæcunque et hisce continentur, septima
Quievit atque luce: Sabbatum suo
Faustum ominatus proin sacravit cultui.
5. Honore patrem debito et matrem cole,
Longævus in tellure ducas ut dies
Illa daturus quam Jova Deus est tuus.

6. 7. Occisor haud sis. Haud adulter sordidus.
8. 9. Non fur. Propinquo falsus haud testis nocens.
10. Ædis propinqui ne cupido cor tuum
Titillet. Ejus ardeas ne conjugis
Amore: servum nec, vel ancillam, aut bovem
Asinumve, quicquam reive alius appetas.
M. Cujusque sensum redde mandati brevi.
P. 1. Lex prima, jus auctoritate muniens,
Integrum honorem præcipit Deo suum
Deferre soli: cuncta videt nam Deus.
2. Secunda cultus rejicit præposteros,
Idola quavis arte ficta non ferens,
Causa exprimendi vel colendi numinis:
Minas et addit; vindicem sui Deum
Severum honoris; at piis mitissimum.
3. Non sola damnat tertium perjuria
Scitum, sed omnem nominis levem Dei
Abusionem; vultque præclara omnia
De ipso loquamur, pœna vel certa imminet.
4. Lex quarta partim prisca ceremonia est;
Figura nobis spiritalis a malo
Vacationis; ordinis partim datur
Ergo: piorum grex in unum quo fluens
Auscultet alti legibus Jovæ, preces
Fundat, sacris communicet mysteriis,
Statosque servans rite sacrorum dies,
Partim levamen denique ut servis foret,
Longæ laborum quos premunt molestiæ.
5. Parentum honorem quinta cernens sanctio,
Amare mandat hos, et illis obsequi,
Pie et juvare si petat necessitas,
Longæque vitæ præmio nos provocat;
Et rite quisquis præest parentem intelligit.
6. Sexta nefanda cæde non tantum manus

Vult abstinere, quin et omnem injuriam
Damnat, latensque cordis odium legifer;
Pressos juvare et mandat, et malum pati.
7. Adulteros nec septima tantum arguit,
Omnem sed et scortationem, verbaque
Non pura, pravas mentis et libidines,
Castumque contra corpus et cor exigit.
8. Octava furti nomine omnes denotat
Lex et rapinas, et dolos, et impias
Exactiones, et malas lucri vias;
Bonis levare vultque nostris indigos.
9. Testes iniquos exprimens vetat simul
Lex nona falsis alterum calumniis
Ne quis palam lædatve, clamve detrahat;
Bonam tueri mandat et famam omnium.
10. Deliberatum cordis haud solum malum,
Sed noxias taxat simul lex ultima
Cupidines, imasque radices mali.
M. Nunc redde legis integræ compendium.
P. Ex corde toto nos et anima omni Deum
Amare, toto et virium conamine;
Ut nosmetipsos proximosque. Proxima est
Et ipsa nobis tota gens mortalium.
M. Ex te potesne jussa legis exequi?
P. Nunquam. M. Quis ergo servat in te? P. Spiritus
Sanctus. M. Sacro num flamine imbutus potes
Complere punctis imperata singulis?
P. Nec illud. M. Atqui tramitem ad unguem Deus
Qui non sequuntur legis omnes devovet.
P. Verum. M. Salutem quomodo speraveris,
Diris et illis ergo legis eximi?
P. Me liberavit Christus a legis jugo.
M. Qui sic? P. Ferendo vicit is mortem, suis
Vitamque reddens victor, acceptos patri

Nos impotentes ipse perfectus facit.
M. Quis legis usus ergo nobis nunc manet?
P. Non posse justos actubus nos effici
Dum monstrat, ad Christum relegat; interim et
Infirmitatis conscios monet, Deum
Prece invocare, et viribus niti omnibus
Magis magisque legis exactum in scopum.

De Oratione. Cap. III.

M. Ad quem precando vota supplex dirigis?
P. Solummodo uni supplico Deo, patri,
Tantumque Christi nomine offero preces:
Ille advocatus pro piis intervenit,
Nobis reliquit et precandi formulam,
Quam semper orans intuor, vota omnia
Normamque ad illam formo. M. Recita quænam ea est.
P. Pater supreme noster, ô Cœlum incolens,
Sancte colatur nominis splendor tui.
Veniat tui sperata regni faustitas.
Divina fiat, sicut inter cœlites,
Ita et voluntas terreo tua in solo.
Nostrum diurnum confer hodie victus modum;
Remitte nobis lenis atque debitum,
Nos debitorum ut noxiis ignoscimus.
Tentationem neve ducas in malam,
Nos a maligno sed nocente libera.
Regnum potestas namque tibi et gloria
Stat sæculorum sempiterna sæculis.
M. Precatione quid petas ista, explica.
P. A Patre nostro (nempe communi piis)
Cœlum supremus qui monarcha possidet,
Sex opto: primum nomen ut sanctum Dei

Suis per orbem celebretur laudibus.
Ut deinde regnum quo suos bonus fovet
Crescat, fidelis copia florens gregis,
Regnum scelesti quo Satanæ corruat.
Ut tertio divina sic terræ in solo
Fiat voluntas, omnes ut ei pareant,
Parent cohortes angelorum ut cœlites.
Quarta diurni voce panis, omnia
Quæ vita præsens exigit comprendimus;
Hunc et precando cœlitus nobis dari,
Testamur in diem Deo nos vivere.
Quinta remitti nostra nobis debita,
Peccata nempe, gratia mera Dei
Rogamus; et nos profitemur fratribus,
Ut patris alti filiis, ignoscere.
In ultima, ne cum scelestis nos Deus
Carnis, precamur, illice abripi sinat
Contagio, malisque dæmonis dolis;
Sed spiritu nos protegat sancto et regat,
Ejusque demum laude vota claudimus.

De Sacramentis. [Cap. IV.]

M. Quam victimam censes Deo gratissimam?
P. Audire vocem numinis termaximi,
Parere verbo mentis affectu et pio.
M. Verbum quis offert? P. *Rite qui vocatus est*
Christi Minister, audiendus omnibus.
M. Ultrane verbum jungitur nobis Deus?
P. Connexa Sacramenta sunt verbo; notæ
Dei favoris, extero signo piis
Quæ spiritales res adumbrant, et rata
Reddunt salutis pacta nobis fœdera.

M. Cur instituta sacra sunt hæc symbola?
P. Infirma nostra ut sublevetur hinc fides.
M. Externa per se signa tantam vimne habent?
P. Non signa, signis juncta sed vis spiritus.
M. Quot esse Sacramenta nostra ais? P. Duo:
Baptisma, Cœnæ sacramque Eucharistiam.
M. Baptisma quidnam signat? P. Undæ symbolo
Remissionem noxiarum, innoxio
Mentes lavari nempe Christi sanguine,
Nos et regigni Spiritu Sancto, indicat,
Ut innovemus actubus vitam bonis.
M. Quis rite sacro tingitur baptismate?
P. Vera paratus fide et pœnitentia.
M. Cur ergo lymphis eluuntur parvuli?
P. Non est necesse semper hæc actu ferat
Baptismus, ætas at capax id exigit.
Adultus annis instruendus est puer,
Olim ut recepti vim sciat Baptismatis.
M. Quid sacra præfert Cœna mysticum piis?
P. Per spiritalem corporis Christi Dei
Esum, cruoris illiusque poculum,
Vitam educari nos in æternam notat.
M. Quid signa panis et Lyæi suggerunt?
P. Ut ista corpus nutriendo roborant,
Sic corporis virtute Christi et sanguinis
Mentes aluntur et vigorem habent suum:
Inclusa non sit vis ut ista symbolis,
Sed spiritu Christum superne quærimus,
Cœlo paterna considentem in gloria.
M. Istuc ad illum pervenire qui licet?
P. Fide; piorum cordibus quam Spiritus
Divina virtus imprimit, verbi Dei
Promissionum nosque certos efficit.
M. Qui mysticæ rite Cœnæ communicant?

P. Sese probantes, divus ut Paulus monet,
Fide atque amore, pœnitentia et pia.
M. Perfecta prorsus hicne quæritur fides?
P. Vix invenitur illa: sed Cœnæ sacer
Cibus medelæ servit infirmis loco.
M. Conferre Sacramenta qui debent? P. Dei
Verbi Ministri: qui prophanos a sacris
Arcere, causis rite cognitis, valent.

FINIS.

REGISTER

OF MINISTERS AND READERS

IN THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

FROM THE BOOK OF THE ASSIGNATION OF STIPENDS.

M.D.LXXIV.

After the establishment of the Reformed Religion in Scotland, a considerable time elapsed before persons duly qualified for the office of the ministry could be found to supply the several churches throughout the land. It was therefore requisite to devise some means to prevent large districts, more especially in the remoter parts of the country, from remaining wholly destitute of religious instruction. In July 1560, the Committee of Parliament had appointed ministers to most of the principal towns, and, among the rest, Knox to Edinburgh, Row to Perth, Fergusson to Dunfermline, Goodman to St Andrews, Christison to Dundee, and Heriot to Aberdeen. Five persons were also nominated as Superintendents: for, in the First Book of Discipline, in consideration of the very limited number of the Reformed clergy, the compilers say, "We consider, that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us, should be appointed to severall places there to make their continuall residence, that then the greatest part of the Realme should be destitute of all doctrine; which should not only be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many."

To provide a remedy, however partial, for this evil, it was proposed to divide the country into ten or twelve districts, each to be under a special Superintendent, whose duty should consist in visiting successively the Churches throughout the district, as well as in preaching; and not only in using means to 'plant,' or admit suitable persons as permanent ministers or readers in vacant congregations, according to the order prescribed, but also in taking care that all persons who held benefices since the Reformation should reside at their kirks, and not be allowed to neglect their ministerial duties.

The five Superintendents, nominated in July 1560, were,

JOHN CARSWELL, for Argyle and the Isles.
JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, (a layman,) for Angus and Mearns.
JOHN SPOTISWOOD, person of Midcalder, for Lothian and Tweeddale.
JOHN WILLOCK, for Glasgow and the West.
JOHN WINRAM, prior of Portmoak, for Fife.

This employment of Superintendents was beyond all question only a temporary expedient. They were elected and admitted in the same manner as ordinary pastors; and while they were equally, with any other minister of the church, subject to be censured, suspended, or deposed by the Assembly, the office itself conferred on them no precedence or superiority over their brethren. Their duties were very arduous, as they were required to visit and preach "through their whole bounds," without remaining in one place "above twenty days in their stated visitations." Neither could they exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without the consent of the Provincial assemblies.

From want of funds, and other circumstances, the above number of Superintendents was never augmented; and as they were found to be quite inadequate for their responsible and important charge, the Assembly from time to time appointed special Visitors, or Commissioners. Their duties were of a similar nature; but their districts were not so extensive, nor was each required to have his usual residence within his own district. Although the office was not held to be permanent, the same persons were usually re-appointed. But in August 1575, as it was considered "the long continuance of Commissioners in thair office sould induce some ambition and inconvenience within the Kirk," the Assembly resolved that a yearly exchange should be made; and, accordingly, nominated several of the Commissioners to other districts. There was no stated number; and in the following Register of 1574, only six Commissioners are mentioned, and one of the Superintendents. In April 1576, the Assembly "thought meet that such bounds

be appointed to every Commissioner and Visitor, as may be duely visited and overseene by every one of them;" it being considered that "the great and intollerable burden lying to the charge of Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners, is, and hath been the very cause, that the whole Kirk within their bounds could not be duely overseen, and consequently good discipline unexercised within the same for lack of visitation." A Committee to whom the matter was referred having reported, twenty-five Commissioners were nominated, and their particular districts fixed.[1] The names of three Bishops, and of the three surviving Superintendents, are included in the list; but without any distinction from other Visitors or Commissioners. In 1578, the number was twenty-four; in 1579, twenty-five; and in 1580, twenty-six.[2]

Another expedient recommended in the Book of Discipline, was the employment of a class of probationers, under the title of Readers or Exhorters, who might in some measure assist in conducting public worship, and imparting religious instruction, until such time as a qualified minister should be provided. "To the churches where no ministers can be had presentlie, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctlie can read the common Prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the Church till they grow to greater perfection; and in process of time, he that is but a Reader may attain to a farther degree, and by consent of the Church and discreet ministers, may be permitted to minister the Sacraments," &c. The title of Exhorter, as indicating an advanced class, seems to have been silently dropped. On comparing the list of the persons so styled in 1567 with that of 1574, we find some of them had become ministers, but the greater number are entered simply as Readers.

Many of the Readers had been in the Romish Church; but they were precluded from solemnizing marriages or administering the sacraments; although, probably owing to the great destitution of religious instruction that prevailed in many parts of the country,

[1] Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. pp. 336, 353, 358.

[2] Ib. vol. i. and ii. pp. 358, 416, 435, 470.

they frequently exceeded their prescribed functions. At length the Assembly in July 1580, after long discussion, "anent the office of Reidars *that hes no farther gift of God bot simple reiding of the Scriptures,*" concluded, "That thair office is no ordinar office within the Kirk of God." And in April 1581, the admission of Readers having been "suspended till the present Assemblie; the Kirk, in ane voyce, hes votit and concludit farder, That in no tyme comeing any Reidar be admitted to the office of Reidar, be any having power within the Kirk."[1] By this resolution it was intended to supersede the further appointment of Readers; while such of them as were not then advanced to the ministry were allowed still to officiate, or at least to draw the amount of stipend which had previously been assigned to them.

This step was in conformity with the new plan of ecclesiastical government laid down in the Second Book of Discipline. For it is well known that the form of polity recommended in the First Book of Discipline never obtained the proper sanction of the State, chiefly in consequence of the avarice of the nobility and gentry, who were desirous of securing to themselves the revenues of the church. The plan at first contemplated by the Presbyterian clergy for the appropriation of "the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the Church," included not merely "an honest provision for ministers and their families," but likewise the relief of the poor and indigent, the endowment of schools and universities, and the encouragement of learning. But all this was pronounced to be "a devout imagination;" and, as Calderwood remarks, at that time "the ministers lived upon men's benevolence." Their claims, however, were taken up by the Barons, and one of the articles presented to the Council, towards the close of 1561, was, that "sufficient stipends be provided for the ministers, according to equitie and conscience:" and it was then devised that two-thirds of each benefice should be reserved in liferent for the kirkmen, that is, the former possessors, and one-third be in part appropriated for the use of the Presbyterian clergy. As the Lords of Secret

[1] Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. ii. pp. 455, 513.

Council, on the 10th December 1561, had enjoined that the rentals of all benefices should be produced, on the 24th of January 1562 commissioners were appointed, with power to call before them "all and sindrie prelates and beneficed men," and "require of them the rentals of thair benefices."—"Item, To warne all Superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons, to give in to them the names of the whole Ministers, that her Highnesse may tak order with the benefices, according to the tenor of the first ordinance made therupon."[1] At this period, 100 marks (L.66, 13s. 4d. Scotish money, or L.5, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling) was considered to be a sufficient stipend for an ordinary minister; and 300 marks was the highest, with the exception of the five Superintendents, and a few others; while constant complaints were made, not only of the inadequacy of such sums, but of the difficulty in obtaining them.

There is no evidence to show that lists of the clergy had been prepared in conformity with the above injunction. But the Parliament, in December 1567, having passed an Act, which secured the whole of the Thirds of the Benefices for the support of the parochial clergy, "ay and quhill the Kirk cum to the full possession of their proper patrimonie, quhilk is the Teinds," it was thus rendered necessary to have an accurate list of the persons who were entitled to such payments. There is preserved in the General Register House such a volume, entitled, "The Register of Ministers and thair Stipends, sen the yeir of God 1567."[2] It is evidently the original register, and contains some additions and corrections as late as the year 1573. It was superseded, in 1574, by the Book of the Assignations of Stipends, from which, in the following pages, we have extracted a very careful and accurate detail of the parochial state of Scotland at that period. The original MS. was "given in compliment" to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, by Bishop Keith, 18th August 1746. To have printed the entire volume would have required a large and distinct publication, without furnishing much additional information

[1] Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 169.

[2] This Register was printed as a contribution to the Maitland Club, by Mr A. Macdonald. Edinb., 1830, 4to.

of general interest. The names of the several districts and churches, and of the ministers and readers, are fully given, with the amount of their stipends; and, in the foot-notes, occasional extracts to show the sources from whence each stipend was payable.

From the Register already noticed, we find that in 1567 there were about 1080 Churches, under the charge of 257 ordained Ministers, 151 Exhorters, and 455 Readers; and the places of 12 Ministers and 53 Readers are marked as being vacant, making in all 924 persons, besides the five Superintendents.

In 1574, a more systematic plan, as exemplified in the following Register, was adopted. This was according to the policy of the Regent Morton, by combining three, four, or even a greater number of contiguous churches, to be placed under one Minister, with the assistance of a Reader to serve in each parish, who received for stipend the miserable pittance of L.20 Scotish money, or L.1, 13s. 4d. Sterling. From the following Register, it may be computed that there were 988 Churches, arranged under 303 heads, with 289 Ministers, 715 Readers; with the places of 20 Ministers and 97 Readers not supplied, making in all 1121 persons.

In 1581, a still greater change was proposed to be introduced by adopting the scheme contained in the Second Book of Discipline: by which the churches were arranged under different Presbyteries, the office of Reader was nominally abolished, and no person, but a regularly ordained minister, should be permitted to officiate in any congregation. This alteration was proposed and carried through with the full approbation of the civil authorities. On the 20th of April 1581, the King's Commissioner, according to his instructions, submitted to the Assembly the said scheme, which contained a preliminary statement, "That besyde the Dyocie of Argyle and of the Yles,[1] of quhilk boundis never rentalls was zit

[1] The Diocese of Argyle and the Isles is not included in any of the older Registers; and the only reason that we can assign for this is, that the stipends may have been paid out of the Bishop's Teinds or some other local source. In 1586, one of the humble petitions presented to the King by the Assembly was, "That the Bischops, Commissioners of Argyle and of the Yles, may be subject to attend upon the Assemblies Generall, and to keip

givin up, thare is in Scotland about nyne hundreth and twentie-foure kirks, comptand fyve score to the hundreth.[1] Of thir, sindrie are pendicles and small parochines, and many kirks demolisit. Some parochines also are of greatar bounds nor the parochiners may conveine convenientlie to thair paroch kirks. It hes bein thought meit, therefor, to reduce the nyne hundreth and twentie-four kirks to six hundreth, and at every kirk to have a minister; thair stipends and livings to be modified in four degries:—

One hundreth at	.	500 marks the peice,
Two hundreth at	.	300 marks the peice,
Two hundreth at	.	100 lbs. the peice,
One hundreth at	.	100 marks the peice,

or somewhat more or less, as it may be neir thir sowmes, beneath or above."

According to this proposal, these 600 Churches were to be divided into 50 Presbyteries, "twelve to every Presbytry, or thereabout." For a considerable time, it was found impracticable to carry through this scheme to its full extent; although Calderwood says, that this order of Presbyteries and Assemblies, Provincial and General, proposed in the King's name, in April 1581, "was then accepted, and used since that time without interruption."[2]

That great destitution of spiritual instruction continued to prevail in many parts of the country, is but too well ascertained. According to "the Estate and order of Presbyteries, presented by my Lord Clerk Register," in May 1586, there were reckoned to be 970 Churches. In 1596, the Assembly, in representing to his Majesty the want of suitable provision for ministers, regretted "there being above four hundreth paroche kirks destitute of the ministrie of the Word, by and attour the kirks of Argyle and the

thair Synodall Assemblies as in uther parts of this realme, quhilk is ane furtherance to the King's Majestie's obedience; since utherwayes, they appeir as exeimit out of his dominion."—(Booke of the Kirk, vol. ii. p. 661.)

[1] It long continued a common practice to reckon six score, or 120 to the hundred.

[2] For further details, see Calderwood's Hist. vol. iv. p. 444, &c.; and Booke of the Kirk, vol. ii. pp. 476-487.

Isles." In 1608, the same complaint was made, and it is added, in regard to the kirks of Caithness and Ross, "that in many of them the Holie Communion was never celebrate."

Of the series of the Books of Assignations, several volumes for subsequent years are deposited in the General Register House, viz., for the years 1576, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1593, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1607, 1608, 1614, and 1615. From these volumes might be compiled a very accurate list of the several incumbents during a period of half a century.[1]

From the following pages something like a general notion may be formed of the amount appropriated to the Ministers and Readers in 1574.[2] The value of the kirk-lands cannot always be ascertained: but in the case of Readers, it appears to have averaged L.4; as their stipend usually was L.16 with the kirk-land, or L.20 without. In round numbers, the whole may be estimated at L.48,000, which, reduced to sterling money, would be L.4000, and divided among 1100 persons, even supposing money to have been seven or eight times its present value, such an allowance gave good reason to the clergy to complain of inadequate remuneration. The sums proposed to be assigned in 1581 were on a somewhat more liberal scale, varying from L.66, 13s. 4d., to L.333, 6s. 8d., Scotish money.[3]

[1] The Rev. Hew Scott, Minister of Anstruther Wester, has collected materials for an Historical Catalogue of the Scotish Clergy, from the period of the Reformation to the present time. It is to be hoped he will be induced to publish such a work, containing the fruits of many years assiduous and accurate investigation of the several Books of Assignations, Presentations to Benefices, and of other authentic documents, such as Synod and Presbytery Records.

[2] It is not easy to guess upon what principle the accounts were made up, as the 'Summas' of each Diocese do not correspond with the specific sums allotted to the different incumbents.

[3] The valuation of Scotish money may be thus stated:—

Twenty shillings, or one pound, equal to	20d. Sterling.
One mark, ...	13⅓d. Sterling.

Thus, one pound Sterling was equivalent to 18 marks, or 12 pounds of Scotish money.

THE

REGISTER OF MINISTERS AND READERS,

IN THE YEAR M.D.LXXIV.

Diocie of Orknay.

Kirkwall, St Olavis Kirk, Birsay, Harray.[1]

Maister Gilbert Fowlsye, minister,	L.	133	6	8
Johne Stewart, reidare at Kirkwall, .		24	0	0 &c.
Robert Stewart, reidare at Birsay and Harray, . . .		6	13	4 &c.

St Androis Kirk, Deirnes, Holme.

Maister Williame Peirsoun, minister, .		13	6	8 &c.
Maister Johne Houstoun, reidare at Sanct Androis Kirk, ...		14	16	1 &c.
Johne Stewart, reidare at Holme and Deirnes, . . .		12	0	0

[1] The following is a full copy from the MS. of the first three entries; and these may serve as a specimen of the entire Register:—

"Maister Gilbert Fowlsye, minister, his stipend, i^c. xxxiij li. vi^s. viii^d. to be pait as followis, viz.: Thairof the thred of his awin prebendarie of Sanct Johnne, in the Cathederell Kirk of Orknay, xiii li. vi^s. viii^d. The thred of Sanct Olave's Alterage, vi li. xiii^s. iv^d., the thred of the Archedenerie of Orknay, quhilk is the vicarage of Birsay and Harray, xx li., and out of the Bishopric of Orknay lxxxxiij li. vi^s. viii^d., and for payment thairof v lastis xx m. cost at xxiiij merk the last, be the tennentis and parochinaris of Sanct Olave's foure lasts thairof, and be the tennentis and parochinaris of Holme and Deirnes ane last xx m. quhair the said minister shall cheis.

"Johnne Stewart, reidare at Kirkwall—his stipend, xxiiij li. with the curatis chalmer and seller in the new werk of Kirkwall thairof, the thred of Sanct Olave's Vicarage viii li., and out of the Bischopis of Orkney twa barrellis butter at viii li. the barrell, be the parochinaris of Sanct Olave, quhair he sall cheiss.

"Robert Stewart, reidare at Birsay and Harray, his stipend to be the haill vicarage pensionarie thairof, extending to half ane chalder victuall and vi li. xiii^s. iiii^d. vacand, and out of the thred of the Bishopric of Orkney, half last cost quhair he sall cheis, with the manse and glibe of the samin gif ony be."

Orphir, Stanehous, Ferth, Ewy, Randale.

Thomas Stevinstoun, minister, .	L.100	0	0	k. l.[1] &c.
Williame Mureheid, reidare at Stanehous and Ferth, . .	16	0	0	
Archebald Reid, reidare at Ewy and Randale, ...	15	16	1	&c.

Stromnes, Sandweik, Rowsay, Eglissay, Wyir, Ewhallow.

Maister Jerome Tulloche, minister,	80	0	0	
Williame Smyth, reidare at Stromnes and Sandweik, . . .	6	16	1	
Robert Blak, reidare at Rowsay, Eglissay, Wyir, and Ewhallow, . . .	14	13	4	

Hoy, Wawis, Gramsay, Flattay.

Maister Williame Mwdy, minister,	40	0	0	
Thomas Fleming, reidare, . .	14	13	4	&c.

Marie Kirk in Stronsay, Petir Kirk, St Nicholas Kirk, Ethay, Faray.

——, (vacant,) minister, . .	11	11	1⅓	&c.
Maister James Maxwell, reidare at thir kirkis, ...	20	0	0	&c.

Papay Westray, Lady Kirk in Westray, Croce Kirk, Marie Kirk, Croce Kirk in Sanday, St Colme's Kirk, North Rannaldsay.

Maister James Annand, minister, .	133	6	8	
Laurence Zoung, reidare at the kirkis of Westray and Papay Westray, .	6	13	4	&c.
Thomas Tailzeour, reidare at the kirkis of Sanday and North Rannaldsay, .	6	13	4	&c.

[1] In the outer columns, "k. l." stands for kirk-land; and "&c." implies that some kind of victual was paid in addition to the stipend in money.

Schapinschaw *per se.*

Thomas Rattray, minister, . L.24 0 0 &c.

Petir Kirk in South Ranneldsay, Bwrwik thair, Swownay, Bwrray.

Maister Alexander Dick, minister and provest of Orknay,[1] . . 33 6 8

Edward Ingsetter, reidare at the saidis kirkis, ... 6 13 4 &c.

Tingwall, Quhitnes, Woisdaill, Nesting, Quhalsay, Skerreis.

Maister Thomas Hieronomie Chein, minister, . . . 80 0 0

Mathew Litstare, reidare at Tingwall, Quhitnes, and Woisdaill,[2]

George Duff, reidare at Nesting, Quhalsay, and Skerreis, . . 20 0 0 &c.

Sandsting, Aithsting.

Williame Watsoun, minister, . 26 17 9⅓ &c.

Dalting, Scatistay, Foula, Waus, Sandnes, Papa.

Johne Dunune, minister, (to uphold ane reidare,) . . . 80 0 0

Williame Philp, reidare at the said kirkis, 20 0 0 &c.

Colmis Kirk, Croce Kirk, Olaberrie, in North Mawin.

Johne Giffurd, minister, . 20 0 0 &c.

Fetlar, Sandwik in Unst, Balzesta, Croce Kirk, Hannavo, Rafurdnes in Zell.

Maister Williame Lawder, minister, 40 0 0 &c.

[1] "His stipend the haill thrid of the Provestrie, xxxiij li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}., *et eque.*"

[2] "His stipend to be pait furth of the Archdeanrie, &c." The value is not stated.

Williame Tailzeour, reidare at the kirkis of Unst, . . . L.20 0 0 &c.
James Fallousdaill, reidare at the kirkis of Zell, . . . 20 0 0 &c.

Sandwik, Dunrosnes, Fair Yle, Braza, Burra.
Johne Kingstoun, minister, . . 80 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Dunrosnes, Sandwik, Cunnestoung, and Fair Yle, 13 6 8
Robert Chein, reidare at Braza and Burra, 12 13 4 &c.

Commissioner of Orkney,
Maister James Annand, . . 100 0 0

Commissioner of Zetland,
Maister Gilbert Foulsy, . 100 0 0

[Summa of the money, &c., assigned to the Ministry in the Diocese of Orkney is not stated.]

Diocie of Cathnes.

Assent.
——, (vacant,) reidare, . 16 0 0

Far, Ra, Ardurnes.
Ferquhard Reid, minister, . 40 0 0 & k. l.
Andro Makphilp, reidare at Ra, . 16 0 0 k. l. &c.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Ardurnes, 20 0 0 & k. l.

Cannesby, Dunnet, Bowar.
Johnne Wobstar alias Watsoun, minister, (payand his awin reidare at Cannesby,) 130 0 0
Andro Rag, reidare at Cannesby, 20 0 0
Thomas Dunnet, reidare at Dunnett, 16 8 10⅔ k. l. &c.
Johnne Anderson, reidare at Bowar, 16 0 0 k. l. &c.

Weik, Lathroun.

Andro Philp, minister,	L.80	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Mernys, reidare at Weik,	20 merks.			
Williame Sinclair, reidare at Lathroun,	40	0	0	

Olrik, Thurso, Ballmagleis.

Alexander Urquhart, minister, (payand his awin reidare at Olrik,)	133	6	8	
Alexander Patrik Grahameson, reidare at Olrik,	20	0	0	
Johne Davidsoun,[1] reidare at Thurso, Balmagleis neidis na reidare.	16	0	0	k. l. &c.

Halkirk, Skenand, Wattin.

Maister Thomas Brydie, minister,	64	11	1⅓	&c.
Johnne Scott, reidare at Halkirk and Skenand,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Mathew Murray, reidare at Wattin,	17	6	8	& k. l.

Clyne, Loth, Kildonand.

Andro Andersoun, minister,	73	6	8	& k. l.
Walter Andersoun, reidare at Clyne and Lothe,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Philip Anderson,[2] reidare at Kildonand,	17	15	6⅔	& k. l.

Rogart, Lairg, Kilmailze.

~~George Sinclair, minister,~~[3]	~~140~~	~~0~~	~~0~~	
Williame Gray elder, minister,	53	11	1⅓	
Hew Polsoun, reidare at Lairg,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Ferne, reidare at Kilmailze,	16	0	0	& k. l.

[1] In place of Alexander Sutherland, whose name is deleted.

[2] In place of Hew Polson, whose name is deleted.

[3] Sinclair's name is deleted, and that of William Gray elder, minister, afterwards added, "Becaus George Sinclair being chargeit for the haill fruites of the Chancellarie of Catheness for non-residence upon allegeance of deidlie feid, obtenit decreit absolvatour."

Dornoch, Creich.

Williame Gray zoungar, minister,			100	merks.
Williame Aw, reidare at Dornoch,	L.20	0	0	
Donald Logane, reidare at Creich,	14	0	0	& k. l.

Commissioner of Caithness,

Robert Grahame, . .	100	0	0	

Summa of the Ministeris, Reidaris, and Commissionaris stipendis, within this Diocie of Cathnes, viij^{c}. vij li. iij^{s}. iij^{d}. —Summa of the beir assignit to thame thair ij ch., iiij b.

Diocie of Ros.

Lochelsche, Lochcarroun.

Alexander Fraser alias Moir, reidare.[1]

Lochbrune.

Donald Ferquharsoun, reidare, .	14	13	4	

Garloch,—(vacant, and the stipend not specified.)

Apilcroce.

Murquho Johnnestoun, reidare, .	17	0	8	

Kintaill.

Johnne Murchosoun, reidare, .	18	0	0	

Tayn, Eddirtayn, Nyg, Tarbert.

Finlaw Mansoun, minister, .	66	13	4	k. l. &c.
William Fraser, reidare at Tayne, .	16	0	0	& k. l.

1 "His stipend, the haill commoun kirk of Lochelsche, baith personaige and vicaraige, newlie disponit to him." The value is not stated.

——, (vacant,) reidare at Eddertayn, 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Nyg, 20 merks.
Gawin Dunbar, reidare at Tarbert, 20 merks & k. l.

Roskene, with Newynkill, Kincardin, Kilmuir Eistir, Logy Eistir.

Williame Ross Thomassoun, minister, (sustenand his awin reidare,) L.85 15 2
Williame Monro Huchesoun, reidare at Roskene and Newynkill, 20 merks.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kincardin, 13 6 8 & k. l.
Neill Monro, reidare at Kilmuir Eistir, 12 13 4
Donald Reid, reidare at Logy Eistir, 13 6 8 & k. l.

Limlair, Kilterne, Alnes.

Maister Donald Monro, minister, 66 13 4 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Lymlair, 20 merks & k. l.
Ferquhard Monro, reidare at Kilterne, 16 0 0
Alexander Morison, reidare at Alnes, 20 merks & k. l.

Urray, Contane, Kirkchrist, Foddertie.

Donald Adamsoun, minister, 102 13 4 k. l. &c.
Angus M'Neill M'Kenzie, reidare at Urray, 16 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Contane, 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kirkchrist, 20 merks & k. l.
Alexander Authane, reidare at Foddertie, 13 6 8

Killernane, Kirkmichaell.

Robert Grahame, minister,[1] 12 13 4
Mr Alexander Mackenzie, reidare at Killernane, 16 0 0
Alexander Clunes, reidare at Kirkmichaell, 20 merks & k. l.

[1] "His stipend, the haill Archidenerie of Ross, extending to xij ch. victuall, and xij li. xiij^{s}. iij^{d}. money, he sustenand his Readare at Killernane."

Urquhard, Cullicuddin, Logy Westir, Dingwall.

Robert Monro, minister, . . L.66 13 4 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Urquhard and Logy Westir, . . 20 0 0
Williame Monro Hucheson, reidare at Cullicuddin, . . . 20 merks & k. l.
Maister Walter Ross, reidare at Dingwell, 10 0 0

Awach, Kilmuir Westir, Arthourseir.

Andro Myll, minister, . . 80 0 0 k. l. &c.
George Thomsoun, reidare at Awach, 20 0 0
Johnne Smyth, reidare at Arthourseir, 20 merks & k. l.
John Ros, reidare at Kilmuir Westir, 6 13 4 k. l. &c.

Suddy, Kynnattas.

Maister George Monro, minister, (the haill Chancellarye of Ros, payand his reidaris,) 173 6 8
Alexander Reid, reidare at Suddy, . 20 merks & k. l.
Alexander Banezoungar, reidar at Kynnattas, 20 merks & k. l.

Chanonrie, or Rosmarkny, Cromartie.

Maister John Robertson, minister, 118 10 8⅓
Williame Hay, reidare at the Chanonrie, or Rosmarkny, . . 20 0 0 k. l. &c.
James Burnet, reidare at Cromartie, . 20 merks & k. l.

Commissioner of Ross,

Maister Donald Monro, minister. (Stipend not specified.)

Summa of the money assignit to the Commissionar, Ministeris, and Reidaris, within the Diocie of Ross, vij^{c}. lxxxxvj li. xiij^{s}.—Summa of the beir assignit to the Ministerie within the said Diocie, xxxj ch., ij b.

Diocie of Murray.

Invernes *per se.*

Maister Thomas Howesoun, minister, L.100 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Blindschell, reidare at Invernes, 20 0 0

Wardlaw, Kilmorak, Kintallartie.

Donald Dow, minister, . 40 0 0
David Cuthbert, reidare at Wardlaw, 20 merks & k. l.
Robert Makrudder, reidare at Kintallartie, 2 13 4 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kilmorack, 20 merks & k. l.

Conveth, Cummer.

Maister Johne Fraser, minister, (the haill twa pairt of the priorie of Bewlie.)
——, (vacant,) reidare at Conveth, 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Cummir, 20 merks & k. l.

Fernway, Urquhard, Glenmoreistoun, Bonoch.

——, (vacant,) minister,
——, (vacant,) reidare at Fernway, 11 6 8
——, (vacant,) reidare at Urquhart, 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Glenmoreistoun, 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Bonoch, 6 13 4 & k. l.

Abirtarf, Londichtie, Daviot, Boleskein, Durris, Tallaracie, Moy.

James Duff, minister, . . 80 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Stewart, reidare at Londichtie and Daviot, . . . 20 0 0 & k. l.
Donald Brabner, reidare at Abirtarf and Boleskeyn, . . . 18 16 9⅓
Soule Makphaill, reidare at Durris, 20 merks & k. l.
Johnne Dow, reidare at Tallaracie and Moy, . . . 20 0 0

Braaven, Croy, Dacus.

Allane Makintosche, minister,	L.60	0	0	& k. l.
Andro Farquharsoun, reidare at Braaven,	13	6	8	
James Waus, reidare at Croy and Dakus,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Petty and Brachlie.

Maister Johnne Gordoun, minister,	66	13	4	
Andro Makphaill, reidare at Petty and Brachlie,	16	0	0	

Aulderne, Narne, Ardclach.

Nicholl Howesoun, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
Adam Wilsoun, reidare at Aulderne,	20	0	0	
Johnne Ross, reidare at Narne,	15	6	11⅓	
William Broun, reidare at Ardclach,	20 merks			& k. l.

Fores, Dyke, Moy.

Maister Andro Simsoun, minister,	133	6	8	& k. l.
Johnne Paterson, reidare at Forres,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Duff, reidare at Dyke,	16	0	0	
George Simsoun, reidare at Moy,	24	8	10⅔	

Birneth, Doles.

James Johnnestoun, minister,	65	13	4	& k. l.
Patrik Dunbar, reidare at Birneth,	16	2	2⅔	
Alexander Johnnestoun, reidare at Doles,	20 merks			& k. l.

Elgin, St Androis Kirk.

Alexander Winsister, minister,	115	11	1⅓	& k. l.
William Douglas, reidare at Elgin and St Androis Kirk,	40	0	0	&c.

Spynie, Keith.

Maister Andro Zoung, minister,	80	0	0	& k. l.
James Philp, reidare at Spynie,	40 merks			& k. l.

Andro Guthrie,[1] reidare at Keith, L.16 0 0 & k. l.

Duffus, Ugstoun, Alves.
- Maister Johne Keith, minister, 120 0 0
- Williame Clerk, reidare at Duffus, 20 0 0
- James Ker, reidare at Ugstoun, 20 merks & k. l.
- Johnne Sinclair, reidare at Alves, 17 15 6⅔ & k. l.

Kyneduard, Essill.
- Maister Patrik Douglas, minister, 71 6 8 &c.
- James Sibbald, reidare at Kynedward, 20 0 0
- Alexander Douglas, reidare at Essill, 20 0 0 & k. l.

Urquhard, Langbride.
- Maister Patrik Balfour, minister, 100 0 0
- Alexander Sinclair, reidare at Urquhart, 16 0 0
- Johnne Robertsoun, reidare at Langbride, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Rothes *per se.*
- Maister James Leslie, minister,[2] 20 merks, &c.

Altir, Raffort, Edinkeilzie.
- Maister Andro Broun, minister, 63 6 8
- Alexander Bawde, reidare at Altir, 20 0 0 & k. l.
- James Rawson, reidare at Raffort, 16 0 0 & k. l.
- Patrik Logy, reidare at Edinkelzie, 20 merks & k. l.

Skeirallowy, Rothymurcus, Kingusy.
- Johnne Glas, minister, 40 0 0
- Alexander Colt, reidare at Skeirallowy and Kingussy, 20 0 0
- Andro Oistlar, reidare at Rothymurcus, 20 merks & k. l.

[1] "And Robert Mosman," in margin.

[2] "His stipend the thrid of his personage of Rothess, extending to xx merkis money, and the thrid of the victuale thairof, extending to ij ch., ix b., 3 pt. boll."

Lagane *per se.*

Alexander Clerk, minister, . L.26 13 4

Innerellane, Kincardin, Duthell.

——, (vacant,) minister, . 44 0 0

Alexander Reid, reidare at Innerellane, 20 merks & k. l.

William Simsoun, reidare at Kincardine and Duthell, . . 16 0 0

Abirnethy *per se.*

Maister Williame Farquharsoun, minister, 26 13 4

Kirkmichaell, Innerawin, Knokcandoch.

Maister Alexander Gordoun, minister, (payand his reidaris,) . 160 0 0

——, (vacant,) reidare at Kirkmichael, 20 merks & k. l.

Johnne Portar, reidare at Innerawin, 20 merks & k. l.

Alexander Sandeson, reidare at Knokcandoch, ... 20 merks & k. l.

Abdy, [Advy] Cromdaill, *per se.*

Maister Thomas Austean, minister, 26 13 4

Duncane Makphaill, reidare at Abdy and Cromdaill, (paid by the person.)

Pettarie, Elcheis, Glass.

Maister Alexander Leslie, minister, 66 13 4

Johnne Leslie, reidare at Pettarie, 16 0 0

Williame Hay, reidare at Elcheis, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Patrik Michell, reidare at Glass, . 15 6 8

Ardintullie, Dippill.

Williame Petirkin, minister, . 53 6 8

George Collie, reidare at Ardintullie, 20 merks.

Andro Stronoch, reidare at Dippill, 13 6 8 & k. l.

Gartly, Drumdelgy, Essie, Rynie.

Maister George Nicolson, minister, L.53 6 8
James Leslye, reidare at Gartly, . 20 merks.
George Gordoun, reidare at Drumdelgy, 20 merks & k. l.
James Urwell, reidare at Rynie, . 13 6 8 & k. l.
Gilbert Nory, reidare at Essy, . 6 13 4

Innerkeichny, Aberchirdour, Rothemay.

Florie Winsister, minister, . 66 13 4 & k. l.
Patrik Ogstoun, reidare at Innerkeichny, 20 merks & k. l.
George Douglas, reidare at Aberchirdour, ... 40 0 0
Laurence Donaldson, reidare at Rothemay, 20 merks.

Kynnoir, Dumbennane, Ruthven.

Robert Keith, minister, . 100 0 0
Williame Spens, reidare at Kynnoir and Dumbennane, . 20 0 0
Williame Elmishie, reidare at Ruthven, 20 merks & k. l.

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministerie within the Diocie of Murray, ij^{m}. lxxxiij l. xj^{s}., 2 pt. d. —Summa of the beir assignit thair to the Ministerie, lxij ch., iiij b., j fr., iij pect, 3 pt. pect.

Diocie of Abirdene.

Murthlak, Abirlour, Skeirdurstane, Pettruthny, Dunmeith.

Maister George Leslie, minister, (payand the reidare of Murthlak,) . L.166 0 0 & k. l.
Maister Robert Leslie, reidare at Murthlak, ... 20 0 0

——, ~~reidare at Abirlowir and Skeirdurstane~~[1] . . . ~~20 merks & k. l.~~

Andro Reidfurde, reidare at Pettruthny, L.13 6 8

——, (vacant,) reidare at Dunmeith, 20 merks & k. l.

Rothwen, Forsken, Dundurcus, Belly.

Maister George Hay, minister, . 212 16 8

Andro Hay, reidare at Rothven, . 20 0 0

Forsken neidis na reidare.

Johnne Moderattis,[2] reidare at Dundurcus, 10 0 0

Robert Grant, reidare at Belly, . 16 0 0 & k. l.

Fordice, Deskfurde, Ordiquhill, Cullane.

Maister Gilbert Gardin, minister, (sustenand the reidaris,) . . 200 0 0 &c.

Maister James Robertson, reidare at Fordice, ... 20 0 0 &c.

Johnne Thane, reidare at Deskfurde, 20 merks & k. l.

——, (vacant,) reidare at Ordiquhill, 20 merks.

Johnne Forester, reidare at Cullane, 20 merks, &c.

Banff, Innerboindie, Alweth.

Maister Williame Lawtie, minister, 100 0 0

Williame Martine, reidare at Banff, 20 0 0

Williame Smyth, reidare at Innerboyndy, 16 13 4 & k. l.

Henrie Mortimer, reidare at Alweth, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Turref, Kyneduard, Forgline, Auchtirles.

Johnne Philp, minister, . . 100 0 0 & k. l.

Maister Johnne Hay, reidare at Turref, 26 4 5⅓

Williame Craig, reidare at Kyneduard, 16 0 0

——, (vacant,) reidare at Forgline. (blank.)

Johnne Rechie, reidare at Auchterles, 16 0 0 & k. l.

[1] The whole of this entry is deleted in the MS.

[2] In place of Williame Abercrummy, whose name is deleted.

Forg, Drumblaitt, Culsamond.

Andro Spens, minister, . .	L.60	0	0	& k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Forg,	16	0	0	
George Rothny, reidare at Drumblaitt,	26	13	4	
Williame Strath, reidare at Culsamond,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Fyvie, Methlik, Tarves.

Thomas Gormok, minister, .	100	0	0	
Alexander Barroun, reidare at Fyvie,	20	0	0	
Nicholl Smyth, reidare at Methlik,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Donald Reoch, reidare at Tarvess,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Gemrie, Phillorth, Abirdoure, Tyrie.

David Howesoun, minister, (payand the reidare at Tyrie,) . .	100	5	$2\frac{1}{3}$	
Alexander Quheit, reidare at Gemrie,	17	15	$6\frac{2}{3}$	& k. l.
Mr David Brodie, reidare at Phillorthe,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Ramsay, reidare at Abirdoure,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Ugstoun, reidare at Tyrie,	16	0	0	

Deir, Fettirangus, Rathin.

Gilbert Cheisholme, minister, .	80	0	0	
Archibald Keith, reidare at Deir,	20	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Fettirangus,	20 merks			& k. l.
Johnne Fraser, reidare at Rathin, .	20	0	0	

Lunmey *per se.*

——, (vacant,) minister, . .	66	13	4	

Crechmond, Lungley, Peterugy, Crowden.

Mr Archibald Keith, minister, (payand his awin reidare of Crechmond,)	140	0	0	& k. l.
George Nisbet, reidare at Crechmond,	20	0	0	
Williame Murray, reidare at Lungley,	16	0	0	
Walter Richesoun, reidare at Pettirrugye,	20	0	0	& k. l.
William Muresoun, reidare at Crouden,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Slanis, Ellon, Fovern, Logybuchane.

Maister John Gartly, minister,	L.80	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Slanis,	20 merks & k. l.			
Johnne Greg, reidare at Ellone,	16	0	0	& k. l.
David Laird, reidare at Fovern,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Thomas Tullidaff, reidare at Logybuchane,	20 merks & k. l.			

Bothelny, Bourty, Rayn, Balhelvie.

Stephin Masoun, minister,	102	8	10⅔
James King, reidare at Bothelny,	13	17	9⅓
Andro Dumbrek, reidare at Bourty,	the haill vicarage.		
Mr Andro Thom, reidare at Rayn,	16	0	0
Gilbert Kello, reidare at Balhelvy,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Daviot, Innerowrie with Monkegy, Kintor, Kinkell.

Maister George Paterson, minister, (payand his awin reidare at Daviot,)	200	0	0
Mr Andro Leslie, reidare at Daviot,	20	0	0
Alexander Makke, reidare at Innerowrie, Monkegy,	20	0	0
Johnne Leslie, reidare at Kintor,	16	0	0 & k. l.
James Currie, reidare at Kinkell,	20	0	0 & k. l.

Fintrie, Dyss, Skene, Kynnellar.

John Quheit, minister,	68	0	0
Robert Wod, reidare at Fintrie and Dyss,	18	0	0
Thomas Bissait, reidare at Skene,	16	0	0 & k. l.
Robert Forbes, Kynnellair,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Clatt, Kynathmont, Christis Kirk, Inche.

Williame Thomsoun, minister,	65	15	0⅔ & k. l.
George Gordoun, reidare at Clatt,	16	0	0
Andro Thomsoun, reidare at Kynathmont,	14	13	4
Angus Duncansoun, reidare at Christis Kirk,	20 merks.		
Williame Ballingall, reidare at Inche,	13	6	8

Une, Logydurnoch, Premmay.

Maister Johnne Abercrummy, minister, (payand his awin reidare,) .	L.	173	6	8
Johnne Runsyman, reidare at Une,		20	0	0
—— Leslie, reidare at Logydurnoch,		16	0	0
Johnne Ra, reidare at Prema, .		16	0	0

Monymusk, Cluny.

James Johnnestoun, minister, (payand his awin reidare,) . .		133	6	8
James Murray, reidare at Monymusk,		20	0	0
Johnne Strathauchin, reidare at Cluney,		14	13	4 & k. l.

Touch, Tillenessill, Leslie, Fettirneir, Kemnay.

Johnne Strathauchin of Sevydlie, minister,		133	6	8 & k. l.
Johnne Forbes, reidare at Towch,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Mr James Forbes, reidare at Tulinessill,		20	0	0
Johnne Strathauchin, reidare at Lesley, Fettirneir neidis na reidare.		20	0	0
Thomas Gray, reidare at Kemnay,		23	0	0

Keig, Aufurde, Loquhell, Kindrocht.

——, (vacant,) minister, .		66	13	4 & k. l.
Patrik Strathauchin, reidare at Keig,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Johnne Paterson, reidare at Awfurde,		20	0	0
Johnne Marser, reidare at Loquhell,		16	0	0 & k. l.
James Hauy, reidare at Kindrocht,		16	0	0 & k. l.

Cuschny, Forbes, Kerne, Auchindoir, Kinbethok.

Johnne Strathauchin, minister, .		68	0	0 & k. l.
Johnne Forbes, reidare at Cushny,		16	0	0
Alexander Walcar, reidare at Forbes and Kerne, . . .		17	16	8
Gilbert Broun, reidare at Auchindoir,		16	0	0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kinbethok,		16	0	0 & k. l.

Innernauchtie, Glenbuchett, Cabroch, Kildrymmie.

——, (vacant,) minister, .	L.64	13	4	& k. l.
Johnne Baxtair, reidare at Innernauchtie,	16	0	0	
William Couper, reidare at Glenbuchett,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Thomas Cristeson, reidare at Cabroch,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Arthour Hendersoun, reidare at Kildrymmie, . . .	16	0	0	& k. l.

Culquholdstane, Cowll, Kincardin O'Neill, Banquhory Trinitie.

James Reid, minister, (payand his awin reidare,) . . .	120	0	0	& k. l.
David Stewart, reidare at Culquholdstane,	16	0	0	
Williame Bruce, reidare at Cowll,	40	0	0	
Robert Boyd,[1] reidare at Kincardin O'Neill,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Andro Burnet, reidare at Banquhorie Trinitie, . . .	16	0	0	

Crathy, Glenmuk, Abirgardin, Glentanner, Birss, Tullich, Oboyne.

——, (vacant,) minister, . .	80	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Wilson, reidare at Crathy,	16	0	0	
Maister Williame Sandesoun, reidare at Glenmuk and Abirgardin, .	16	0	0	& k. l.
Henrie Middiltoun, reidare at Glentanner,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Andro Hoge, reidare at Birss, .	16	0	0	& k. l.
Laurence Cowtes, reidare at Tullych,	20	0	0	
James Cuschny, reidare at Oboyne,	16	0	0	

Logymar, Tarlane, Migvie, Lumfannane, Echt.

Alexander Youngson, minister, .	75	13	4	
Maister Robert Skene, reidare at Logymair, . .	his awin vicarage.			
James Ros, reidare at Tarlane, .	16	0	0	
Williame Ingrahame, reidare at Migvie,	16	0	0	

[1] In place of "Johnne Forbes," whose name is deleted.

Johnne Michell, reidare at Lumfannane, L.13 6 8
Mr Thomas Strathauchin, reidare at Echt, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Kynarny, Mydmar, Dilmaok, Peterculter.
Johnne Grahame, minister at Dilmaok, (payand the reidare at Dilmaok,) 80 11 1⅓ & k. l.
Johnne Strathauchin, reidare at Kynarny, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Gilbert Johnnestoun, reidare at Midmar, 13 6 8 & k. l.
Alexander Jerard, reidare at Dulmaock, 20 0 0
Alexander Robertsoun, reidare at Petirculter, 16 0 0 & k. l.

New Abirdene.
Maister Johnne Craig, minister, 200 0 0
Walter Cullane, reidare at New Abirdene, 20 0 0

Auld Abirdene.
Maister Alexander Arbuthnot, minister,[1]
Andro Findlason, reidare at Auld Abirdene, 20 0 0

Monycabok.
Alexander Gareauch, reidare at Monycabok, 20 merks.

Commissioner of Abirdene and Banff,
Maister George Hay, 133 6 8

Summa of the money assygnit to the Ministrie within the Diocie of Abirdene, iiij^{m}. lvij li. iij^{s}. v^{d}. 2 pt. d.—Off beir, ix ch., xij b.—Of meill, iiij ch., xv. b., 3 pt. b.

[1] "Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, minister, his stipend, the thriddis of his awin benefices of Arbuthnot and Logybuchane, sustenand his awin Redaris, togidder with the Deniss manss and gleib of Auld Abirdene, the croft of Lochhillis, extending, viz., Logybuchane to j^{c}. vj li. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}., and Arbuthnot to xxxvij li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}."

DIOCIE OF BRECHIN, WITH THE KIRKIS IN THE DIOCYS OF SANCT ANDROIS AND DUNKELD, BETUIX DEE AND FORTH.

Nyg, Mariecultir, Strathauchin.

~~Maister Andro Strathauchin~~[1] minister,	L.86	4	5⅓ & k. l.
Mr Edward Menzes, reidare at Nyg,	20	0	0 & k. l.
Alexander Robertsoun, reidare at Mariecultir,	20	0	0
Johnne Irwing, reidare at Strathauchyn,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Durris *per se.*

Maister Archibald Hog, minister,	29	6	8 & k. l.

Banquhory Devynnik *per se.*

Mr Robert Marser, minister and persone,	34	13	4

Glenbervie *per se.*

Johnne Cristesoun, minister,[2]	102	4	5⅓ & k. l.
Johnne Auchinlek, reidare at Glenbarvye,	20	0	0

Dunnoter, Fetteresso, Benholme.

Maister Andro Myln, minister,	152	12	2⅔ k. l. &c.
Maister Williame Salmound, reidare at Dunnotter,	16	0	0 & k. l.
Archibald Raitt, reidare at Fetteresso,	20	0	0
Mr Williame Elder, reidare at Benholme,	17	15	6⅔

Garvok, Arbuthnet, Bervie, Kynnef, and Caterling.

Alexander Keith, minister,	133	6	8 & k. l.
Robert Myln, reidare at Garvok,	20	0	0
Archibald Watsoun, reidare at Arbuthnot,	16	0	0 & k. l.
James Simsoun, reidare at Kynnef, Bervie, Caterling,	33	6	8

[1] Name deleted in MS.

[2] This entry was afterwards altered in the MS.

Conveth, Fordoun, Fettircarne, Newdosk.

Patrik Boncle, minister, . .	L.160	0	0	& k. l.
Patrik Ramsay, reidare at Conveth, .	30	0	0	& k. l.
David Strathauchin, reidare at Fordoun,	20	0	0	
Johne Thome, reidare at Fettircarne,	16	0	0	& k. l.
David Stratoun, reidare at Newdosk,	20 merks			& k. l.

Eglisgreig, Abirluthnot.

Mr Alexander Allardes, minister,	his awin pensioun, &c.			
Johnne Burnet, reidare at Eglisgreig,	17	15	6⅔	
Thomas Ramsay, reidare at Abirluthnot,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Montrois *per se.*

Maister Thomas Andersoun, minister,	100	0	0
Johnne Batie, reidare at Montrois,	20	0	0

Logymontrois, Pert, Menmure, Ferne.

Maister Williame Gray, minister, (payand his awin reidare of Logymontrois,)	188	15	6⅔	
Johnne Baty, reidare at Logymontrois,	20	0	0	
Maister Andro Elder, reidare at Menmure,	26	13	4	& k. l.
Johnne Wilsoun, reidare at Pert,	16	0	0	
Johnne Wallace, reidare at Ferne,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Strathcathro *per se.*

Maister Paule Fraser, minister, .	63	11	1⅓
Johnne Sym, reidare at Strathcathro,	16	0	0

Dwn, Eglis John.

Maister James Erskin, minister, .	64	6	8
David Falconar, reidare at Dwn and Eglis Johnne, . .	18	13	3⅓

Brechin, Farnwell, Auldbar, Kilmoir, Buttergill, Cuikistoun.

Maister Johnne Hepburne, minister,	202	4	7

Richard Finlasoun, reidare at Brechin, L.18 2 10⅔
Thomas Sewan, reidare at Farnwell, the haill vicarage & k. l.
Andro Ker, reidare at Auldbar, . 20 merks & k. l.

Edzell, Dunloppie, Lethnett, Lochley, Navar.

Maister James Fowlartoun, minister, persone, and vicare, (sustenand his reidare,)	120	0	0	& k. l.
Thomas Ramsay, reidare at Edzell,	20	0	0	
Johnne Sym, reidare at Dunloppie,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Thomas Fowlar, reidare at Lethnett, . . .	16	0	0	
Williame Hay, reidare at Lochley,	16	0	0	
Archibald Erskin, reidare at Navare,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Kerymure, Kincoldrum, Nether Airlie.

David Blak, minister, . .	80	0	0	& k. l.
Abrahame Pyghot, reidare at Kerymure,	20	0	0	
James Steill, reidare at Kincoldrum,	16	0	0	& k. l.
James Spalding, reidare at Nether Airlie,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Cortoquhy, Clova.

James Ogilvy, minister, (sustenand his awin reidare,) . .	106	13	4	& k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Cortoquhy,	20	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Clova, .	16	0	0	& k. l.

Forfar, with Restennot, Kynnetlis, Tannades.

Niniane Clement, minister, .	80	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Guthre, reidare at Forfar and Restennot, . . .	20	0	0	
Alexander Nevay, reidare at Kynnetlis,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Gardin, reidare at Tannades,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Abirlemna, Fynevin, Inneraritie, Kirkbuddo.

David Lindsay of Pettarlie, minister,	133	6	8

Maister Williame Gardin, reidare at Abirlemnay, . . . L.16 0 0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Fynevin, 20 0 0
Thomas Crawmond, reidare at Inneraritie, 16 0 0
David Hawik, reidare at Kirkbuddo, 6 13 4 & k. l.

Dunnichtin, Eidvie, Guthre, Roscoby.
Maister James Balfour, minister, . 133 6 8 & k. l.
Henrie Guthre, reidare at Dunnichtin, 16 0 0 & k. l.
David Guthre, reidare at Eidvie, . 20 0 0
David Arrot, reidare at Guthre, the haill vicarage & k. l.
Williame Gareauch, reidare at Roscoby, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Marytoun, Inchebriock, Lownane, Sanct Skaa.
Richard Mailvile,[1] minister, . 100 0 0
John Mailvile, reidare at Marytoun and Inchebriock, . . . 20 0 0 & k. l.
David Guthre, reidare at Lownane,
Sanct Skaa, or Dunnynaid, neidis na reidare.

Glammis, Essie, Luntrethin, Methie.
Johnne Navay, minister, . 100 0 0 & k. l.
Patrik Lyoun, reidare at Glammis, 53 6 8
Williame Pettillok, reidare at Essie, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Robert Stewart, reidare at Luntrethin, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johne Watsoun,[2] reidare at Methie, 20 0 0

Innerkelour *per se.*
~~Johne Fowlartoun.~~[3] Maister Andro Strathauchin, minister, 2 ch. meill, and 8 b. beir.
Johnne Petcarne, reidare at Innerkelour, 20 0 0

[1] "Deid in Junij 1575, and in his place M. Andro Strathauchan."—*Marg. note.*

[2] Originally Alexander Neve.

[3] Name deleted in MS., and that of Strathauchan substituted.

Abirbrothok, or Sanct Vigians, Athie, Kynnell.				
Maister James Mailvile, minister,	L. 160	0	0	&c.
Thomas Lindsay, reidare at Abirbrothok, or Sanct Vigians,	17	15	6⅔	&c.
David Myln, reidare at Athie,	16	0	0	& k. l.
David Fyff, reidare at Kynnell,	12	0	0	
Barry, Monyfuthe, Murehous.				
Andro Auchinlek, minister,	100	0	0	
Robert Forester, reidare at Barry,	16	0	0	& k. l.
James Luvell, reidare at Monyfuith,	20	0	0	
Williame Oliver, reidare at Murehous,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Arbirlett, Pambryde, Monekie.				
Charles Michelson, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
David Michell, reidare at Arbirlott,	20	0	0	
Robert Mawll, reidare at Pambryde,	16	0	0	
Henrie Greif, reidare at Monekie,	14	0	0	
Dundie, Ballumby.				
Williame Cristeson, minister,[1]	160	0	0	
Williame Kyd, reidare at Dundie,	40	0	0	
Ballumby neidis na reidare.				
Manis, Strathmartyne, Auchterhous, Teilling.				
Alexander Tyrie, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Niniane Cuke, reidare at Manys,	16	0	0	& k. l.
David Tyrie, reidare at Strathmartyn,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Duncane Gray, reidare at Auchterhous,	20	0	0	
Andro Gib, reidare at Teilling,	40	0	0	

1 "Williame Cristeson, minister, his stipend, j°. lx li., to be payit, viz., out of the thrid of the Abbay of Lundoris be the takkismen or parochinaris of the kirk of Dundye as the minister sall cheiss, j°. xxxiii li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. And out of the thrid of the aittis of the Abbay of Lundoris, xiij bollis at xvj^{s}. iij^{d}. the boll. *Inde*, x li. xvj^{s}. viij^{d}. And out of the thrid of Scone, in the baronye of Angus vndir the Bra, xij bollis beir at xx^{s}. the boll. *Inde*, xvj li."

Logy Dundie, Lyff, Invergowrie, Abirnyte, Lundie.

Williame Haitlie, minister,	L.80	0	0	& k. l.
Andro Hany, reidare at Logy Dundie and Lyff,	16	0	0	
Alexander Forbes, reidare at Invergowrie,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Michaell Greig, reidare at Abirnytt,	20	0	0	
George Cochrane, reidare at Lundy,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Banvy, Fowlis, Langforgund.

Nicholl Spittall, minister,	116	0	0	
Johnne Blair, reidare at Banvye,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Patrik Mortimer, reidare at Fowlis,	13	6	8	
Johnne Smyth, reidare at Longforgund, (his auld pension, &c.)				

Erroll, Raitt, Kilspindy.

Maister Alexander Dunmure, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Williame Powry, reidare at Erroll,	30	0	0	& k. l.
Nece Ramsay, reidare at Raitt,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Andro Stewart, reidare at Kilspindy,	20	0	0	

St Madose *per se.*

Maister David Balward, minister, (the haill thrid of his awin personage,)	19	11	1⅓	

Rossy, Inchesture, Kynnarde.

David Robertsoun, minister,	133	6	8	& k. l.
David Cuke, reidare at Rossy,[1]				
James Wichthand, reidare at Inchesture and Kynnarde,	30	0	0	

Kynnowle, Kynfawnis.

Maister Williame Rynd, minister,	100	0	0	&c.

[1] "His stipend his awin pensioun with the thrid of the vicarage of Rossy, out of the Priorie of Sanctandrois, iij li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}."

Robert Rynd, reidare at Kynnowll, L.20 0 0
James Smyth, reidare at Kynfawnis, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Scone, Cambusmichaell, St Martinis Kirk, *alias* Melginche.
Thomas Morison, minister, . 100 0 0
James Petcarne, reidare at Scone, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Walter Murdoch, reidare at Cambusmichaell, . . . 16 0 0 & k. l.
Alexander Gray, (& Johnne Johnnestoun,[1]) reidare at St Martinis Kirk, 20 0 0

Capeth, Lethindie, Cargill.
Maister Williame Edmonstoun, minister, 138 6 8
Johnne Salmond, reidare at Capeth, 20 0 0
Johnne Moreis, reidare at Lethintie, 20 0 0
Williame Drummond, reidare at Cargill, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Lundeif, Rettray, Blair, Kirkmichaell in Strathardill.
Thomas Cruikschank, minister, (payand his awin reidare,) . . 123 13 4 & k. l.
Archibald Hering, reidare at Lundeif, 20 0 0
David Cargill, reidare at Rettray, (the haill vicarage, &c.)
Andro Moncur, reidare at Blair, . 16 0 0 & k. l.
Williame Eviot, reidare at Kirkmichaell or Strathardill, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Alicht, Glen Ilay, Ruthven, Megle.
David Ramsay, minister, . 120 0 0 & k. l.
James Sanderis, reidare at Alicht, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Alexander Macky, reidare at Glen Ilay, 20 0 0
Walter Lindsay,[2] reidare at Ruthven, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Thomas Irwing,[3] reidare at Megle, 16 0 0 & k. l.

[1] Added in the margin.
[2] His name erased, and David Cumyng substituted.
[3] His name erased, and Duncane Murdo substituted.

Bendoquhy, Ketyns, Culless.

James Anderson, minister, .	L.133	6	8	
Robert Drysdaill, reidare at Bendoquhy,	16	0	0	
James Jameson, reidare at Ketyns,	16	0	0	& k. l.
James Thrift, reidare at Culles, .	20	0	0	

Newtyld, Nava.

Maister Robert Boyd, minister,	80	0	0	& k. l.
George Halden, reidare at Newtyld,	20	0	0	
Mathew Moncur, reidare at Nava, (the haill vicarage.)				

The Superintendent of Angus, Mernis, Stermonth, and Gowrie, .	466	13	$9\frac{2}{3}$

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministerie within the boundis of Anguss, Mernis, Gowrie, and Starmonth, iiij^{m}. iij^{c}. liij li. xv^{s}. j^{d}., $\frac{1}{3}$ pt. d.—Off quheit, v ch.—Off beir, xlvj ch., xj b., ij fr., ij pect.—Off meill, lix ch., v b., j fr., $\frac{2}{3}$ pt. pect.—Off aittis, xiij b.

DIOCYS OF DUNKELD AND DUMBLANE, WITH THE KIRKIS THAIROF IN ATHOLL, STARMONTH, STRATHTAY, MENTEITH, AND FOTHRIK. 1574.

Litill Dunkeld, Dowalie, Logyrait, Logyallowy, Mwling.

Maister Alexander Hepburne, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
Duncane Maknair, reidare at Litle Dunkeld, . . .	30	0	0	
Walter Stewart, reidare at Dowalie,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Walter Robertson, reidare at Logyrait,	16	0	0	& k. l.

——, (vacant,) reidare at Logyallowy, (blank.)
Gregore Dougalsoun, *alias* Macgregor, reidare at Muling, (the haill vicarage, &c.)

Cluny, Kilmawenok, Blair in Atholl, Strowane, Lude, Rannoch.

Maister John Bartane, minister,	L.89	6	8	
Johnne Neillis, reidare at Cluny, .	16	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Leslie, reidare at Kilmavenok,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Stewart, (and Thomas Currour,[1]) reidare at Blair in Atholl,	16	0	0	
Duncane Robertsone, reidare at Strowane,	14	17	9⅓	& k. l.
George Makintosche, reidare at Lude,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Patrik Williamsoun, reidare at Rannoch,	20 merks			& k. l.

Inchechaddin, Fothirgill, Dow, Grantuly, Foss, Weyme.

Duncane Makcawlay, minister, .	96	13	4	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Inchechaddin,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Dougall Makgregor, reidare at Fothergill,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Duncane Makclaggan, reidare at Dow, and the pendicles, . .	40	0	0	
Williame Cragy, reidare at Weyme,[2]	16	0	0	& k. l.

Strathphillane, Killin, Ardewnane.

Johnne Makcrocadill, minister, (the haill priorie,) . . .	40	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Strathfillane, (to be paid be the Prior.)				
Duncane Makgregor, *alias* Clerych, reidare at Killyn, . .	15	8	10⅔	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Ardewnane, (the haill personage.)				

[1] Added in the margin.

[2] "The vicarage of Weym to be assignit in the zeir 1575, as vacand, be deceis of Jo^n. Dunkanson."—*Marg. note.*

Balquhidder *per se.*

Johnne Burdoun, minister,	L.40	0	0	& k. l.

Ragortoun, Loncardie.

Andro Colt, minister,	62	2	2⅔	& k. l.
Alexander Moncur, reidare at Loncardie,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Logybryde *per se.*

Maister James Lauder, minister,	40	0	0	

Monydie, Kinclevin, Auchtergavin.

Maister Thomas Makgibboun, minister,	133	6	8	&c.
Alexander Creichtoun, reidare at Monydie,	20	0	0	
Patrik Salmound, reidare at Kinclevin,	22	0	0	
William Creichtoun, reidare at Auchtergavin,	6	13	4	& k. l.

Perth *per se.*

Maister John Row, minister,[1]	200	0	0	&c.
Johne Edmestoun, reidare at Perth,	20	0	0	

Tibbermure, Dippline, Abirdagy, Petcarne.

Alexander Young, minister,	133	6	8	& k. l.
Williame Gibsoun, reidare at Tibbermure,	20	0	0	
Robert Simsoun, *alias* Glook, reidare at Dippline,	26	13	4	
Johnne Moir, reidare at Abirdagy,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Dumberny, Poty, Moncreif, Drone, Abirnethie, Rynd, Eglismagirdill, Arngosk.

Patrik Wemys, minister,	148	17	9⅓	

[1] "Maister Johnne Row, minister, his stipend, ij^{c}. li. with the kirkland, and j ch. quhite aittis thairof out of the thrid of Dumfermeling; be the takismen or parochinaris of Perth, j^{c}. li.; and out of the thrid of the Priorie of the Charter-hous, j^{c}. li. and j ch. aittis."

Andro Dysart, reidare at Dumberny, L.20 0 0
Johnne Wemys, reidare at Abirnethie, 36 13 4 & k. l.
Poty, Moncreif, Drone, neidis na reidaris.
Johnne Petcarne, reidare at Rynd, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Levenax, reidare at Eglismagirdill, ... 20 merks & k. l.
Alexander Wardlaw, reidare at Arngosk, 14 0 0 & k. l.

Methven *per se.*
Maister James Hering, minister and persoun.[1]
Edmond Moncreif, reidare at Methven, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Mukkersy, Forteviot, Forgundeny.
Johnne Row, minister, . . 100 0 0
George Thomsoun, reidare at Mukkarsie, 20 0 0
Patrik Eilstoun, reidare at Forteviot, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Gabriell Creichtoun, reidare at Forgundeny, . . . 19 2 2⅔

Auchterardour, Kinkell, Abirruthven, Dunnyng.
Maister Johne Hammyll, minister, 100 0 0 & k. l.
David Murray, reidare at Auchterardour, 20 merks & k. l.
Alexander Murray, reidare at Kinkell, 20 0 0
Thomas Dunnyng, reidare at Abirruthven, 15 11 1⅓
Johnne Gray, reidare at Dunnyng, 16 0 0

Strogeith, Muthill, Strowane.
Alexander Gaw, minister, . 60 0 0 & k. l.
Andro Drummond, reidare at Strogeith, 20 0 0
Andro Dougall, reidare at Muthill, 16 0 0
James Murray, reidare at Strowane, 20 merks, &c.

[1] The entry is as follows :—"Maister James Hering, minister, and new providit provest and persoun *per se*, his stipend the twa part of his awin provestrie of Methven, payand the reidaris at Methven and Auldbar, extending to vj ch., x b., 2 pt. b. beir, xiij ch., v b., 3 pt. b. meill, and lxxviij li., viij^{s}. v^{d}. money."

Foulis, Madertie, Trinitegask, Findogask.

Williame Melros, minister,	L.80	0	0	&c.
David Murray, reidare at Fowlis,	16	0	0	& k. l.
George Spens, reidare at Madertie,	20	0	0	
Williame Ruthven, reidare at Trinitiegask,	17	5	8	&c.
Thomas Scott, reidare at Findogask,	17	15	6⅔	

Tulichettill, Cumrie, Monyvaird, Monzie, Creiff.

William Drummond, minister,[1]	100	0	0	&c.
Johnne Quheit, reidare at Tullichettill,	16	0	0	& k. l.
~~Duncane Cumry,~~ reidare at Cumry,[2]	16	0	0	&c.
~~Thomas Glas,~~ reidare at Monyvarde,[3]	7	6	8	& k. l.
Williame Scott, reidare at Monzie,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Cristesoun, reidare at Creiff,	16	0	0	

Tuliboill, Fossoquhy, Glendoven, Mukkart, Dolour.

——, (vacant,) minister,	73	15	8	
Johnne Hendersoun, reidare at Tuliboill,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Adam Merschaell, reidare at Fossoquhy,	26	13	4	
Symon Pawtoun, reidare at Glendoven,	14	13	4	& k. l.
Andro Kirk, reidare at Mukkert,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Burn, reidare at Dolour,	13	6	8	& k. l.

Culros, Crummy, Tullialloun.

Johnne Dykis, minister,	133	6	8	& k. l.
Walter Millair, reidare at Culros,	20	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Crummy,	16	0	0	& k. l.

[1] "William Drummond, minister, his stipend, iᶜ. li. with the mans and four akers of land of the gleib of Creiff. To be pait as followis, that is to say, the thrid of the personaige of Creif; *Secundo*, xx li., the thrid of the provestrie of Innerpeffrie and vicaraige of Cumry, xlij li. vjˢ. viijᵈ.; the haill personaige of Creiff *primo* newlie disponit to him, xxvj li. xiijˢ. iiijᵈ.; the thrid of the personaige of Creif, xxxj li. xjˢ. jᵈ. 3 part; and out of the thrid of the bishoprik of Dumblane, be the taxmen or parochinaris of Monzie, viij li. viijˢ. xᵈ. 2 part, and for pament thairof, x bollis meill."

[2] & [3] Names deleted in MS., and marked in margin "Deid."

——, (vacant,) reidare at Tullialloun, L.15 13 4 & k. l.

Clakmannane, Tulibodie, Cambuskynneth, Tillecultrie, Alveth.

——, (vacant,) minister, . . 60 0 0
Patrik Layng, reidare at Clakmannane, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Kempt, reidare at Tulibody, 16 0 0 & k. l.
James Dalmahoy, reidare at Cambuskynneth, (his awin pension, &c.)
Alexander Drysdaill, reidare at Tillecultrie, . . . 16 0 0 & k. l.
Robert Menteith zounger, reidare at Alveth, ... 16 0 0 & k. l.

Kilmadok, Kincardin, Lecrope, Logy.

Alexander Fergy, minister, . 116 5 6⅔
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kilmadok, . 16 0 0 & k. l.
Alexander Anderson, reidare at Kincardin, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Kempt, reidare at Lecrope, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Alexander Balward, reidare at Logy, 20 0 0

Dumblane *per se.*

Robert Menteith, minister, . 80 0 0
Alexander Wratoun, reidare at Dumblane, 20 0 0

Kilbride, Lany, Kilmahug, Callendreth.

Michaell Leirmonth, minister, . . 80 0 0 & k. l.
Alexander Andersoun, reidare at Kilbride, 20 merks & k. l.
Salomon Buchannane, reidare at Lany, 16 0 0
Gilbert Galilie, reidare at Kilmahug, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Williame Scott, reidare at Callendreth, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Abirfull, The Port.

Maister Williame Striveling, minister, 80 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Abirfull, 20 0 0
Andro Dougall, reidare at The Port, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministerie within thir dioceis preceiding, ij^{m}. vj^{c}. lxxx li. x^{s}. j^{d}.—Of beir, xv ch., iiij b., j fr.—Of meill, xxxiij ch., xiij b., iij fr.

Diocie of Sanctandrois, within Fiffe.

Sanctandrois *per se.*

Maister Robert Hamiltoun, minister,[1]	L.200	0	0	&c.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Sanctandrois,[2]	40	0	0	

Carraill *per se.*

Maister Thomas Kynneir, minister,	100	0	0	&c.
Johne Hereis, reidare at Carraill,	20	0	0	

Anstruder, Kilrynnie, Abircrummy.

Maister Williame Clerk, minister,	140	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Johnne Forman, reidare at Anstruder, . . .	20	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Anstruder, reidare at Kilrynnie,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Mr Thomas Zoung, reidare at Abircrummy,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Carnbee, Kilconquhar, Newbirne, Largo.

David Spens, minister, . .	173	6	8	& k. l.
Michaell Ramsay, reidare at Carnbee,	20	0	0	
Williame Bellenden, reidare at Kilconquhar, . . .	44	13	4	
David Baxtar, reidare at Newbirne,[3]	50	0	0	
Maister Thomas Wod, reidare at Largo,	20	0	0	& k. l.

[1] "His stipend, ij^{c}. li. and xxxiiij bollis aittis, to be payit out of the thrid of the Priorie of Sanctandrois."

[2] "His stipend the haill fruitis of the vicaraige, vacand be the deceis of vmq^{le} Mr Adam Heriot."

[3] "The haill vicarage, vacand be deceis of vmq^{le} Sir Robert Mailvile."

Quylt, Kembak, Dunnynno, Kilmany.

Maister Johnne Rutherfurde, minister at Quhylt.
Maister James Martine, minister at Kembak.
Maister Thomas Brown, minister at Dunnynno.
Maister Robert Heindschaw, minister at Kilmany.[1]

Scony, Kennoquhy, Markinche, Mathill.				
Johnne Simsoun, minister,	L.120	0	0	
David Niniane, reidare at Scony,	13	6	8	& k. l.
Alexander Sauchy, reidare at Kennowy,	10	0	0	&c.
Johnne Rantoun, reidare at Markinche,[2]				
Robert Swyne, reidare at Mathill,	13	16	8	& k. l.

Dysart, Kirkcaldy, Wemys.				
George Scott, minister,	189	6	8	
Robert Adamsoun, reidare at Dysert,	16	0	0	
James Murisone, reidare at Kirkcaldy,	20	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Wemys,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Kingorne Eistir, Kingorne Westir, Auchtertuill.				
Maister Thomas Biggare, minister,	173	6	8	
Robert Raitt, reidare at Kingorne Eistir,	20	0	0	
Johnne Broun, reidare at Kingorne Westir,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Williame Thalland, reidare at Auchtertuill,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Innerkething, Rossyth, Torrie.				
Johnne Burne, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
Adam Angill, reidare at Innerkething,	16	0	0	
Williame Lawson, reidare at Torrie,	11	2	2⅔	
George Dury, reidare at Rossyth,	20	0	0	

[1] "The ministrie and redaris of thir kirkis to be sustenit be Sanct Salvatoris College in Sanctandrowis, and to support the same. The said College to have the haill or third of the viccarage of Kilmany not gevin up in rentale."

[2] "His stipend his awin portion of the Priorie of Sanctandrois, with the haill vicaraige of Merkinche, vacand be deceis of vmq^le^ Mr David Mortoun, extending to (blank.")

Abirdour, Dalgatie, Sawling.

Peter Blaikwod, minister, . .	L.	128	8	11
Johnne Patersoun, reidare at Abirdour,		10	0	0
Johnne Brounhill, (in the margin, Johnne Tyrie,) reidaris at Dalgatie, .		16	0	0 & k. l.
Thomas Brown,[1] reidare at Sawling, (the haill vicarage,) 1mo Maij 1575.				

Dunfermling, Carno, Baith.

David Fergussoun, minister,[2] .		200	0	0
Mr Johnne Christesoun, reidare at Dunfermling, . . .		40 merks.		
Richard Broun, reidare at Carno, .		16	0	0 & k. l.
Alexander Stevin, reidare at Baith, .		16	0	0 & k. l.

Kinross, Urwell, Cleische, Portmook.

Maister James Dowy, minister, .		133	6	8
Mr Walter Balfour, reidare at Kinross,		35	6	8
Mr Johnne Guthre, reidare at Urwell,		20	0	0
Johnne Hendersoun, reidare at Cleische,[3]		17	15	6⅔
Williame Balfour, reidare at Portmoak,		17	4	5⅓

Auchterderay, Kinglassie, Leslie.

Maister George Boiswell, minister,		100	0	0
Williame Studeman, reidare at Auchterderay, . . .		20	0	0
Ramsay, reidare at Kynglassie,		25	18	0
Andro Angus, reidare at Leslie, .		16	0	0 & k. l.

[1] In place of James Blaikwode, whose name is deleted.

[2] "David Fergussoun, minister, his stipend, ijc. li., to be payit as fallowis, viz., out of the thrid of Scotlandwell, xiiij b., 3 pt. boll beir, at xxvjs. viijd. *Inde*, xix li. ijs. ijd. 2 pt.; and out of the same thrid, xiiij b., 2 pt. boll meill, at xxs. the boll; *inde*, xiiij li. xijs. iiijd.; and out of the thrid of the Abbay of Dumfermling be the Abbate thairof, takkismen and parons. of Dumfermling, jc. lxvj li. iiijs. vd. 3 pt. d."

[3] "And Johnne Anderson enterit efter the deathe of the uther, 1 Maij 1575."—*Marg. note.*

Ballingarie *per se.*

Maister Alexander Wardlaw, persoun, minister, (sustenand his awin redare,)	L.36	4	0	

Strathmeglo, Lathrisk, Kilgour, Kirkforther.

Alexander Mure, minister,	120	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Scott, reidare at Strathmeglo,	26	13	4	
Johnne Balfoure, reidare at Lathrisk,	22	0	0	& k. l.
David Coupare, reidare at Kilgour,	20	0	0	
David Donaldson, reidare at Kirkforther,	13	6	8	& k. l.

Monymeill, Cullessy, Auchtermuktie, Ebdy.

Mr Alexander Jarden, minister,	160	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Henry Balfoure, reidare at Monymeill,	20	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Kilgour, reidare at Cullessy,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Fairny, reidare at Auchtermuktie,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Thomas Wod, reidare at Ebdy,	19	15	9	& k. l.

Flisk, Creich, Dumbug.

Maister Robert Paterson, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Williame Thomson, reidare at Dumbug,	13	6	8	
Williame Glen, reidare at Flisk,	20	0	0	& k. l.
James Cavy, reidare at Creich,	18	0	0	& k. l.

Couper, Auchtermunsie, Tarbert, Seres.

Maister Williame Layng, minister,	160	0	0	& k. l.
David Frissell, reidare at Couper,	20	0	0	
Williame Greg, reidare at Auchtermunsie,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Lindsay, reidare at Seres,	20	15	2⅔	& k. l.

Tarvett neidis na reidare.

Lucheris, Forgound.

Johnne Ure, minister,	L.	100	0	0
Johnne Flegeour, reidare at Lewquhiris,		15	11	1⅓
Maister Andro Bennat, reidare at Forgound,		20	0	0 & k. l.

Balmerinauch, Logymurtho.

Mr Patrik Auchinlek, minister,	80	0	0
Henrie Leiche, reidare at Logymurtho,	19	13	4

Dersie *per se.*

Peter Ramsay, minister, (his awin pensioun.[1])

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministerie within Fyfe, ij^{m}. iij^{c}. xlviij li. xviij^{s}. ix^{d}. 2 pt. d.—Of beir, viij ch., iij b., i fr., ij pect, 3 pt. pect.—Of meill, xj ch., vj b., iij fr., i pect.

Merss & Lowthiane.

The Chapell Royall, or the Kingis Hous.

Johnne Duncanesoun, minister,	205	5	2⅔
Richard Wricht, reidare at the Chapell Riall,	20	0	0

Parroche Kirk of Striveling.

Mr Robert Montgomerie, minister,	200	0	0 & k. l.
David Eilleis, reidare at paroche kirk of Striveling,	20	8	10⅔

[1] "His awin pensioun furth of the priorie of Sanctandrois, with the thrid of the vicarage of Dersy, extending to xliiij^{s}. v^{d}. 3 pt. d."

Sanct Ninianis Kirk, Larbar, Donypace, Kippane, and Kirk of Muir.

Patrick Gillespik, minister, .	L.	117	6	8 & k. l.
Alexander Zuill, reidare at Sanct Ninianes Kirk, . . .		20	0	0
Williame Darroch (and David Dickson,[1]) reidare at Kirk of Mwir, .		16	13	4 & k. l.
Alexander Robesoun, reidare at Donypace and Larbar, . .		40 merkis & k. l.		
Williame Stirling, reidare at Kyppane,		16	0	0 & k. l.

Falkirk, Airth, Bothkennair.

Androw Fostare, minister, .	133	6	8
Alexander Cuthbert, reidare at Falkirk,	20	0	0
David Cristesoun, reidare at Arth,	17	6	2 & k. l.
Johnne Hammiltoun, reidare at Bothkennair, . . .	16	0	0

Slamannan *per se*.

Richard Flemyng, minister, .	56	13	4

Lynlychtqw, Kynneill, Carriddin, Bynne.

Patrick Kendloquhy, minister, .	145	2	2⅔
Petir Hammiltoun, reidare at Kynneill,	20	0	0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Lynlychtqw.			
Mr John Lesley, reidare at Carriddin,	40	0	0 & k. l.

Kirknewtoun, Ratho, Gogar.

Maister James Hammiltoun, minister,	118	0	4
Johnne Tod, reidare at Kirknewtoun,[2]			
Robert Fynne, reidare at Ratho, .	20	2	2⅔
Johnne Coiss, reidare at Gogar, .	22	4	5⅓

Kirklistoun, Caldercleir, Strabrok.

Maister Williame Strang, minister,	100	0	0 & k. l.

[1] Added in margin.

[2] "The haill vicaraige pensionarie."

George Spens, reidare at Kirklistoun,	L.18	4	5⅓	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Caldercleir,	12	17	9⅓	& k. l.
Duncane Walcar, reidare at Strabrok,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Calder Comitis *per se.*

Mr Johnne Spottiswod, persoun, vicair, and minister,[1] . .	68	8	9⅓	&c.

Dummany, Aldcathie, Abircorne, Crawmond.

George Lundye, minister, .	146	13	4	& k. l.
Richard Browne, reidare at Dummanye, Aldcathie neidis na reidare.	20	0	0	
James Mowbray, reidare at Abircorne,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Williame Cornwell, reidare at Crawmond,	31	2	2⅔	& k. l.

Bathcatt, Levingstoun, Torphichin.

Mr Robert Hodge, minister, .	80	0	0	& k. l.
Johne Hamiltoun, reidare at Bathcatt,	26	13	4	
Alexander Borthwik, reidare at Levingstoun, . . .	16	6	8	& k. l.
Walter Mure, (1st May 1575, James Johnnestoun,) reidare at Torphichen,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Eccleismachame *per se.*

Mr Johne Mowbray, persoun, vicair, and minister, .	34	2	0	&c., &c.

Curry, Haillis, St Catherins in the Howpis.

Mr Adam Letham, minister, .	100	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Blak, reidare at Curry, .	20	0	0	
Androw Robesoun, reidare at Haillis,	13	10	7⅓	& k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Sanct Katherinis in Howpis, . . .	12	0	0	& k. l.

[1] "Mr Johne Spottiswood, persoun, vicar, and minister, his stipend the thrid of his awin personage and vicarage thairof, extending to—2 bolls beir, 8⅔ bolls aittis."

St Cuthbertis Kirk, Corstorphin.

Maister Robert Pont, and Williame Harlaw, ministeris,[1] . .	L.67	18	8	
	100	0	0	& k. l.

Edinburgh.

Maister James Lowson, Johnne Dury, Mr Waltir Balcanquell, } Ministeris sustenit be the Toun.

Johnne Cairnis, reidare their, sustenit be the Toun.

Halyruidhous, Dudingstoun, Castell of Edinburgh.

Johne Brand, minister,[2] .	200	0	0	&c.
Alexander Thomsoun, reidare at Halyruidhous, (to be paid be the Cannogaitt.)				
Maister Niniane Hammiltoun, reidare at Dudingstoun, . . .	38	13	4	k. l. &c.

Leith and Restalrig.

Maister David Lyndesay, minister,[3]	200	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Moresoun, reidare at Leith,	20	0	0	

[1] "Maister Robert Pont and Williame Harlaw, ministeris. The stipend of the said Williame, i^{c}. li. with the kirkland of Sanct Cuthbertis Kirk, for payment quhairof, the haill vicarage of Sanct Cuthbertis newlie provydit, xxxiii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}., and out of the kirk of Halyruidhous, be the taxmen or parochinaris of Sanct Cuthbertis kirk, lxvi li. xiii^{s}. iv^{d}."

"The stipend of the said Mr Robert, lxvii li. xviii^{s}. viii^{d}. to be payit as fallowis, viz., the rest of the lxxx li. assignit of befoir out of the thrid of Halyruidhous, xiii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}. And the stipend assignit of befoir out of the same Abbay to the reidare at Corstorphin, xiii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.; out of the rest of the stipend appointed of befoir to the minister and reidare at Libertoun, xiiii li. xii^{s}.; and be the Bischop of Orknay of his awin benevolence, xxvi li. xiii^{s}. iv^{d}."

[2] "Johne Brand, minister, his stipend, ii^{c}. li. with xii b. aittis, to be pait as followis, viz., out of the third of Halyruidhous, i^{c}. li. and xii b. aittis, and be the parochinaris of Halyruidhous, xxxiii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}. out of the kirk of Kelso, be the taxmen of the kirk or fewaris of the landis of Dudingstoun, xl li., and for the remanent xl merkis, eiket in respect of the service and ministration at the Castell of Edinburgh, out of the thrid of the personage of Stobo, ij ch. meill."

[3] "Mr David Lyndesay, minister, his stipend, ii^{c}. li. to be pait as followis, [viz.,] the third of the personage of Restalrig, lxxxii li. viii^{s}. x$\frac{2}{3}$d. with the four akeris of kirkland; and out of the third of the Abbay of Hadingtoun, xxviii li. xiiii^{s}. iv^{d}. money; and out of the same third, ii ch., iiii b., ii fi., ii p^{tis} beir, at twa merkis the boll; and xl b. meill, at xx^{s}. the boll."

Libertoun *per se.*

Maister Thomas Cranstoun, minister, L.66 13 4 & k. l.

Pentland, Pennycwik, Montlowthyane.

Williame Barbour, minister, and supportair at Leswaid, . . 67 6 6⅓ &c.
John Browne, reidare at Pentland, 15 11 1⅓ & k. l.
George Taitt, reidare at Pennycwik, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johne Barbour, reidare at Montlowthyan, 12 10 0 & k. l.

Newbotill, Malvile.

Robert Wilsoun, minister, . 100 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Newbotle, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Malvile neidis na reidare.

Dalkeith, Lesuaid, Glencors.

Maister Thomas Douglas, minister, 64 4 5⅓ &c., &c.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Dalkeith, 14 6 8
Lancelot Gibsoun, reidare at Glencors, 20 merkis & k. l.
(*Nom.* Williame Barbour is reidare at Lessuaid.)

Cokpen, Caringtoun, Clerkingtoun, Tempill.

Williame Knox, minister, . 123 6 8 & k. l.
James Roch, reidare at Cokpen, . 16 0 0
James Hopkirk, reidare at Caringtoun, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Maister Thomas Marjoribankis, reidare at Clerkingtoun, . . 16 17 9⅓ & k. l.
Williame Hutsoun, reidare at Tempill, 40 merkis & k. l.

Heriot, Borthwik, Stow.

Maister John Bennett, minister, . 125 8 10⅔
Robert Paterson, reidare at Heriot, 16 0 0 & k. l.
James Gibsoun, reidare at Borthwik, (with manse and glebe,) . 20 0 0
Williame Hessilhoip, reidare at Stow, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Ormestoun, Saltoun, Pencaitland, Keith Merschell, Keith Humbie.

Androw Symsoun, minister,[1] .	L.	126	13	4
——, (vacant,) reidare at Ormestoun,		11	2	2⅔
Robert Alane, reidare at Saltoun, .		16	13	4 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Pencaitland,		20	0	0
James Gothray, reidare at Keith Merschell,		16	13	4 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Keith Humbye,		20	0	0

Inneresk, Natoun, Cranstoun.

Mr Androw Blakhall, minister,[2] .		126	13	4
Edward Leyn, reidare at Inneresk,		20	0	0
Laurence Watsoun, reidare at Natoun,		10	0	0
James Murray, reidare at Cranstoun,		20	0	0

Creichtoun, Sowtray, Fawlay.

Maister Adam Johnnestoun, minister,		133	6	8
——, (vacant,) reidare at Creichtoun,		20	0	0
Thomas Kernis, reidare at Sowtray,		20 merks & k. l.		
——, (vacant,) reidare at Fawlay,		20	0	0

Tranent, Seitoun, Abirladie.

Alexander Forrestair, minister, . .		173	6	8
David Kilgowir, reidare at Tranent,		20	0	0
Thomas Raith, reidare at Seitoun,		20	0	0 & k. l.
George Adamesoun, reidare at Abirlady,		20 merks & k. l.		

[1] "Andro Symsoun, minister, his stipend i^{c}. xxvi li. xiii^{s}. iv^{d}. to be payit as followis, viz., The haill prebendarie of the Trinitie Colledge, sumtyme perteining to Sir George Maxwell. The prebendarie quhilk pertenit to vmq^{le} Sir Johnne Lynlytqw of the same kirk, xiii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}., and out of the third of Drybur^{t}, be the taxmen or parochinaris of Pencaitland, lv li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}., and out of the third of the same Abbay, be the taxmen or parochinaris of Saltoun, ~~(This wald be speciallie designit, becaus thair is na mair restand of Saltoun Kirk, bot merkis,)~~ by Sr Androw Hageis pension, and by the Reidaris stipends, xiii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}., and fra the takismen of the kirkland of the same vii li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}., and fra Walter Ker of Littillden out of the third of the same Abbay furth of the teyndis of Rutherfurd and Half Maxtoun xx b. meill for xxiiij li."

[2] "Mr Androw Blakhall, minister, his stipend i^{c}. xxvi li. xiii^{s}. iv^{d}., to be pait as followis, viz., His awin vicarage of Cranstoun newlie disponit to him xxvi. li. xiii^{s}. iv^{d}., and out of the third of Dunfermling i^{c}. lib."

North Berwick, Gulane, Aldhame, Bass, Quhyitkirk.

Maister Thomas M'Gee, minister,	L.133	6	8	& k. l.
Robert Lawder, reidare at North Berwick,	20	0	0	
George Halyburtoun, reidare at Gulane,	16	0	0	& k. l.
James Reid, reidare at Quhyitkirk,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Bass and Aldhame neidis na reidaris.

Prestoun Kirk *per se.*

Maister George Hepburne, minister, persone, and vicare, (the haill third of his benefice,) . . .	77	15	6⅔	
David Hepburne, reidare at Prestoun, (his stipend to be paid be the persoun.)				

Tynninghame, Quhittinghame, Stentoun.

Williame Sandrissoun, minister,	121	2	2⅔	& k. l.
Cuthbert Forrest, reidare at Tynninghame, ...	13	13	4	
Thomas Frude, reidare at Quhittinghame,	16	13	4	
Thomas Daill, reidare at Stentoun,	41	2	2⅔	

Hadingtoun, Boltoun, Elstanefurd, St Martinis Kirk in Nungaitt.

Maister James Carmichaell, minister,	160	0	0	
Robert Boncle, reidare at Haddingtoun, with St Martinis Kirk, .	the haill vicarage.			
Williame Balfour, reidare at Boltoun,	17	0	0	& k. l.
Johne Auchinlek, reidare at Elstanefurd,	16	13	4	

Bothanis, Garvett, Barro, Moirhame.

Johne Moresone, minister, . .	100	0	0	& k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Bothanis,	16	17	8⅔	
Patrik Galbraith, reidare at Garvett,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Laurence Burgh, reidare at Barro,	17	15	6⅔	& k. l.
Johnne Quhyit, reidare at Morehame,	16	13	4	& k. l.

Dumbar *per se.*

Maister Androw Symsoun, minister,	L.133	6	8	& k. l.
Williame Kellis, reidare at Dumbar,	20	0	0	

Spott *per se.*

Johne Malvile, minister,	74	4	5⅓	

Inverwick *per se.*

Michaell Boncle, minister, (with the manse and glebe,)	40	0	0	

Aldhamstockis, Colbranispeth, Aldcammos.

David Home, minister, (payand his awin reidare,)	186	13	4	
Alexander Lawder, reidare at Aldhamstockis,	20	0	0	
Thomas Harlaw, reidare at Colbranispeth,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Wod, reidare at Aldcammos,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Coldinghame, Aitoun, Lammertoun.

Williame Lamb, minister,	120	0	0	& k. l.
David Forsyith, reidare at Coldinghame,	20	0	0	
Johnne Flynt, reidare at Aitoun,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Thomas Jane, reidare at Lammertoun,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Fowlden, Chernsyid, Boncle, Prestoun.

Maister George Ramsay, minister,	88	4	4	& k. l.
Williame Crumby, reidare at Fowlden,	20	0	0	
Niniane Forman, reidare at Chirneside,	12	13	4	& k. l.
Williame Sinclair,[1] reidare at Boncle and Prestoun,	22	0	0	& k. l.

Hutoun, Hornden, Lanell, Upseptlington.

Johnne Clapperton, minister,	100	0	0	& k. l.

[1] In place of Thomas Frude, whose name is deleted.

George Symsoun, reidare at Hutoun,	L.16	0	0	& k. l.
James Ros, reidare at Horneden,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Johne Lychtbodie, reidare at Lanell,	20	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Upseptlingtoun,	15	16	8	

Eddrem, Duns, Langtoun, Fogo, Polwart.

Patrik Galt, minister,	133	6	8	& k. l.
Williame Carreill, reidare at Edrem,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Johne Straquhyn, reidare at Duns,	18	4	5⅓	
Johne Leche, reidare at Langtoun,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Donald Balfour, reidare at Fogo,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Bell, reidare at Polwort,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Mordingtoun, Langfarmacus.

Robert Dowglas, minister, (the haill fruitis, &c.,)	21	0	0	

Cranschawis, Ellem, St Bothanis.

Mathow Liddaill, minister,	55	1	1⅓	& k. l
——, (vacant,) reidare at Cranschawis,	11	13	4	& k. l.
Robert Flynt, reidare at Ellem,	21	2	2⅔	
Nicoll Syddie, reidare at St Bothanis,	15	14	1⅓	

Hiltoun *per se.*

——, (vacant,) minister, (the haill personage,)	24	0	0	

Fischweik, Swyntoun, Quhitsum, Sempreyn.

Androw Wynsister, minister,	53	6	8	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Fischweik,	20	0	0	
Johne Forret, reidare at Swyntoun,	(blank.)			
Schir Hew Hutsoun, reidare at Quhytsum,	20	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Seympreyn,	1 ch. victuale, &c.			

Home, Stitchell, Gordoun, Eccleis, Greynlaw.

Robert Franche, minister, (with the glebe,)	86	13	4	& k. l.

Charles Home, reidare at Home, .	L.	16	0	0 & k. l.
Williame Hwid, reidare at Stitchell,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Archibald Fairbarne, reidare at Gordoun,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Williame Cowtis, reidare at Eccleis,		20 merks.		
Williame Fraser, reidare at Gyrnlaw,		16	0	0

Bassenden, Lidgertwod, Ersiltoun.

Maister Niniane Borthwick, minister,		66	13	4 & k. l.
Androw Currie, reidare at Bassenden,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Robert Paterson, reidare at Lidgertwod,		16	0	0 & k. l.
James Flabarne, reidare at Ersiltoun,		20	0	0

Lawder, Chingilkirk.

William Frank, minister, .		66	13	4
——, (vacant,) reidare at Lawder,		20	0	0 &c.
Johne Charles, reidare at Chingilkirk,		16	0	0 & k. l.

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministrie within Mers and Lowthiane, with Linlithqw and Strivilingschire, fra the toun eist, v^{m}. j^{c}. lxxix li. xj^{s}. ij^{d}.—Of quheit, (blank.)—Of beir, xvij ch., xv b., iij frs., 1 pect, 2 pt. pect.—Of meill, xvj ch., vij b., iij frs., iij pect, 2 pt. pect.—Of aittis, (blank.)

Diocie of Glasgw in Teviodaill, the Forest of Ettrick and Tweddaill, primo May 1575.

Kelso, Ednem, Makcarstoun, Nanethern.

Maister Paule Knox, minister, .		133	6	8 & k. l.
Adam Clerk, reidare at Kelso, .		20	0	0
John Brounside, reidare at M'cairstoun,		6	0	0

William Ormistoun, reidare at Nanetharne,	L.	16	0	0 & k. l.
Thomas Aikin, reidare at Ednem,		16	0	0

Sproustoun, Maxwell, Lempetlaw.

——, (vacant,) minister,		80	0	0 & k. l.
Andro Haistie, reidare at Sprowstoun,		16	0	0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Maxwell,		16	0	0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Lempetlaw,		16	0	0 & k. l.

Mow, Zettame, Lintoun, Morbottle, Hownum.

——, (vacant,) minister, (sustenand his awin reidare,[1])		221	6	8
——, (vacant,) reidare at Mow,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Thomas Turnet, reidare at Zettame,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Thomas Moffet, reidare at Lyntoun and Morbottle,		26	13	4
——, (vacant,) reidare at Hownum,		16	0	0 & k. l.

Ancrum, Auld Roxburgh, Ekfurde, Bedroule, Abbotroule.

Maister George Johnnestoun, minister,		80	0	0 &c.
James Johnnestoun, reidare at Ancrum,		20	0	0
Thomas Ker, reidare at Auld Roxburgh,	(the haill vicarage.)			
Johnne Clark, reidare at Ekfurde,	the haill vicarage.			
——, (vacant,) reidare at Bedroule,		20	0	0
——, (vacant,) Abbotroule,		20 merkis.		

Mertoun, Maxtoun, Lessudden, Smailhame.

——, (vacant,) minister,		66	13	4
Robert Myln, reidare at Mertoun,		16	0	0 & k. l.
Williame Ainslie, reidare at Maxtoun,		16	0	0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Lessudden,		16	0	0 & k. l.

[1] "His stipend the haill Archideanrye of Teviotdaill, quhilk is the personage and vicarage of Morbottill, extending to ij^{c}. xxj li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. sustenand his awin redare."

Thomas Makenno, reidare at Smailhame, L.16 0 0 & k. l.

Jedburgh, Oxnem, Nisbett, Craling, Suddoun.

Maister Andro Clayhillis, minister,	160	0	0	& k. l.
Williame Johnnestoun, reidare at Jedburgh,	20	0	0	
James Anyslie, reidare at Oxnem,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Johnne Ker, reidare at Nisbett and Craling,	20	0	0	
Johnne Douglas, reidare at Suddoun,	13	6	8	

Minto *per se.*

Maister Williame Makgowin,[1]

Hawik, Kirktoun, Weltoun, Hassinden, Caveris.

Maister Williame Achmowty, minister,	153	6	8	& k. l.
Henry Scott, reidare at Hawik,	10	8	10⅔	
Maister George Douglas, reidare at Kirktoun,	13	6	8	
Johnne Langlandis, reidare at Wiltoun,[2]	20 merks & k. l.			
Johnne Scott, reidare at Hassinden,	20	0	0	
Williame Slewman, reidare at Caveris,	16	0	0	

Bowden, Lillisleif, Langnewtoun, Melros.

Thomas Dunkesoun, minister, (sustenand the twa reidaris,)	160	0	0	& k. l.
Mr Robert Ker, reidare at Bowden,	20	0	0	
Archibald Simsoun, reidare at Lillisleif,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Eduard Dikson, reidare at Langnewtown,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Thomas Halywell, reidare at Melros,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Lyndein *per se.*

Williame Ker, minister at Lyndene, 40 0 0

[1] "His stipend the parsonage and vicarage of Mynto, with the kirkland newlie disponit, extending to (blank.)"

[2] "His stipend the haill vicarage, vacand be demissioun of Mr Thomas Westoun."

Askirk, Selkirk, St Marie Kirk of Lowis, alias Forest Kirk, New Kirk of Ettrick, Rankilburne.

Maister Johne Scott, minister, .	L.80	0	0
James Scott, reidare at Askirk, .	20	0	0
George Cunynghame, reidare at Selkirk,[1]	22	4	5⅓

Cassiltoun, Eddiltoun,—(vacant,) . (blank.)

Tracquair, Innerlethane, Hopcalzo.

——, (vacant,) minister, .	63	6	8 & k. l.
Mr Alexander Tait, reidare at Tracquair,	20 merks & k. l.		
Patrik Sandesoun, reidare at Innerlethane and Hopcalzo, . . .	22	4	5⅓ & k. l.

Peiblis, Maner.

Maister Archibald Douglas, minister,[2]	200	0	0
Maister Williame Levingstoun, reidare at Peiblis, . .	20	0	0 & k. l.
Hector Cranstoun, reidare at Maner,	20 merks & k. l.		

Stobo, Glenquhome, Drummelzair, Brochtoun, Dawik.

James Stewart, minister, (sustenand his reidare,) . . .	73	6	8
Thomas Neilsoun, reidare at Stobo,	20	0	0 & k. l.
Walter Tuedy, reidare at Glenquhome and Brochtoun, . .	37	15	6⅔
Thomas Bissait, reidare at Drummelzair and Dawik, . .	37	6	8

Lyne, Eddilstoun.

——, (vacant,) minister, (payand his reidare,)	60	0	0 & k. l.
Patrik Grintoun, reidare at Lyne,	20 merks.		
Adam Dikkesoun, reidare at Eddilstoun,	16	0	0 & k. l.

[1] In place of Mr Johnne Scott, whose name is deleted.

[2] "His stipend the haill Archideanrie of Glasgow, quhilk is the Kirk of Peblis and Manner newlie disponit to him, extending to ii^{c}. li., sustenand his reidaris *vt infra*."

Kirkurde, Lintoun, Newlandis.

Maister Archibald Douglas, minister,	L.50	0	0
Richard Weir, reidare at Kirkurde,	20	0	0
Adam Culquhoun, reidare at Lyntoun,	14	7	4
Johnne Thomsoun, reidare at Newlandis,	20 merks & k. l.		

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministrie within the boundis of Teviotdaill and Tweddell, j^{m}. ii^{c}. xlvi li. xix^{s}. vi^{d}. 2 pt. d.—Of beir, iiij ch., viii b.—Of meill, xiiii ch., ii b., ii fr., i pect, 3 pt. pect.

Cliddisdaill, Renfrow, and Levenax.

Biggar, Lamyngtoun, Hartside, Culter, Kilbocho, Symontoun.

Niniane Hall, minister,	114	13	4 & k. l.
David Makkie, reidare at Biggar,	20	0	0
Johnne Lindesay, reidare at Lamyngtoun and Hartside,	22	4	5⅓
Williame Millair, reidare at Culter,	16	0	0 & k. l.
Andro Jarden, reidare at Kilbocho,	16	0	0 & k. l.
Johnne Lindesay, reidare at Symontoun,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Covintoun, Pettynane, Thankertoun.

Robert Fischear, minister,	53	6	8 & k. l.
Maister James Lindesay, reidare at Covintoun,	20 merks & k. l.		
Robert Scott, reidare at Pettynane,	20 merks.		
Johnne Spalding, reidare at Thankertoun,	8	17	9⅓ & k. l.

Douglas, Carmichaell, Wistoun, Robertoun.

Johnne Leverance, minister, (payand the reidare,)	100	0	0 & k. l.

Thomas Carnbarnis, reidare at Douglas, primo Maij 1575, . . L.16 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Leverance zounger, reidare at Carmichaell, . . . 16 0 0
Williame Robisoun, (Johnne Frazer, primo Maij 1575,) reidare at Wistoun, 17 2 2⅔
Robert Allane, reidare at Robertoun, the haill vicarage.

Craufurd Douglas alias Lyndsay, Craufurd Johnne.
Maister Williame Levingstoun, minister, 52 10 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Craufurde Lindesay, . . . 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Craufurd Johnne, . . . 15 11 1⅓

Libertoun, Cothquen.
Maister James Hammiltoun, minister, 48 0 0
George Mosman, reidare at Libertoun, primo Maij 1575, . . 16 0 0 & k. l.
James Wauch, reidare at Cothquen, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Welstoun, Dolphintoun, Dunsire, Scraling.
Thomas Lindesay, minister, . 66 13 4
James Smetoun, reidare at Welstoun, 16 0 0
Adam Broun, reidare at Dolphingtoun, 20 merks & k. l.
James Kady, reidare at Dunsire, . 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Scraling, 6 13 4

Carnweth *per se.*
Thomas King, minister, . . 33 6 8

Ca[r]staris *per se.*
~~James Striveling,~~[1] minister, . 105 12 0
Johnne Kynnard, reidare at Carstairis, 30 0 0

[1] Name deleted.

Lanerk, Forest Kirk, alias Carlowik.

Maister James Raitt, minister,	L.106	6	8
James Fothringhame, reidare at Lanerk,	20	0	0
David Forest, reidare at Forest Kirk, alias Carlowk,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Lesmahago *per se.*

Maister Robert Lindsay, minister,	46	13	4

Strathaven, Stanehous, Glasfurde.

——, (vacant,) minister,	51	15	6⅔ & k. l.
Johnne Andersoun, reidare at Strathaven,[1]	22	13	4
Maister Alexander Hammiltoun, reidare at Stanehous,	20 merks & k. l.		
Thomas Makcasky, reidare at Glasfurde,	13	6	8 & k. l.

Hammiltoun, Dalserf, Cambuslayng, Blantyre.

Maister John Davidson,[2] minister,	133	6	8
Robert Ra, reidare at Hammyltoun,	22	4	5⅓
Andro Hammiltoun, reidare at Dalserf,	16	0	0 & k. l.
Maister James Lindsay, reidare at Cambuslayng,	20	0	0 & k. l.
Johnne Hammiltoun, reidare at Blantyre,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Cadder, Monkland, Lenze.

Maister David Cunnynghame, minister,	133	6	8
Johnne Uchtir, reidare at Cadder,	16	0	0 & k. l.
David Hammyltoun, reidare at Monkland,	20	0	0
Niniane Drew, reidare at Lenze,	16	0	0 & k. l.

[1] "Not to be extractit without the Commissioneris admission."—*Marg. note.*

[2] "Maister Johnne Davidson, minister, his stipend, j°. xxxiij li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}., with the Kirkland of Hammyltoun, to be pait as followis; that is to say, out of the thrid of the Deinrie of Glasgw, lxxxij li. xj^{s}. j^{d}. 3 pt. d.; and out of the thrid of the Priorie of Blantyre xxvij li. xv^{s}. vj^{d}. 2 pt. d. And for the rest, extending to xxiij lib. xviij b., 2 pt. b. meill, out of the thrid of the personage of Cambuslayng."

Boithuile, Schottis, Cambusnethane, Dalzell.

Maister John Hammiltoun, minister, (payand the reidare of the Schottis,)	L.222	0	0	
Mungo Baxtar, reidare at Boithuile,	6	13	4	
Thomas Hammiltoun, reidare at Schottis,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Williame Nasmyth, reidare at Cambusnethane,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Ker, reidare at Dalzell, (the haill vicarage.)				

Glasgw *per se.*

Maister David Wemys, minister,[1]	200	0	0	
Williame Strutheris, reidare at Glasgw,	20	0	0	

Kilbride, Torrens, Curmannok, Egleschame.

Maister Johnne Colvile, minister,[2]	200	0	0	
Maister Alexander Lindsay, reidare at Kilbride and Torrens,	20	0	0	
Johnne Rammaige, reidare at Curmannok,	24	0	0	& k. l.
Maister Patrik Wodruif, reidare at Egleschame,	20 merks			& k. l.

Eistwod, Ruthirglen, Cathcart.

Mr Thomas Jak, minister,	66	13	4	& k. l.
Thomas Knox, reidare at Eistwod,[3]	26	13	4	
Archibald Eglintoun,[4] reidare at Ruthirglen,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Mathew Wylie, reidare at Cathcart,	16	0	0	& k. l.

[1] "His stipend iic. li. to be payit be the Persone of Glasgow, according to the contract maid betuix thame thairvpoun."

[2] "His stipend the haill chantorye of Glasgow and thrid of the pensioun furth of the same, and to pay his awin reidare at Kilbryde, extending to iic. li."

[3] "Thomas Knox, reidare at Eistwod, his stipend xxvj li. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. In respect he wes ane exhortar of auld, to be pait out of the thrid of the Abbay of Paislay."

[4] In place of Maister Robert Harbertson, whose name is deleted.

Paislay, Neilstoun, Kilbarchane, Mernys.

Mr Patrik Adamson,[1] minister, Mr Andro Polwart, minister,	L.200	5	0	
Maister Williame Makfingoun, reidare at Paislay,	20	0	0	
Robert Arthour, reidare at Neilstoun,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Alexander Cunynghame, reidare at Kilbarchane,	26	13	4	
James Doby, reidare at Mernys,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Renfrew, Govane, Inchechynnane.

Maister Andro Hay, minister,	200	0	0	
Williame Jaksoun, reidare at Renfrew,	20	0	0	
James Gibsoun, reidare at Govane,	24	0	0	
Bernard Peiblis, reidare at Inchechynnane,	20	0	0	

Kilmacolme, Lochquhinzeoch.

James Craw, minister,	80	0	0	
Robert Maxwell, reidare at Kilmacolme,	16	0	0	
Niniane Sempill, reidare at Lochquhinzeoch,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Innerkip *per se.*

George Thomsoun, minister,	33	6	8	

Erskin, Houstoun.

James Hill, minister,	133	6	8	
Robert Simpill, reidare at Erskin,	13	6	8	
David Hall, reidare at Houstoun,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Killellane *per se.*

Robert Cuke, minister,	40	0	0	

[1] Mr Patrik Adamson appears to have been succeeded as minister of Paisley, in 1575, by Mr Andro Polwart: on the margin is added, "Na assignation to be extractit to Mr Andro Polwart quhill Martimes 1575."

Dumbertane, Cardros.

Edward Cusak, minister, .	L.104	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Flattisbury, reidare at Dumbertane, . . .	20	0	0	
Andro Robison, reidare at Cardros,	10	0	0	&c.

Rosneith, Kilmahew, Bullull.

Malcolme Stevinsoun, minister, .	40	0	0	& k. l.
Niniane Galt, reidare at Rosneyth,	16	13	4	& k. l.
Adam Huchesoun, reidare at Kilmahew,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Luss *per se.*

Maister Williame Chirnside, minister, (sustenand his awin reidare,) .	173	6	8	
James Layng, reidare at Luss, .	20	0	0	

Kilmaronnok, Inchecalzeoch, Drymmen, Bofron, Killerne.

Johnne Portarfeld, minister, .	133	6	8	& k. l.
George Makgilleishe, reidare at Kilmaronnock, (the haill vicarage.)				
Duncane Erroll, reidare at Inchecalzeoch,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Neill Menteith, reidare at Drymmen,	16	0	0	& k. l.
William Russell, reidare at Balfron,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Johne Naper of Ballykynrane, reidare at Killerne, . . .	15	11	$1\frac{1}{3}$	& k. l.

Monyabroch *per se.*

Alexander Levingstoun, minister.[1]

Campsy, Fintry, Strablane.

Johnne Stodert, minister, .	66	13	4	& k. l.
David Flemyng, reidare at Campsy,	22	4	$5\frac{1}{3}$	

[1] "His stipend the hale thrid of the personage and vicarage of Monyabroch, extending to iij ch., v bollis, and 3 part boll meill, and the thrid of the vicarage pensionary of Monyabroch, iij li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}."

George Watsoun, reidare at Fintrie, L.26 13 4
Johnne Cuke, reidare at Strablane, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Kirkpatrik, Bothernok.
John Andersoun, minister, 66 13 4 & k. l.
Williame Hammiltoun, reidare at Kirkpatrik, 53 6 8
John Landellis, reidare at Bothernok, 17 15 6⅔

Commissioner of Cliddisdaill, Rainfrew, and Levenax,
Maister Andro Hay, 133 6 8

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministrie within the boundis of Cliddisdaill, Ranfrew, and Levinox, iij^{m}. iij^{c}. xxxvj li. viij^{s}. x^{d}. 2 pt. d.—Of beir, vj ch., ij b., ij fr., iij ⅔ pect.—Of meill, xxij ch., xv b., j fr., ij pect.

Kyle, Carrik, Cunninghame.

Largis, Kilbryde, Ardrossane.
Alexander Callendare, minister, 133 6 8 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Largis, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johne Maxwell, reidare at Kilbryde, 20 0 0
George Boyde, reidare at Ardrossane, (the haill vicarage,) &c.

Kilwynning, Dunlope, Baith.
Williame Kirkpatrik, minister, 100 0 0 & k. l.
Maister David Mylne, reidare at Kilwynning, 20 0 0
Hanis Hammiltoun, reidare at Dunlope, (the haill vicarage, &c.,) 78 0 0
Thomas Boyde, reidare at Baith, 20 0 0 & k. l.

Stevinstoun, Dalry, Kilbirnye.

Maister Archibald Craufurd, minister,	L.100	0	0
Alexander Michell, (William Montgomery,[1]) reidare at Stevinstoun,	20	0	0
Andro Blair, reidare at Dalrye, .	17	15	6⅔
Maister Archibald Hammiltoun, reidare at Kilbirnye, . .	26	13	4

Lowdoun, Kilmarnok, Ricartoun.

Maister Robert Wilkie, minister, (with the kirkland of Kilmarnok,)	133	6	8
James Hall, reidare at Lowdoun,	16	0	0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kilmarnok,	20	0	0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Ricartoun,	16	0	0 & k. l.

Kilmaweris, Dreghorne, Stewartoun.

Gawin Nasmyth, minister, .	100 merks.		
Alexander Henrysoun, reidare at Kilmaweris, . . .	30	0	0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Dreghorne,	20	0	0
Williame Mongumrye elder, reidare at Stewartoun, . . .	37	1	1⅓ & k. l.

Cumnok.

Maister Johne Rynde, minister,[2] .	60	0	0

Aflek, Vchiltrie.

Maister Johne Ingleis, minister, (with the kirkland of Irwing,) .	120	0	0 & k. l.
Johne Gemmill, reidare at Aflek, .	16	13	4 & k. l.
Johne M'Clanochane, reidare at Vchiltrie,	10	0	0

[1] His name is added on the margin.

[2] "His stipend the haill parsonage and vicarage of Cumnok, newlie disponit to him, extending to fourtye pundis, and the haill chap^rie of St Blais, in Perth, xx li."

Irwene, Prestoun [Peirstoun.]

Maister Johne Zoung, minister, .	L.140	0	0	&c.
Thomas Andro, reidare at Irwene, and vicare thairof, . .	20	0	0	
David Quhyte, reidare at Perstoun,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Mauchlene, Gawstoun.

Maister Petir Primrois, minister, .	120	0	0	& k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Mauchlene, (the haill vicarage.)				
Rankyne Davidsoun, reidare at Gawstoun,	33	8	10⅔	

Dalmellington, Dalrumpill, Quiltoun.

James Davidsoun, minister, .	60	0	0	
David Cathcart, reidare at Dalmellington,	32	0	0	
George Feane, reidare at Dalrumpill,	20 merks & k. l.			
Johne Campbell, reidare at Quiltoun,	20 merks & k. l.			

Air, Alloway.

James Dalrumpill, minister, (payand his awin reidare at Allowy,) .	149	6	8	
Thomas Greig, reidare at Air, .	13	6	8	
James Ramsay, reidare at Alloway,	16	0	0	& k. l.

Dundonald, Corsbie, Cragie, Symontoun.

George Campbell, minister, .	100	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Burne, reidare at Dundonald and Corsbye, . .	24	0	0	& k. l.
David Wallace, reidare at Cragye,	16	0	0	& k. l.
John Myllare, reidare at Symontoun,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Terboltoun, Barneweill, St Kevokis, Prestik, Monktoun.

Maister Johnne Nisbett, minister,	133	6	8	& k. l.
David Curll, reidare at Terboltoun,	20	0	0	
Robert Gaw, reidare at Barneweill,	13 bollis meill & k. l.			

Hew Kennedy, reidare at St Kevokis,	L.16	0	0	& k. l.
Johne Wylie, reidare at Monktoun and Prestik,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Stratoun, Mayboill, Kirkbryde, Kirkmichell.

Johne M'Corne, minister,	133	17	9⅓	& k. l.
Johne Andersoun, reidare at Stratoun,	19	13	4	
Maister Michael Hammiltoun, reidare at Mayboill and Kirkbryde,	27	6	8⅓	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kirkmichell,	16	13	4	& k. l.

Cammonell, Innertig.

Maister James Greg, minister,	200	0	0	
Allan Cathcart, reidare at Calmmonell,	20	0	0	
Alexander Kennedy, reidare at Innertig,[1]	26	13	4	& k. l.

Dalie, Girvan, Kirk Osuald.

Johne Cuninghame, minister,	93	6	8	& k. l.
Thomas Falconer, reidare at Dalye,	20	0	0	& k. l.
James Zoung, reidare at Girven,	23	6	8	
Johne M'Cavell, reidare at Kirk Oswald,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministrie within the boundis of Kyle, Carrik, and Cuninghame, j^{m}. ix^{c}. xxvij li. xviij^{s}. iiij^{d}. 2 pt. d.—Of beir, v ch., iij b., iij pect.—Of meill, xviij ch., viij b., iij fr., 2 pt. pect.

[1] "His stipend, the haill vicarage, vacand be translation of Johne Cuninghame, quha was newlie providit thairto, and now (primo Maij 1575) is placit minister at Dalye."

ANNANDERDAILL, ESKDAILL, EWISDAILL, AND WAUCHOPDAILL.

Cannaby, Wauchop, Wetstirkar [Westerkirk], Stabilgorton, Over Kirk Ewis, Nethir Kirk Ewis.
——, (vacant, and no stipend specified.)

Mortoun, Luce, Kirkconnell, Trailtrow, Graitnay, Reidkirk, Renpatrik, Eglefechane.
——, (vacant, and no stipend specified.)
——, (vacant,) reidare at Trailtrow, L.4 8 10⅔
——, (vacant,) reidare at Reidkirk, 4 8 10⅔

Annand, Corby, Sibbilby, Middilby, Carrutheris, Pennarsax.
——, (vacant, and no stipend specified.)
——, (vacant,) reidare at Annand, 4 15 6⅔

Lochmaben, Apilgirth, Dryvisdale, Castelmilk, Tonnourgarth.
James Maxwell, minister, . . 44 8 10⅔
——, (vacant,) reidare at Dryvisdale, 16 0 0 & k. l.

Mouswald, Cumirtreis, Hoddum, Hutoun, Litle Daltoun, Mekle Daltoun, Ruthvell, Dronok.
——, (vacant, and no stipend specified.)
——, (vacant,) reidare at Mouswald, 6 13 4
——, (vacant,) reidare at Cumirtreis, 6 13 4
——, (vacant,) reidare at Hoddum, 4 8 10⅔
——, (vacant,) reidare at Hutoun, . . 6 13 4
——, (vacant,) reidare at Litle Daltoun, 3 6 8
——, (vacant,) reidare at Mekle Daltoun, 6 13 4
James Murray, reidare at Ruthvell, 10 0 0

Moffet, Kirkpatrik Juxta, Johnnestoun, Wamfra, Drumgrey.
——, (vacant,) minister, . 70 6 8

——, (vacant,) reidare at Kirkpatrik Juxta, . . . L.12 0 0 & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Johnnestoun, 8 17 9⅓
——, (vacant,) reidare at Wamfra, 10 17 9⅓
——, (vacant,) reidare at Drumgrey, 5 0 0

NITHISDAILL.

Sanquhar, Kirkconnell, Kirkbride.
Johnne Foullartoun, minister, . 100 0 0
Johnne Zoung, reidare at Sanquhar, 20 merks.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kirkconnell, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Alexander Miln, (and Williame Runsyman,[1]) reidare at Kirkbride, . 17 15 6⅔

Durisdeir, Mortoun, Penpont, Tynroun.
——, (vacant,) minister,[2] . 113 6 8 &c.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Durisdeir,[3] 20 0 0
Mr Archibald Menzes, reidare at Mortoun, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Tailzeour, reidare at Penpont, 17 15 6⅔
Williame Tailzeour, reidare at Tynroun, 71 0 0

Closberne, Dalgarno, Kirkmaho, Kirkmichaell, Garwald.
Maister James Ramsay, minister, 75 2 5
Johnne Thomsoun, reidare at Closberne, 20 0 0 & k. l.
James Williamson, reidare at Dalgarno, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Throktoun, reidare at Kirkmaho, 40 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Kirkmichaell, 20 merks & k. l.
Thomas Brown, reidare at Garwald, 8 17 9⅓

[1] Runsyman's name is added on the margin.

[2] "His stipend the haill Subchantorie of Glasgow, by (besides) the pensioun, extending to j^c. xiii li. vj^s. viii^d. sustenand the reidare at Durisdeir."

[3] "His stipend, xx li. to be payd be the persone quhatsumevir Subchantoure of Glasgow."

Drumfreis, Terreglis, Troqueir, Newabbay.

Peter Watsoun, minister, .	L.150	0	0	& k. l.
Maister James Ramsay (and Johne Sinclare,[1]) reidare at Dumfreis, .	13	6	8	
Williame Thomsoun, reidare at Terreglis,	20 merks.			
Johne Gledstanis, reidare at Troqueir,	20 merks & k. l.			
Johne Logane, reidare at Newabbay,	20	0	0	& k. l.

Carlaverok, Thorthorrald, Tynwald, Trailflatt.

Maister Niniane Dalzell, minister,	66	13	4	
John Paterson, reidare at Carlaverok,	20 merks & k. l.			
David Wallace, reidare at Torthorrald,	20 merks & k. l.			
Andro Rentoun, reidare at Tynwald,	4	8	$10\frac{2}{3}$	& k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Trailflatt,	21 merks & k. l.			

Glencarne, Dunscoir, Halywod.

Maister James Betoun, minister, .	120	0	0	
——, (vacant,) reidare at Glencarne,	20	0	0	& k. l.
John Jameson, reidare at Dunscoir,	26	13	4	
Mungo Makghe, reidare at Halywod,	20	0	0	

Galloway.

Lochrutoun, Zudik, Kirkbene, Cowen.

Maister Archibald Sinclair, minister,	120	0	0	
John Litill, reidare at Lochrutoun,	20	0	0	& k. l.
George Oliver, reidare at Zuddik,	20	0	0	
Johnne Broun,[2] reidare at Kirkbeane,	16	0	0	& k. l.
Robert Cass, reidare at Cowen, .	20 merks & k. l.			

Kirkpatrik Irngray, Kirkgunzeane, Ur, Kirkpatrik in the Muire alias Durand.

[1] Sinclare's name is added on the margin.

[2] In place of Andro Brattoun, whose name is deleted.

Johnne Broun, minister, . L.60 0 0
Michaell Wychtman, reidare at Kirkpatrik Irngray, . . . 20 0 0 & k. l.
Patrik Loch, reidare at Kirkgunzeane, 18 17 2⅔ & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Ur, . 20 merks & k. l.
Andro Edzair, reidare at Kirkpatrik in the Mure, . . . 16 0 0 & k. l.

Buthill, Corsmichaell, Keltoun, Gelstoun, Kirkcormok, Balmaghe.
James Carrutheris, minister, . 60 0 0
John Parker, reidare at Buthill, . 20 0 0 & k. l.
Thomas Makclane, reidare at Corsmichaell, 16 0 0
Thomas Makcontrie, reidare at Keltoun, 20 merks & k. l.
Cuthbert Dwn (and Michael Hendersoun,[1]) reidare at Gelstoun, . . 20 merks & k. l.
Robert Forester, reidare at Kirkcormok, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Robert Champane, reidare at Balmaghe, 40 0 0 & k. l.

Dalry, Partoun, Kellis, Balmaclellane.
James Prestoun, minister,[2] . 220 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Dalry, . 20 merks.
Maister Niniane M'Clennoquhan, reidare at Partoun, . . 11 15 6⅔ & k. l.
Donald Mure, reidare at Kellys, 20 merks & k. l.
Eleis Makculloch, reidare at Balmaclellane, 20 0 0 & k. l.

Kirkcudbrycht, Dunrod, St Marie Ile or Galtnay, Borg, Twynem, Dundranane.
James Doddis, minister, . 100 0 0
Thomas Anderson, reidare at Kirkcudbricht, . . . 40 0 0

[1] Hendersoun's name is added on the margin, probably as Dun's successor.
[2] "His stipend, the haill personaige and vicaraige of Dalry, newlie disponit, extendit to ij°. xx li., (payand his awin reidare.")

Williame Makclellane, reidare at Dunrod, 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at St Marie Ile, or Galtnay, . . . 20 merks.
Williame Strudgeoun, reidare at Borg, 20 merks & k. l.
Alexander Zoung, reidare at Twynem, L.20 0 0 & k. l.
Williame Cutlair, reidare at Dundranane or Rerik, . . . 20 0 0

Kirkchrist *per se.*
Maister Richard Balfoure, minister,[1] 40 0 0

Toungland, Sannik, Kirkcanderis, Girtoun, Anweth.
Williame Scharpro, minister, . 60 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Toungland, 20 merks.
Donald Makcullayn, reidare at Sannyk, 20 merks & k. l.
John Maclellane, reidare at Kirkcanderis, 20 merks & k. l.
Robert Mure, reidare at Girtoun, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Maister Malcolme Macculloch, reidare at Anweth, . . . 16 0 0

Monygof, Kirkmabrek, Kirkdaill.
Maister Johnne Walcar, minister, 80 0 0
——, (vacant,) reidare at Monygoff, 20 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne Moffet, reidare at Kirkmabrek, 20 0 0 & k. l.
Thomas Regnall, reidare at Kirkdaill, 20 merks & k. l.

Wigtoun, Pennynghame, Sorby.
Maister Robert Blindschell, minister, 100 0 0
James Falconar, reidare at Wigtoun, 16 4 5⅓ & k. l.
Maister Martine Gib, reidare at Pennynghame, . . . 20 0 0 & k. l.
Johnne M'Caill, reidare at Sorby, . . 20 merks & k. l.

[1] His stipend, his awin personage and vicarage thairof, xl li.

Loncaster, Kirkennar, Kirkcowane, Mochrum, Kirkmadryne.

Nicholl Dungalson, minister, (payand his awin reidare,) . . L.80 0 0 & k. l.
Williame Wans, reidare at Loncaster, 16 13 4
Johnne Flemyng, reidare at Kirkcowane, 20 0 0 & k. l.
Lowys Fraser, reidare at Mochrum, 20 0 0 & k. l.
Thomas Wricht,[1] reidare at Kirkennar, 20 merks & k. l.
John Dunbar, reidare at Kirkmadryne, 20 merks & k. l.

Quhitherne, Crugiltoun, Glassartoun, Kirkmadin in Fairnys.

Maister Roger Gordoun, minister, 133 6 8 & k. l.
Adam Flemyng, reidare at Quhitherne, 16 17 9⅓ & k. l.
Williame Talliefer, reidare at Crugiltoun, 20 merks & k. l.
John Kay, reidare at Glassartoun, 20 merks & k. l.
George Stevinsoun, reidare at Kirkmadin in Fairnys, . . . 22 13 4

Glenluce, Salsett, Inche.

Maister James Fothringhame, minister, 133 6 8 &c.
Johnne Sanderson, reidare at Glenluce, 20 0 0 & k. l.
James Thomson, reidare at Sawlseatt, 16 0 0 & k. l.
Thomas M'Alexander, reidare at Inche, 40 merks & k. l.

Claschant, Stanykirk, Toscartoun, Kirkmadin in Rynnis, Leswalt, Kirkcum.

Johnne Gibsoun, minister, . 124 0 0
James Law, reidare at Claschant, . 20 merks & k. l.
——, (vacant,) reidare at Stanykirk, 20 merks.
Michaell Hawthorne, reidare at Toscartoun, ... 14 6 8 & k. l.
Johnne Quheitt, reidare at Kirkmadyn in Rynnis, . . . 20 merks & k. l.

[1] In place of "Michell Dungalsoun," whose name is deleted.

Alexander Huntar, reidare at Kirkcum, L.20 0 0 & k. l.
Adam Thomsoun, reidare at Lesswalt, 20 merks & k. l.

Summa of the money assignit to the Ministrie within the boundis of Annanderdaill, Drumfreis, Nithisdaill, Kirkcudbrycht, and Wigtoun, ij^{m}. viij^{c}. xlvij li. viij^{s}. v^{d}. 2 pt. d.—Off beir, v b., 3 pt. b.—Off meill, vij ch., xij b.

My Lord,[1]—Their is a benefice vacand in Orknay, callit the Thesaurarie thairof, quhairof we haif grantit a factorie during the vacancie to this berare, Robert Douglas, our servitour. Thairfoir we pray zour Lordship to caus him be ansuerit of letters to be ansuerit of the haill during the tyme of the vacance, and tak himself souertie for compt and rekning, and payment to zow; becaus we heir the mater wilbe of na grite awaill, in respect of the Annat, and ane pensioun aucht furth of the benefice. And sa for the present we commit zour Lordship to God. At Dalkeith the xvij day of Marche 1575. (*Sic subscribitur.*) Zour Lordship's assurit freind,

James Regent.

Et sic habet a tergo. To my Lord and cousinge my Lord Boyd.

[1] This letter, or form of presentation, is transcribed on the last page of the MS. Book of Assignations.

The Pryces of the Victuallis Assignit to the Ministeris and Reidaris.

Communibus annis.

In Cathnes, xx merks the chalder victuale.

In Ross, xvi li. the chalder victuale.

In Murray, Alsmekill.

In Abirdene, xvj li. the chalder victuale.[1]

In Angus & Mernis,
- Quheit, xxiv li. the chalder,
- xx li. the chalder.
- Meill, xx merkis the chalder.

In Stratherne, Alsmekill as Angus and Mernis.

In Fyiff,
- Quheit, xxvj li. xii^{s}. iv^{d}. the chalder.
- Beir, xxi li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}. the chalder.
- Meill, xvi li. the chalder.
- Aittis, xx merks the chalder.

In Louthiane, alsmekill as Fyiff.

In Mers and Teviotdaill, alsmekill with Louthiane met.[2]

In Nithisdaill, xvi li. the chalder of victuale with Louthiane met.

In Galloway, xvj li. the chalder of victuale with the same met.

In Kyill, Carrik, and Cunynghame, xx li. the chalder of victuale.

In Cliddisdaill, Rainfrew, and Lennox, xx li. the chalder of victuale.

In Strivelingschire, xx li. the chalder of victuale.

In Orknay, the last of Coist,[3] xx markis.

The barrell of butter, viij li.

The barrell of oyll, v li. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.

[1] 'Victuale' is no doubt to be understood as half Bear and half Meal.

[2] *Met*, or measure.

[3] *Last*, is a measure of quantity, and *Coist*, a name applied in Orkney to victual as here explained in note 1.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE PRECEDING REGISTER.

	Number of Kirks.	Ministers.	Vacant.	Readers.	Vacant.	Valuation in money.
Diocie of Orknay,	65	14	1	19	1	(Sum not stated.)
Diocie of Cathnes,	23	8	1	16	1	L.807 3 3
Diocie of Ros,	35	9	0	25	8	796 13 0
Diocie of Murray,	73	26	2	52	8	2083 11 0⅔
Diocie of Abirdene,	105	24	4	89	7	4057 3 5⅔
Diocie of Brechin, with the Kirkis in the Diocie of Sanctandrois and Dunkeld, betuix Dee, Forth, and Tay,	117	38	1	98		4353 15 1⅓
Diocys of Dunkeld and Dumblane, with the Kirkis thairof in Atholl, &c.	84	22	2	65	10	2680 10 1
Diocie of Sanctandrois within Fiffe,	60	24	0	50	2	2348 18 9⅔
Mers and Lowthiane,	129	49	1	93	16	5179 11 2
Diocie of Glasgw in Teviotdaill, the Forest of Ettrik and Tweddaill,	59	11	5	40	6	1246 19 6⅔
Cliddisdaill, Renfrew, and Levenax,	78	29	2	67	3	3336 8 10⅔
Kyle, Carrik, Cuninghame,	45	16	0	35	6	1927 18 4⅔
Annanderdaill, Eskdaill, Ewisdaill, and Wauchopdaill,	38	1	0	1	15	2847 8 5⅔
Nithsdaill,	23	5	1	18	5	
Galloway,	54	13	0	47	6	
	988	289	20	715	97	31,666 1 3

To the above abstract there has to be added the valuation of grain, amounting to about 210 chalders of Bear, 190 chalders of Meal, and —— chalders of Wheat; amounting to nearly L.6750; which, with (say) L.1583, 18s. 9d. for Orkney, would make the annual appropriation amount to L.40,000 Scotish money.

THE SUPPLICATION

OF

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TO

THE REGENT EARL OF MORTON.

APRIL M.D.LXXVIII.

In May 1840, the Editor of this work presented to the General Assembly the MS. copy of the "Headis and Conclusionis of the Policie of the Kirk," usually styled "The Second Book of Discipline," which was attested by J. Richie, Clerk of the Assembly, and signed by the various members of the Presbytery of Haddington; and which appears to have been produced at the memorable Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, in connection with the earlier Registers of the Church.

The same volume, which we may call the Haddington MS., contains some other articles: viz. I. "A Schort Soume of the [First] Buik of Discipline," printed probably from this copy, in the Collection of Confessions, vol. ii. p. 608-624. Edinb. 1719, 1722, 2 vols. 8vo. II. Extracts from the Registers of the Assembly 1560 to 1582, made by John Craig, minister of the King's Household; with a few extracts of a later date by another hand. III. "Ane Forme of sindrie Materis to be usit in the Elderschip." At the end of this article, which we propose to include in the present Miscellany, there is added the following Supplication to the Regent Morton, in the name of the General Assembly, with reference to the Second Book of Discipline.

From the Booke of the Universall Kirk,[1] and Calderwood,[2] we learn, that agreeably to an ordinance of the Assembly in October 1577, "the Book of Policie of the Kirk, with the Supplication appointit," had been presented to the Regent, and a day fixed for holding a conference; but, it is added, "the alteration of the Authoritie hes intervenit." This delay having been reported to the Assembly, (sess. 3,) 24th April 1578, another Supplication was directed

[1] Bannatyne Club edit., vol. ii. p. 404.

[2] Wodrow Society edit., vol. iii. p. 395.

to be prepared. These Supplications were probably of the same tenor, but neither of them is contained in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, or in Calderwood. The Supplication, however, which is now printed for the first time, was evidently the more recent of the two; for although the date is not given in the Haddington MS., it is introduced with the following extract, which sufficiently ascertains the time of its presentation.

"In the Generall Assemblie haldin at Edinburgh, 24 Aprilis 1578, Sess. 8, p. 828:—

"This Generall Assemblie ordenit Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lowson, and Mr David Lindesay, to review and oversie the Buke of Disciplein; and being writtin over, conforme to the originall, ane copie to be presentit be them unto his Hienes, with ane Supplication, pennit be them to that effect; with ane uther copie to the Counsale."

The unsettled state of public affairs, during the minority of James the Sixth, must have materially contributed to frustrate the earnest desires so frequently and so urgently expressed by the General Assembly, that this Book of Policy should be confirmed by the Civil authority. Finding, at the time, no prospect of obtaining this sanction, the Assembly, in April 1581, ordered it to be inserted in their Registers; and copies of it were afterwards enjoined to be subscribed by the members of different Presbyteries throughout the Kingdom. It is almost superfluous to add, that, according to the form of Policy contained in the Second Book of Discipline, the Church Government in Scotland was established in 1592, and restored in 1690.

The MS. copy of the Book of Discipline referred to contains no material variation in the text, as printed in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. ii. p. 488; but it may be interesting to give a fac-simile of the signatures of the members of the Presbytery of Haddington, by whom it was subscribed in September 1591, in conformity with previous acts of Assembly, August 1590, sess. 10, and July 1591, sess. 4.

TO MY LORD REGENTIS GRACE, THE MINISTERS OF CHRISTIS BLISSED EVANGELL, WITH THE COMMISSIONARS AND REMANENT MEMBERS OF THIS PRESENT ASSEMBLIE, WISCHE GRACE, MERCIE, AND PACE, FROM GOD THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE SPREIT OF SOBRIETIE AND RICHTEOUS JUGDEMENT.

SEING that God of his grait favour and mercie, efter grait blindnes and ignorance, hes granted vnto this Realme the sinceritie of his holie Evangell, grait libertie with ane peaciable quietnes in the common walth, zit is not the Policie of the Kirk of God so estabblisched amongs ws as God cravs in his Word; quhairthrowcht we fear that the sinceritie of his Word is not able long to indure, except that the Policie and forme of Government quhilk God cravs in his Word be heirunto also joinit. And seing zour Grace not onlie frutfullie hes travellit to establische ane quietnes and governament within this Realme, bot also hes ernistlie preist to establische spirituale Policie of the Kirk of God amangs ws, the grait corruptioun and blindnes of Papistrie being removit: Therfor, as often tyms heir before, we have imployit our hail wittis and jugdementis that the samein self Policie of the Kirk micht be brawcht to sume gud succes; swa namlie, now in the Assemblie, it hes pleisit God of his grait favour toward ws, swa to assist ws with his Spreit, that efter long reasoning and conference, be ane comoun consent, we hawe pennit the cheife and principall metters conferming the said Policie of the Kirk, drawing the same in certaine schort Conclusions flowing from the grund and pure fontane of Godis Word, to be presentit with this our Humble Supplication to zour Grace; maist

humblie craving of zour Grace to accept this our labors in gud pairte, as flowing from humble and obedient hairtis, willing to doe weil: zit mane we not that ony thing in this Policie is so absolutlie be ws concludit; bot we are willing to heare and resave better reasone quhen ever the same sallbe schawin unto ws; nather zit understand we the samein to be sa compleit, that nathing may be addit or diminisched from the samein,[1] bot rather, as God sall oppin upe farther knawledge unto his Kirk, or ony member thairof, that the same may be proponit in tyme convenient. And becaus in this Headis of this Policie maters are sa linkit and joinet on with ane uther, we crave of zour Grace to consider the hail discowrs heirof, separat not ane part from the rest, quhilk of gude reasoun mane be joinet togither, and so everie one of thame to leane upon ane uther, for utherwys grait absurditeis micht ensew thairupoun, and our labors to [be] loist quhilk we cairfullie bestowit.

As to the heid of Deaconschip, we offer upe the samein with the rest, zit leaving place to sic as are not fullie satisfiet heirin to propone ther jugdementis in writt, quhen thei sal think meit and expedient, ather in zour Grace's presence, or before the Assemblie of the Kirk.

Finallie, quhen as zour Grace hes sichtit thir our laboris, according to the haill discowrs theirof, giff ony thing heirin sall appeir not aggreiable to solide grundis and gud reasons: And that zour Grace, in respect therof, will crave of ws for ther reasoning and conference, we gladlie offer our selfis to the samein upon zour Grace's dew advertisement, quhilk we maist humblie require; and [to] that effect, hes appoyntit certen of our Brether to awate upon the samein, as zour Grace sall pleis command: calling to God with our hairtis, that as God hes maid zour Grace a notable instrument to settle this Realme in peaceable quietnes, to serve our God in full libertie according to his Word, even so, that be zour Grace's cairfull diligence, this spirituall Policie of the Kirk of God may be brawcht to sic ane happie and prosperous end, that the name of our God may

[1] Many of the points had been in discussion for several years, both in the Assembly, and in Conferences with persons in authority.

Headis & conclusions of ye
policie of the
kirk

Finis
Deo Gratias

This buik of policie being redd a pt privatlie be ye maist pt
at sundrie tymes & ne ye penult of September 1591 being
publicklie in ye kirkis of Hadingtonn was subscribit be ye brethren
Gen 8 Au gusti 1590 Hall of accordingly to ye act of ye gnall assemble as follows

Mr Thomas Mc Gill minister of Gulan
Mr James Carmichael minister at Hadingtonn
James Gibsone minister at Pentatlan
Mr Hay Bell
Thomas Greg minister at north Berwik
James Reid minister at Yarbot kirk
Mr Byrns minister of gods word at Barrow
James Lamb minister at Boltonn kirk
Mr Johne Ker minister at Aberladay
Daniel Wallace minister at Morrinse

be glorifiet, the kingdome of Jesus Chryst may be advanceit, the kingdome of Sathane mot be abolisched within this Realme, to the confort of ws and our posteritie for ever.

Zour Grace's humble and obedient servitur,
Mr JAMES RICHIE, Clerk of the said Kirk at command,
Mr J. RICHIE.[1]

THE PRESBYTERY OF HADINGTON'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, 30TH SEPTEMBER M.D.XCI.

THIS Buik of Policie being red apart, privatlie be the maist part, at sundrie tymes, and the penult of September 1591 being red publicklie in the Eldership of Hadingtoun, was subscryvit be the Brethren thairof, according to the Act of the Generall Assemblie, Edinburgh, 8 Augusti 1590, Sess. 10, as followis:—

Mr JAMES CARMICHAEL, Minister at Hadingtoun.
Mr WALTER HAY, Both[anes.[2]]
Mr THOMAS M'GHE, Minister of Gulan.
JAMES GIBSONE, Minister at Pencatland.
THOMAS GREG, Minister at North Berwik.
JAMES REID, Minister at Garvet Kirk.
W. BYRIS [?], Minister of God's Word at Barow.
JAMES LAMB, Minister at Boltoun Kirk.
Mr JOHNE KER, Minister at Aberladay.
DANIEL WALLACE, Minister at Morame.

[1] I suspect this copy of the Supplication was transcribed by James Carmichael, and not by Ritchie, the Clerk of the Assembly; whose signature however occurs at the end of the Second Book of Discipline. See the top of the annexed fac-simile.

[2] Bothanes, or St Bathane's, near Haddington, the old name of the parish of Yester.

ACT OF PRESBYTERY,

APPOINTING TWO MINISTERS TO ATTEND THE LORDS AT FALKIRK.

AUGUST M.D.LXXVIII.

THE following Act of the Presbytery of Edinburgh has reference to one of those political changes which were so frequent during the minority of King James; being the appointment of two ministers, to attend the forces of the confederated Lords, who were opposed to the Regent Morton, on the 12th August 1578. The persons appointed were John Brand, minister of Holyroodhouse,[1] and Thomas Mackgie, minister of Gulane.[2] The interposition of the English Ambassador, and two of the ministers, Lawson and Lyndsay, who sign this paper, had the effect of bringing the two factions to an agreement at Stirling on the 15th of that month, as related by the historians of that period.[3]

THE APPOINTING OF JOHN BRAND AND MR THOMAS MAKGIE, AS MINISTERS TO THE LORDIS AT THE RAID OF FAWKIRK. AUGUST 12, 1578.[4]

The xii. day of August 1578.

THE quhilk day, the Brethren of the Exercyise of Edinburgh beand convenit with the Commissionar of Lowthiane, hering the ernist suitt of the Lordis laitlie departit out of this Toun to haif ane minister, hes appointtit thair bretheren, JOHNE BRAND and Mr THOMAS M'GYE, or ony ane of thame, to pas unto the saidis Lordis,

[1] For some notices of Brand, see pages 455–6 of this volume.

[2] In consideration of Mackgie's advanced age and infirmities, his son Andrew was, in December 1597, appointed his assistant as minister of Gulane.—See M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 470.

[3] See the Agreement, in Calderwood's Hist. vol. iii. p. 418.

[4] This title is the indorsation of the original.

according to thair desyir; willing thame to travell nocht onlie in preiching of the word, but also in persuading, alsweill thame as the parttie in Striviling, to concord and unitie, seing thai aucht to be preichers of peace to all partteis.

DAVID LYNDESEY.
J. LOWSONE.
MR JOHNE BENNATT. J. DURYE.
WALTER BALCANQUAL.
WALTER HAY.
WM. KNOX.
GILBERT TAILZEOR, at command of the rest of the Bretheren, and in thair name.

[The above document is preserved among the Balcarras Papers, vol. vi. no. 88, in the Advocates Library, and is here inserted on account of its exhibiting the signatures of several eminent divines, of which a fac-simile is annexed. These were David Lyndesay, minister of Leith, who, in 1601, accepted the title of Bishop of Ross; James Lowson, or Lawson, Knox's colleague and successor as minister of Edinburgh; John Dury and Walter Balcanquall, who had also become ministers of Edinburgh; Walter Hay, minister of Bothan's, or Yester; William Knox, the brother of the Reformer, minister of Cockpen; and two other ministers, John Bonnet and Gilbert Taylor, the former belonging to the Presbytery of Dalkeith, the latter to that of Peebles.]

The xvj day of August 1578

The qlk day the brethrey of ye exercyiss of Edr
Brand convenit wr ye commissionar of Lobthiane hering
the ernist suitt of ye lordis Lutlie depttot out of ye
tony to haist ane Minister Hes appointtit thair brethren
Johne Brand & Mr thomas Mr gye ordynyne of yame to
pass unto ye saidis lordis according to thair desyir
willing thame to travell nor onlie in preiching of ye
word but also in persuading as weill yame as the
pttie in stremling to contord & unitie Genig thai
aucht to be preichers of peace to all pttis

David Hudesoy
J. Lobsone
J. Burne
Walter Balcanquill
Walter Hay
Wm Knox

Mr Johne Bennett

Gilbert Lauchesor at
Gmand of ye rest
of the brethren
and in ytur name

LETTERS AND PAPERS

OF

MR JAMES CARMICHAEL,

MINISTER OF HADDINGTON

M.D.LXXXIV.—M.D.LXXXVI.

DURING the ascendancy of Esmé Stewart, Duke of Lennox, and of James Stewart, a favourite of King James the Sixth, who created him Earl of Arran, several of the nobility and of the most eminent Presbyterian clergy, having rendered themselves obnoxious by the faithful discharge of their duties, they were, in the year 1584, constrained to seek a place of shelter in England. Among the ministers were Andrew and James Melville, James Carmichael, James Lawson, and John Davidson. But it may be sufficient to refer to the full and interesting account of that period which Dr M'Crie has given in his Life of Melville, vol. i. pp. 171, 195, &c., for the causes which obliged such men to forsake their appointed stations.

The following letters, chiefly written by or addressed to James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, relate to that period. They are now first published, and present some curious details. Some of the letters are copied from originals among Calderwood's Collections, in the Advocates Library;[1] others are extracted from his larger MS. History, as they are not included in the fourth volume of the Wodrow Society edition; which however contains much valuable information, with other important letters and papers by the banished Lords and Ministers during the years 1584 and 1585.

Of the earlier part of Carmichael's personal history, our knowledge is very scanty. He studied at St Andrews, and was incorporated in St Leonard's College in 1560, where he took his Master's degree about 1564. Previously to 1570, he had been appointed Master of the Grammar School of St Andrews.[2]

[1] Wodrow Folio MSS., vol. xlii.

[2] At the Assembly, July 1570, his name appears in connection with some controversies on points of discipline with the Ministers of St Andrews. See Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 179.

In 1571, he was admitted as successor to Patrick Cockburn, the first Protestant minister of Haddington; and he likewise taught the School of that town for several years. From that time, for a period of half a century, he continued to take a somewhat prominent share in various matters connected with the Church and with general literature. In his letter to the Earl of Angus, 6th July 1584, he refers to his being engaged, while in England, in writing some work, the title of which is not specified. From various circumstances, it is evident that the task imposed on him was to draw up the Charges brought against the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran, in 1585. His papers, under the title of "NOTES PROVING, &c.," are included in Calderwood, vol. iv., pp. 393-448.

From the minutes of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, we find that Carmichael was engaged from 1592 to 1595 in abridging the Acts of the General Assembly; and there is every probability that the collection known by the name of "The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland" was compiled by him.

At a later period of life, it has been supposed that Carmichael complied with some of the Episcopal innovations in the Church, from having been nominated, in November 1606, constant Moderator of the Presbytery of Haddington: but it may be remarked, that this distinction was sometimes conferred with the view of conciliating the leading members of Presbytery to such innovations. His old friend Andrew Melville, who used to style Carmichael *the profound dreamer*, says, in 1611, "I know he cannot be idle: has he not brought forth or perfected anything yet, after so many decades of years?" and in May 1616:—"I cannot tell what's become of Mr James Carmichael's labours, or whether he be yet alive." He however survived for several years; and, in 1628, died at the advanced age of eighty-five. Wodrow, in his MS. Collections for a life of Carmichael, says, "He was a person of very great naturall and acquired abilities, a sufficient person for business; and a great strain of both piety and strong learning runs through his letters and papers."

HE WISHIT THE ASSISTANCE OF GOD'S HOLIE SPIRIT, TO CONFORT AND STRENTHEN ZOUR LORDSHIP[1] IN ZOUR CHRISTIANE WARFAIR, UNTO THE END, AND IN THE END.

I TRUST I sall neid mak the les excuse of my langer delay to wreate unto zour Lordship then I intendit, asweill in respect of Mr Colvil repairing to zour Lordship, immediatlie efter my cuming hither, quho could gife better information of secreitis and common occurrentis, as alswa of my attending quhill some occasioun myght be offerit, (upon conference with Mr Secretarie,[2]) of maters of greiter noveltie, and mair worthie writing. Upon Setterday the 21 of Junij, the Secretar came to London, and send for Mrs Melvill, Galloway, and me: that meiting was spent (besyds mutuall and cheirful salutatiouns) in recompting the occurrentis quhilk then were new; the minute quhairof, and of all otheris cumit to our ears since, I delyverit to my brother, Mr Patrik,[3] quho can by tong mair aptlie delait them then was convenient for me to wreit. Efter the reiding of the lettre from zour Lordships, and some secreit conference thairanent, he promisit to send for me at his first lazer, and to confer at greiter lenth. In the meanetyme, I procurit sic prentit histories of France, Ingland, Ireland, Germanie, and the Low Countries, as the libraries were hable to furnish, meit for my purpose, or Maisters Randolph, Killingrave, Bowes, Cobom,[4] the ministers of the France Kirk, or uther gude brethrein heir

[1] Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, succeeded to the title in 1558, when only two years of age. In 1584, along with the Earl of Marr and Lord Glammis, he seized the Castle of Stirling, and declared in favour of the King, to rescue him from the influence of Arran; but this object being defeated at the time, he fled to England, and was attainted, and his estates forfeited. In the following year, the banished Lords were more successful; when they obtained a pardon, and their forfeiture was revoked in the most ample form. (Wood's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 439.) Angus died in 1588. Dr M'Crie characterises him "as the most patriotic, pious, and intelligent of the Scotish nobility."

[2] Sir Francis Walsingham.

[3] Patrick Galloway: see p. 419.

[4] Killigrew, Bowes, and Cobham.

can purchase unto me, for perfyting of the work. Upon the second of July I went to Richemont, upon the Secretare's desyre, with quhom I had secreit conference, without interruption, the space of two houris, and presentit the buik[1] unto his Honour. The titil being red and some speciall pointis, namlie, concerning religion, the King's persone, amitie, the Imbassadrie of Seton and his sone, the Bischop's trafiking heir with the Spanish Imbassadour and the bischops; he lykit verie weill, asweill the subject as the ordour of the intreating thairof, tuik tyme to reid it alone, promising to restore it to me within few dayis, that it mycht be perfytit with sic uther information as I had alreadie resavit or could procure; offering glaidlie to caus his secretarie, Mr Tomsone, to furnish me sic warrandis as mycht serve the farther surtie of all things as I sould require; commanding one Broun, quho wreit it at Bervick, and is laitlie cumit from Mr Davidson, quho went to Court with me, to attend vpon me for writing thairof as I sould desyre. The place of my residence, of necessitie, in respect of your former informations and warrands to be socht, and the scribe, man be Londone. Quhair I luke for Mr Johne Colvil as the cheif help in the cause, and Mr Jhone Davidsone, efter the cuming of Mr Patrik for his releif; quhairin I beseik zour Lordship to forder Mr Davidsone not to tarie long in visiting his wyf's freindis be the way, and so to hinder the work; for thair are manie gude brethrein and sisters of his acquentance langs to sie him heir, and speciallie Mr Stubs. The S[ecretarie] demandit me of the state of the cuntrie, tyrannie of the bischops, the barons, and stur of the common peple at this common confusioun, the King's religioun and lyf, the nomber of ministers fled, Dunfermling, Lady Cassilis, cumming of Jesuits in Scotland with Fairniherst, and Mess said in Scotland, and siclik; quhairof zour Lordship knawis the answer. He schow me hir Majestie's gude lyking of the cause, and of manie of the Privie Counsale, quhilk with tyme, was hable to work some gude work, notwithstanding of the manie uther ennemeis it had, and perchance, not the les of Hunsden's absence, on quhais strait in-

[1] Notes, &c., by James Carmichael, see page 412.

junctions the Counsale did sit the 27, 28, and last of Junij, before and efternune, by thair accustomit manner. Efter the cumming of Mr Broun from Mr Davidsone and Cuthbert Armorar, (for he lukit that his injunctions being so strait, and not satisfeit fullie, sould compt him self to haif bein trompit with fair words in tyme bypast, and salbecum ennemies to thair cause: Ze sall do weill not onlie to intreat him wiselie in passing, bot also that the Master of Glames, (or, gif he can not be spairit, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth,) if it be thocht meit, may insinuat him self in his cumpanie to Berwick, under colour of convoy, and to abyde thair, asweill for his cause and negotiation betuix his Lordship and Scotland, as for farther intelligence from Scotland. We can by no meanes resave the Actis of the last Parliament, quhilkis are verie necessar for us, that thei mycht be refutit, be the Word of God, practise and lawis establishit in vther Parliamentis before, actis of counsale, proclamations, missives, and commissions, sent from the King and Counsale to Generall Assembleis; and letters send to everie presbyterie throughout the realme. Gif the Master or anie vther go to Berwick, and could by anie meane procure David Hume's buik,[1] quhairin he wrote his Historie of thir foure yeirs, it sould do us all a singular pleasour. And give the moyane mycht be maid with Mr Craig, to haif the last Collection of the Actis of the Assemblie, it were no les valuable to us. Zour Lordships letre mycht be send with Mr Burnet, the berar heirof, to them both, quhilkis he mycht convoy secreitlie aneuche. Bot to returne to the Secretar, he eikit, that our Court leives nathing, that can be, unoffrit to satisfie hir M[ajestie,] and to prefer hir Majestie's counsale and course to all uther princes, speciallie in the last sending of Cuddie, and to repair all bygane elistis.[2] I answerit, They will gif fair words and yield, if it were to hurt the libertie of the crowne and realme, rather or thei lose their dignitie, and be hinderit in thair course, speciallie since they have resavit sum newis

[1] This probably refers to David Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Douglas and Angus, a portion of which may have been written at this early period.

[2] *Elistis*, eyelists, defects, jealousies.

of the death of Monsieur,[1] quhairby thair course is hinderit. Bot gif for this, thair weill knawn and tryit trustie freinds sould be lychleit; and thair dissimulat freindis (now turnit by compulsion, and against thair willis, of verie hypocrisie to seik them, quhen uthers quhom thei socht can not profit them) sould be in greter credit and recommendation, and no difference put betuix the tua, according to the gud or evill affection, then were the case of thair freinds worse then of thair foes; and better it were to be thair foes than thair maist trustie freinds, gif that sould be the rewards: quhilk salbe ane evill practise, and hurtful exemple heirefter, quhen thei may haif neid of freinds. Bot it wes ansuerit to me, they knew them weill, and the cause of thair present folding, and wald never mak comparison with the one partie and the uther, let be to prefer the uther: for not onlie was the Monsieur's death cause of thair offers, bot also thei knew one was cumit secreitlie from Fraunce and Spain of lait, schawing ane answer that thei can not bestow thair money on the King of Scottis, of quhom thei are not assurit (and it may be think thei) that the King makis this broill to thraw out craftilie from them thair money. Quhairupon, the bruit is heir, that one Mr Thomas Ogilbie is to be send to the King of Spain, to let him understand thair wes Mes in Scotland, and that he did see the King at it; becaus the King of Spain will not gif his daughter to him, except he knaw he be a Catholique, (bot I haif not this of the Secretar;) bot yit, sayes he, thei must beir with tyme for a litill, quhill thei saw further, luking, or it were long, thei sould be detectit, quhairwith he desyrit zour Honouris in patience, comfort zour selfs. I objectit, quhat evill the drift of tyme had brought, and was hable to bring, and thairfore concludit that haist was the life of the cause, and untymous patience the lose thairof.

We haif writtin ane common letter, subscryvit with our hands, to the Church of Geneva, and ane uther to Tigurine, informing them of the stait of our Churche, and equitie of the cause, decyphering

[1] Francis Duc D'Anjou, brother and presumptive heir of Henry III. King of France. He died on the 10th of June 1584.

the Bischop of St Androis[1] and his practises heir, with summar ansuer to his craftie cavillations and propositions, quhilk were directit to them before to thraw, or rather steill some ansuer to favour thair proceidingis; bot thei haif delayit thair ansueris to the King and the Bischop's letters, quhill our advise come. His craft and falset may meit him with tyme in the teith. We heir besids from Scotland, that George Ramsey of Langraw, ane zealous man duelling besyde St Androis, seing the Bischop marie efter the English ceremoneis, and commanding the persons mareit to sit doun on thair kneis to resave his blessing, and heiring greit railing against the trew pastoris, went secreitlie and admonischit the Bischop, reasoning with him upon sondrie heads of his doctrin; bot efterwart the Bischope wreit to court, complening of him, and causit him be send to Dumbartane, to the greit mislyking of all his freinds, to quhom, notwithstanding, he denyit that ever he had wyte thairof, efter his accustomit lies.

Mr James Hadden is laitlie cumit from France, and sayis that Eister Wemis[2] shew him at Paris, that Setoun[3] not onlie gois to Mes, bot also that he awowis he dois it at the King's command in his name, sustening his persone. He sayis he hes gottin his dispatche from court, albeit he deny the same him self, and that his sone, the said Prior,[4] gois some farther jorney, efter returning of his father: quhether it be to Spain, or Rome, or both, I refer to tyme to tell.

I red the Declaration to Mr Bowis, quhairin he could not collect about tua heids quhairof he requirit warrandis, bot acknawledget them all to be knawin treuthis. Mr Davidson[5] is confirmit in all

[1] Patrick Adamson: In James Melville's Diary, p. 154, is inserted a translation of the letter which was addressed to the Churches of Geneva and Tigure, (or Zürich,) in reply to Adamson's misrepresentations; and which he ascribes to his uncle, Andrew Melville. It also occurs in Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 158, where it begins, "It is now almaist 25 yeirs." The reading in Melville is, "It is now almaist *fyftein* yeirs."

[2] James Colville of East Wemyss.

[3] George, sixth Lord Setoun.

[4] Alexander Setoun was educated for the Church, and became Prior of Pluscardine. He afterwards betook himself to the study of the law; and attained the high honour of being Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and President of the Court of Session, and was created Earl of Dunfermline.

[5] William Davison, who was sent as minister to Scotland, in May 1584.

things set down sence his going to Scotland, and farr mair; and uses the arguments contenit thairin, in his privat or publique letters, as I haif experience. He hes send ane copie thairof to the Lord Thesaurar, quho reservis al thingis to himself secreitlie aneuch. Alwayis it will serve for his satisfaction, and by his voce, of vthers. Quhen all shalbe set in dew forme, and writtin over, I sall mak zour Lordships acquentit with all before farther publishing thairof, that with zour Lordshipis consent, Mr Secretar's and Mr Bowis's, it may be prentit *incerto authore, typographo, et loco,* except it be thocht to be done with greter autoritie and consent, quhairof tyme will gif farther consale. In respect of the premissis, I trust zour Lordships will beir with my tarie heir, nocht seiking my self nor my ease, bot preferring the common cause, (quhairunto I haif dedicate my self in the feir of my God,) unto lif, wif, childrein, and al things erthlie, readie to be imployit thairin, if any farther credit or habilitie were in me, as knawis God, quho mote bliss zow in zour godlie intention, and reserve zow to the farther comfort of his Kirk and of zour native cuntrie, now afflictit by the tyrannie of Atheists, quhois powar the Lord shal bait down in his justice, quhan our trew humiliation sall appeir, and their impietie sall cum to the height in full maturitie, and thair coup be full.) Quhilk both we crafe the Lord to haisten through his mercie.

From London, this Monunday
the saxt of July 1584.

I had almost forzet to wreit the presenting the humble commendation of my service unto zour Lordshipis, quhilk was first in thocht, were not this postscriptum remembrit me. Concerning the libertie of the Scottis Kirk at London, quhairof Mr Louson did wreit before I met the Secretarie: he thocht it not to be spokin of this tyme as yet. Efter the writing heirof, upon Sonday at four houris at evin, the murder of the Prince of Orenge first brack up and came by speciall post. He is schot through the hart with a poutche pistole, be on [one] send from the Prince of Parme with lettres; he never spak word. The uther is kept alive to tryall by

torture. The Prince of Parme tuk an strenth that sam tyme in Holand, quhairunto he brocht sudanlie his forces, knawand the purpose. This Prince's sone[1] is proclamit Governour, and ane uther Lieutenant: the governement standis as before. Hir M[ajestie] may walkin, and gudemen in Scotland, to sie thair danger. Hir Majestie takis it verie grevouslie in hart; and God may bring lycht out of darknes.

Be zour Lordshipis humble orator at al obedience and service in the Lord,

J. CARMICHAELL,
Minister of God's Word.

(*Addressed*)
To the verie noble and potent Lord
the ERLE OF ANGUS, delyver these.

NOTES FOR MR PATRIK GALLOWAY[2] HIS MEMORIE, 4 JULIJ, 1584, GOING TO NEWCASTLE, TO THE LORDS.

1. To confer of the place of their residence, in respect of the time, the caus, companie, and air, whether they will hold hous at *Esk*, which Mr Bowes would glaidlie give them, or rather, some to abide neere the Court, to obviat the daylie calumneis of adversareis in Scotland; and some others to be at Berwick, to give intelligence frome Scotland; and speciallie, to have copeis of proclamatiouns, acts of counsell, and of the last Parliament.

2. Send to all Scotishmen freinds in France or Flanders, to come hither, who have no licences.

3. Putt their Honours in minde, to seeke occasioun to meete Hunsdane in his passing to Berwick.

4. Occurrences frome Scotland, wherof they cannot be igno-

[1] Evidently Maurice, son of the Prince of Orange.

[2] Patrick Galloway was minister of Perth. His paper, entitled an Apology, in reference to his conduct at this time, when he fled to England, is printed, from the original, in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 107-123. It is also to be found in Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 110-122.

rant. 1. As of the letter, answering Mr Lawson's letter, to be subscribed by the Proveist, bailiffes, and counsell, which the Proveist refused. 2. A proclamatioun to all, to be readie upon fortie dayes. 3. The erledome of Angus destinat to one not borne. 4. The King's going to Falkland. 5. Returning of Phairnihirst with Mr William Schene, seminarie preest, and Mr Johne Hay, or two Ireland men. 6. That Colonell Stewart intends to be captan of Edinburgh Castell, and proveist of the toun, at Michaelmes. 7. That the Colonell and the Captan of the Castell, with the Erle of Rothesse, are constitute judges in the justice airs of Hadintoun, for punishing suche as sall be found culpable of the Road of Stirline. 8. None accompaneis Mr Davidsone, but Mr Johne Grahame, and sometimes James Melvill. 9. Arran and the Proveist of Edinburgh invited Mr Davidsone to bankett, but he excused himself by taking of medicine. 10. Ladie Cassils come to England. 11. Dumfermline to Flanders narrowlie escaped, after his licence was obteaned; his cautioners in Fife evill troubled for his flight. 12. The variance betuixt Crawfurd and [the] Colonell sewed up, so that Arran and the Colonell convoyed Crawfurd to boate to Leith, going to court. 13. Manie good men of Edinburgh debarred frome their housses twelve myles. 14. The ports of Edinburgh keeped strait. 15. They will give faire words, whill they have the whole strenths, and have subdued all their enemeis. 16. Lindsay remaines in Crawfurd's hands. 17. Johne Duncansone preached in Edinburgh, after he had beene three houres with Arran and certan of Edinburgh who runne the Frenche course. 18. Mr Johne Nicolsone fugitive. 19. Mr James Nicolsone preached to the King. 20. Some barons of the west spoiled of their houses. 21. A road of England in Scotland about Carlill, tooke a ritche prey of goods, and about eighty men, some out of their beds, and slue others. Maxwell desired licence to repay it, but the King would not graunt. 22. None left in the New Colledge, teacher nor scholler, except Mr Johne Robertsone. 23. Johne Dureis desire to come home, offered to be satisfeid, upon conditioun that he would subscribe the Acts of Parliament.

NOTES TO BE PRESENTIT TO MY SPECIALL GOOD LORD, MY LORD HUNDSDON,[1] ANE OF HIR MAJESTIE'S MOST HONORABILL PRIVY COUNSALE, BE HIS HONORIS HUMBILL ORATOR MR COLVILE.[2]

FIRST, Concerning the approbation of the Raid of Ruthven, and declaratioun of his Majestie's contentment and good lyking of the actoris thairof.

His Majestie confirmit the same be act of his Secreit Counsale, and be the assembly of his Estatis. His Grace causit the Ministeris declair his contentment unto the pepill for thair satisfaction, and proclamations wer publesit throuchout the haill cuntre for that effect. To Sir Georg Cary also, hir Majestie's Ambassador, both secreitly and openlie; his Majestie confirmit the same to Mr Robert Bowes and Mr William Davesone; and Mr Colvile wes sent his allone to England, to certifie hir Hienes thairof. Lyik as Colonell Stewart, joynit with the said Mr Colvile, wes at ane other tyme directit to the same end; and thocht theis wer sufficient argumentis of his Majestie's contentment, yit the moir to verifie the matter, his Grace hes writtin sundry letters, all of his awin hand, confirming the same, bayth befor and eftir the lait alteratioun at Sanctandrus.

And for the pretendit allegeance of captivite, it may be answerit, That his Majestie wes not so captyve bot that he mycht either haif spokin or writtin with the said Sir George Cary, Ambassador, with Mr William Davesone, or Colonell Stewart, at his awin plesor, gif ony miscontentment had bein in his hart. And quher thei alleig that the Actis of Secreit Counsale, and of the Estatis, approving the interprys forsaid, is bot conditionall, the answer is, That gif thair be ony conditioun expressit in the said Actis, all sall be confessit trew that is objectit aganis the distressit.

[1] Lord Hunsdon was a cousin of Queen Elizabeth. He had been appointed to hold a conference with the Earl of Arran on the Borders.

[2] Colville had for several years been Minister of Kilbride, but having deserted his cure, he turned courtier; and at a later period, he apostatized to the Romish Church, and settled in France.

Secondly, Concerning Colonell Stewart legatioun and myne. The said Colonell at his cumming to England semit weill content; bot efter he had insistit eirnistly for the heritage quhilk appertenit to his Majestie's grandfather, because sic ansuer wes nocht giffin as plesit him, (albeit the said ansuer wes mair nor in resone we culd haif wischit,) he changit purpos; affirming, be the way, in our return, mony absurditeis, contrarius to the advancement of religioun, his Majestie's honour, and amitie betuix the twa Crownes, as in a speciall collectioun I haif notit; quhairunto, because I opponit my self, alleging him to be ane inprofitabill servand to his Majestie, our maister, and unfaythfull to the estait of England, and to all the Nobill men that had best servit his Majestie in his zouth, he consavit wrath aganis me, and finally did so muche at his Majestie's hands, that without ony tryall I was committit to vard, and so injustly usit as never wes ony subject in Scotland; and efterwart, be degreis, the haill nobillmen that are this day distressit were persequuted in suche sort, as now to the warld is manifest.

Last, Gif thair meaning be upright, your Honour will persaif be this tryall.

Thai say in generall, thai will deill moir invartly with hir Majestie nor with ony other foren prince, and follow hir advys in governing thair estait. Gif so be, let thame declair quhat deling his Majestie hes with his Mother, quho are the instrumentis, as weill in England as Scotland, that yet makkis intelligence betuix thame, and quhat privy moyen haif thai for convoying of thair letters to and fra. Lett thair interlynit letter, quhiche passit betuix his Majestie and his Mother, be producit. Of all these thingis, I knaw your Honour is resonabill weill informit, without thair knawleg; gif thai dissemill with your Lordship in ony of thir pointis, then thair lait promisis wilbe no surer nor the former.

Nixt, lett thame be urgit to declair quhat privy deling thai haif with France? Quhat dois the Lord Setoun's long abode thair signifie, and his frequent conferances with the Bischopes of Glesgo and Ros, with the Spanis Ambassador, Popis Nuntiois and Scottis Jesuitis? Quhairfor wes Sir John Setoun his sone sent into Spain, and ane other, ether alredy againe directit thidder, or ellis to go

very shortly? And in governing of thair estait, gif thai will follow hir Majestie's advys, then quhat is the caus moving his Majestie to promot and favor all thois that are recommendit be his Mother, or ony foren prince, saving hir Majestie, howsoever thai haif behavit or behavis thame self in religioun, or othervyis? And that thai quho are recommendit be hir Majestie, can find no kynd of favour, bot extrem persequutioun or dethe, imprisonment or banishment?

And gif it may pleis your good Lordship, heir my foolische opinioun. Suirly, I can not think thai quha hes violat in tyme past promisis and handwrittis, and instrumentis, meid in the word of a Prince, ar so far changit, as to keip better in tyme cumming nor thai haif done heirtofor; and supposing for a quhile thai suld keip promeis, thair is na questioun the same is moir for particular commoditie to thair self, nor for ony favour thai haif to the estait of England; and rether to prolong tyme till thai may be strenthenit to work some greter mischeif aganis zour freindis in Scotland; yea, and perhappis againis your awin estait, nor for ony other good caus. I reid, the fraudfull Hannibal maid farest offers to the Romanis, quhen as he wes makand gretest preparatioun aganis thame; and the wyis Grekis outwardly pretendit lest hostilitie to the Trojanes, quhen the fatall horse wes in preparatioun; and the traitorous Sinon gaif smothest wordis to the said Trojanis, quhen he was evin at point to work thair ruin, quhilke the said Trojanis had escapit, gif thai had nocht trustit the Sinon. My Lord, I culd nominat to zour Honour four or fyf deceitfull Sinons verey neir his Majestie, quho ar as gret enemies to the estait of England, (quhiche I pray God to blis,) as Sinon wes to Troy; quhilke I dare affirm, be Godis grace, aganis any of thame, ether be resone, or ony other way the gentill men sould deill with otheris: thairfoir I pray God thai be nocht trustit, quhiche beand [the case,] thair is no thocht or sourty to be had of them.

(*Indorsed,*)

Copy of my Notes giffin to my Lord Houndsden, the xv of Julij 1584, quhen he passit to intreit wyth Arran in the Scottis materis.

Mr Patrick Galloway's Letter to Mr James Carmichaell, from Newcastell, the 2d of November 1584.

Our Lords here, with their dependars and servants, blessed be God, are in good health, and well exercised daily in praying, hearing, and reading of the Word; in whom, as to our great comfort, we see the effectual working of God's Spirit by his Word, so conceive we an undoubted hope, that God is forming them as worthy instruments to the performance of some good and great work that he has to doe with them; travail has been taken betwixt them and the neighbours whom ye know, according to the will of these that are there. *Major natu* has yeilded with his heart, and the matter is in heart and words knit up. The rest is to follow as opportunity will serve with expedition. *Minor natu plane recusauit; et Polwarto causam sciscitanti, non sine stomacho in faciem regessit, ipsum cum suis sociis ministris totius tumultus in Scotia* [*causam*] *extitisse, ac ob id nunquam pacatam* [*fore*] *regionem illam, donec omnes nostro exemplo inde pellantur. Relicto igitur eo, ad nos venit Polwartus, ubi jam manet.* This same *minor natu*,[1] Clodius, is to be at London, and [is] to stay at his power the good cause. With him we are informed Metellanus, Montrosius, and Melvinus deales, and some of his side of the Bound Rode.[2] I am sure ye will get knowledge. *Interea natu major constantissimus est,* and has bitterly reproved the other, promising great unkindness for his dealing. Our noblemen are earnest to have you all brethren here, for they are not negligent. And I trow by your concurrence some good work sould be effectuat. Half write is sufficient for you.

[1] By *major* and *minor natu* are evidently meant John Hamilton, and his brother Claude Hamilton, or "Clodius." Vide Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 442; vol. iv. p. 208. They were younger sons of the Duke of Chastelherault, and thus brothers of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, whose title Colonel Stewart had assumed. See Row's History, p. 102, note.

[2] The "Bound Rode" was the line of boundary, on this side of Berwick, separating the two Kingdoms.

Extracts from Calderwood's Larger MS. History. December M.D.lxxxiv.

David Hume of Argettie was apprehended and takin in the beginning of December, and condemned upon the 8th, only for reading a letter his brother son had sent out of England to his tenents. There were a thousand crouns offered for his life, but no grace could be obtained. Many wondered at this cruelty, that for so light a fault any man's blood sould be shed. His head was set upon the Nether Bow.

The Lord Hume was conveyed that way to the Castle of Edinburgh from Tamtallan.

Others report that he was accused for counselling, rideing in company with the rebells, and receiving of writes, and receiving in company William Hume, servitor to the Earl of Marr, and into his lodging, contrare to the Acts of Parliament, and giving lodging to the Abbot of Dryburgh. He answered, he received the said persons and writts before the said Acts; yet he was hanged and used as a traitour. Mr Nicol Dagleish was continued.

Upon Tuesday at night, the 8th of December 1584, Paul Methven called Mr James Carmichaell to the Lord Leicester, who promised not to sup for his cause. After he had been from three hours to six with the Thesaurer, Chamberlane, and Secretar, in the Treasurer's house, and after an half hour's being with hir Majestie, came to his chamber at Saint James, where Sir Philip Sydney did sup with others. So he went in to his inner chamber, where Paul and Mr James were called, and after humane and courteous receiving, excused the diets broken for his great buseness. Paul said Mr James came with the rest. Mr James took occasion to discourse to his Honour of the courses that had been used in Scotland, in the Duke's time, against religion and amitie; and to alienate the King's mind from both, by means of the Council of Trent, who to that effect sent D'Aubigney thither; the platts laid in France be

Glasgow, Ross, Guisians, Pope's Nuncio, first beginning at the ministry; and when D'Aubigney[1] failed in that, thir last fell to the nobility; whereof there was none that either loved religion, defended the King's cause in the civil wars against the murtherer of his Father, Grandfather, and Uncle, but they are beheaded, proscribed, or have procured licences off the countrie, and in a manner proscribed, or warded or prisoned at home, displaced of their kindly offices and possessions; and in their places entered Papists, enemies to religion and the amity, defenders, or committers of these foul murthers, or their heires, Queenists, such as employed their witts and force with his Mother against himself, entered in court credit, in the lands, offices, and possessions of the others: Montrose; Crawford, the Cardinal's daughter's son; a Beton, as the Bishop of Glasgow; Huntley's father at his father's murther; Phairnihirst, warden, at his grandfather's murther; and Cesford displaced; Claud Hamilton received in favour; Melvil, Matlane, in the Castle of Edinburgh; only Papists employed in ambassadrie; Seton[2] to France, Sir John to Spain, Spanish knight and pensioner, Mr Alexander[3] to the Pope, whose letters were intercepted; the Bishop of St Andrews here,[4] (he said to the King, that Mr James told him the catalogue of these that were in the fields against him, and that Mr James knew: but he never knew it, nor spake it, nor scarcely ever saluted him: marie, he was busie with some of the Bishops of England;) and Master of Gray, a practising Papist, and who professed Papistrie, and when he came out of Scotland professed himself a Catholick, and was not satisfied so much as with the holy water,[5] as Mr Walter Balcanqual had shewn already. Yet answered, that he was now a Protestant of the King's religion professed in Scotland be the ministers; yea, says he, ye have gotten ministers of your own, Jesuits, na of Geneva, for yours come nearer Papistry here. In end, Mr James thought he little regarded religion. He practised with Glasgow, Ross, Guise con-

[1] Esmé Stewart, Lord D'Aubigné, created Duke of Lennox.
[2] Lord Setoun, and his son Sir John.
[3] Alexander Setoun: see p. 417.
[4] That is, in England.
[5] See Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 253.

voyed his Ambassadors; but he said confidently, all Papists rebells with Huntley, were out of the country, and the ministers might goe home well enough. And this was the cause of thir wrath, first and last, against the ministry,—that as watchmen, seeing all these perils, they gave them in from the Assembly to the King and Council, and sent their commissioners to complain of thir grieves, desiring redress. Their commissions are yet extant to see in the Register Books of Council and Assembly; and when they would have invaded the ministers' lives sundry times, were hindered, untill St Andrews, Mr John Graham, &c. Who could live in safetie while these were counsellors? unless they would abjure the truth, acknowledge the Queen's authority, shake hands with the murderers, condemn the King's cause, and embrace the contrar, which they will not doe, nor acknowledge the Bishop's power. "There were five hundred ministers in Scotland at liberty preaching; might they not do as they?" He confessed they were the principals; and Mr James said, that the violent course against the rest was relented after the safety of the rest; but if the banished ministers had been taken, they and the rest had altogether been wracked, so their safetie was theirs also; and now be craftie means, they laboured to draw them home to the same end. Colonel [Stewart?], of a soldier's religion, of a current religion, a religion for ilk country to serve the self, he wished they should return, bear with the King, win him with gentleness. He would dy in the same religion. The Ambassador shewed him a letter that afternoon in that sence, whatever could be said of him. The whole Jesuits are put out of Scotland, and Holt and the rebells that were with Huntly (it appeared he meant therefore, they could not abide there): it would be hard to tyne our country; insisted with many words in that forsaking of it. Ye may write home to your friends and know the estate of it, if ye may live at home or not, and report to me; and Mr James, I would not wish them to go with the Ambassador, for he will go hastily about Munday; but if an Ambassador be sent from hir Majestie, they may goe with him, or goe to Berwick.

Mr Duncan Anderson taught upon Sunday the 13th of December, before the Master of Gray, Ambassador; where he made the King's apology that he was constant in religion, communicat as the King of France did not when he was Monsieur, and had written three letters to him, and had set out proclamations thereupon, and had written for him against the factious, seditious, unquiet spirits who spake the contrary, not to be trusted: and so calumniat the distressed ministers, and justified the King.

Paul Methven heard him, and came not to the ministers while Thursday at morn, and erched to tell them that; but that he had been at the sermon in Court, and come in the end, and said he spoke some things might have been left unspoken. He desired what writtes the ministers had extracted for Leicester; for he was to depart as appeared, that he would shew them to the ambassador to trump them. Mr Anderson excused himself to Mr John Colvil; but he convicted him of uncharitable dealing with the ministers. He confessed he said not all he was desired; for he was desired to read the proclamation of the Jesuits' expelling. He said to Mr Pellam he was an Englishman, his mother was a Scotchwoman. He said he had been in Germanie, but yet never out of England. The Secretar bade beware with him, and said he would not goe home. But Paul had promised to go.

Mr Walter Balcanquall preached once or twice before Mr Lowson's death, and continued, till at length he began a lecture upon the Epistle to the Ephesians; and so continued till the 5th of Januar, that he was sent for be the Bishop of London, and was discharged of farther preaching; yea, he would not permit him to preach that same day, which was his lecture day, to dismiss the people conveened in good order. He alledged to Mr Walter in Fulham, that the discharge proceeded from the Counsell; whereupon the parochiners made a sute to the Counsell, but got a delaying answer. Mr John Davidson began to preach in Sanct Olavs,

in the Old Jurie, on Sunday the 8th of November, where he preached twelve or thirteen sermons. He began the book of Job the 20th of December, and preached all the holy days. Speaches were given out among the Bishops, and at the Court, that he was a Thunderer. He was also sent for by the Bishop's summoner or apparitor, that same day with Mr Walter, above seven or eight times; but not being convented, preached notwithstanding on the morrow, and discharged himself, not without great sorrow, to the people. He was no more sent for; for he meeting with two of the Bishop's chaplains, Mr Cotton and Mr Hutcheson, said, That if the Bishop understood all that he knew, he would not wish to speak with him. Mr Davidson had warned the people of a great visitation and affliction approaching to the Church of England; and shew plainly that Scotland was the place where the furnace was kindled by the enemies and conspirators of the Council of Trent, against the whole Church, and specially against England.

MR PATRICK [GALLOWAY] WROTE THIS LETTER FOLLOWING TO MR JAMES CARMICHAELL FROM NEWCASTLE, THE 12TH OF JANUAR, [1584-5.]

BROTHER,

This present is to let you know, that since the down coming of Mr John Colvil, wee all have been sore dejected; be reason not only are we frustrat of our hope, but also happened in the contrary there Nevertheless, as the great power of God is ever present with his own in such necessity to give counsel and courage, so, blessed be God, we all esteem it to be the good work of our God; yet, for our farther humiliation, and in the samine are assured of his mercy and power, that, the arm of man being left and God only waited on, (to whom the good cause appertaineth,) in our weakness his power may appear. Therefore, with full consent, we have appointed the 24th of this instant to be the day of the celebration of the holy communion, before which we are also, God willing, to exercise ourselves eight full days (beginning on Saturday nixt) in

fasting, prayer, and humiliation, and to declare the harmony amongst us all that are here in England banished for the good cause.

Our Lords have written and given speciall commission to Mr John Colvil to ride to my Lord Hamilton, like as also I have written to Mr Andrew Polwart touching the same, that he may be present with us all the time, which thing I know shall be obeyed and yeilded unto, for he was, at my last talking with him, willing thereto: so I doubt not but God who strikes shall heal, who slayeth shall quicken, and who humbleth shall exalt his own, when our true humility shall appear, and the fruit of our forming to that work kythe. Although ye have stayed to come down this time, I would ye had done otherwise.

But I think as things fall out ye shall be advertised. All our people have no will to be put to school again: what I mean ye can weel eneugh judge. God arise, that he may give hearts and hands to his own. I pray you earnestly, for any kindness ye can doe, to cause order my books I gave in ticket to Mr John Colvil, which he sayeth he gave to you, to be used.

Mr James Carmichael's Letter to the Earl of Angus, February 27, 1584[5.]

The remembrance of my duty being with all humility premitted, I have not such news wherewith I would recompense my slackness complained upon, yet it will please your Lordships accept in good part these that the time hath offered in this country. Of Doctor Parrey's intention, beside this Confession printed,[1] it is credibly reported, that upon Sunday the 21st of February, he revealed to the Thesaurer and the Earl of Leicester, (whom I saw goe to the Tower in a cotch that day,) that Pharnihirst should have entered

[1] There was printed at this time, "A true and plaine Declaration of the Horrible Treasons practised by William Parry the Traitor, against the Queene's Majestie, &c. At London, by C. B[arker.]" No date, but 1584, 4to, bl. l.

England with twenty or thirty thousand men, for the deliverance of our Queen, with the concurrence of her other friends in this country, untill greater forces had been amassed.

This Confession as it is keeped secret, yet the circumstances of that time are well observed; as the preparation of the people's hearts here, with his praises in the Declaration of the Acts of Parliament and of his Poeseis[1], wherein some sentences and verses are not well liked of; as he being a king of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms, &c., and the verses which are a commentarie to the prose.

Quo duce spes certa est divisis orbe Britannis,
Haud divisa iterum regna futura duo.
Progenies Regum, Regnorumque unicus hæres,
Scilicet obscurus delituisse potest![2]

Thir two call to mind the Bishop's verse, made in Paris, the King's Genethliacon;[3]

Ergo Merlini venit jam carminis ætas,

whereof this was the sentence:—

The Frenche wife shall bear the son,
Shall rule all Bartain be the sea;[4]

[1] This refers to the volume by King James, printed under the title of "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie." Edinb. 1584. 4to.

[2] These lines form the conclusion of some verses prefixed to King James's poetical volume, 1584.

[3] Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, in his younger days, published a Poem on the birth of James the Sixth, which brought him into trouble on account of the hereditary titles he ascribed to the young Prince, "Serenissimi ac nobilissimi Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuardi illustrissimi, Herois ac Mariæ Reginæ amplissimæ filii Genethliacum." Parisiis, 1566, 4to. It is reprinted in the volume P. Adamsoni Poemata, Lond. 1619, 4to.

[4] In the Collection of "Ancient Scotish Prophecies," first printed in 1603, are the following lines:—

Or who shall rule the Isle of Britane,
From the North to the South sea?
A French Queene shall beare the sonne
Shall rule all Britaine to the sea,
Which of the Bruce's blood shall come
As neere as the ninth degree.

For which, as he was imprisoned there, so it may be this [will] further him, for satisfaction, to the gallows, which hath long gaped for him whom they know to be the professed author of the other two also.

Mr David Hume's Letter to Mr James Carmichael, from Berwick, the 15th of March [1584–5.]

The whole Scottish men here are charged to Newcastle, except two, viz., Mungo Edmiston and Mr James Areskine, who are attached, as we hear, to be examined of some heads. All preaching is here discharged by any Scotish man, either privately or openly. My escheat is taken up, and nothing left to my wife and bearns. The whole ministry betwixt Stirline and Berwick have subscrived, except Mr Patrick Symson, Mr John Hall, Mr Thomas Makgie, Mr Robert Pont, and James Lamb. All Lothian, except Mr Adam Johnston. All the Merce, except John Clapperton, Mr John Hume, William Carrail, and Andrew Winchester. What the North hath done we hear not; but I look for little good at their hands, for the Laird of Dun is a pest to them. I'm afraid that John Durie has cracked his curple, at least his mouth is closed. I can tell nothing of the West.

In Teviotdaill, Mr John Knox, Mr William Cranston, George Johnston, Mr Robert Ker, have not subscribed. The whole rest have done it. There is no preaching in Edinburgh,

Alexander Scott, in a poem addressed to Mary Queen of Scots, in 1562, upon her arrival from France, has a similiar prediction.

Giffe sawis be suth to schaw thy celsitude,
Quhat berne sould bruke all Bretane be the sea?
The prophecie expresslie dois conclude,
The Frensche wyfe of the Bruce's blude suld be:
Thow art be lyne fra him the nynte degree,
And wes King Frances' pairty maik and peir;
So be discente, the same sould spring of thee,
By Grace of God, agane this gude new zeir.

except sometimes. They have made fearfull defection, except very few who sigh and sob under the cross. Mr Craig and John Brand's subscribing hath done much hurt. No man when he lieth down is sure of his life while day.

Glencarne will not come to the Court. Crawford is a malcontent, for they are pressing him to deliver Lindsay, which he refuseth. There was a proclamation the 8th of this moneth, discharging any man or woman intercommuning with any Scotsman in England, either be word or write, under the pain of tinsall of their living for the first fault, and of life and lands for the second fault. Siclike, that none speak in favour of any of them, either to the King or Council, or any other, under the same pains.[1]

ANOTHER [LETTER,] THE 20TH OF MARCH [1584-5.]

THE Presbytrie of Air have subscrived after this manner. The first Act of Parliament made *anno* 1584 we approve. The 23d and 24th we damne, as devilish, and express against God's Word: (I mean the 23d and 24th that appertain to the state of religion.) They have caused their notar subscrive with them, and instruments tane they have subscrived no otherwise. For this cause their stipends are tane from them, and the King is to ride to that countrey: what will be the end the Lord knows. The Laird of Johnston hath obtained grant of an hundreth men of warr to attend upon him for the overthrow of Maxwell. Maxwell is agreed with Carmichael, who is with him. He is agreed with the Grahams, with whom he is at variance, and with all others. They are to attend upon Johnston and his men of war; and I trust God will work some great thing out of it. Huntlie and Crawford remain at

[1] It is not improbable, that the writer of this and the next two letters may have been David Hume, minister of Coldingham, (see Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 348,) and not David Hume of Godscroft, as Dr M'Crie, (Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 239, note,) and others, seem to imagine. But see Hume of Godscroft's own work.

Court, and cannot obtain leave to go to their own country. There is a great debate betwixt Arran and the Master of Gray.

Mr David Lindsay has subscrived, and is ill liked of with many for it. Mr Craig is thought to be made minister to Edinburgh. John Brand is touched with some grief for his subscription; and there are certain about Edinburgh to be transported to other places.

Everie man has gotten four kirks, some six, and some seven; and all things is out of order. The King is become very ill, I will say no worse; for being at the hunting, when he came home, [he] drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called Tell-true, to whom he spake thir words: "Tell-true, I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig." We can get no certainty of the Northland ministers. But I fear the most part have made defection, and John Durie among the rest, as is bruited.

ANOTHER [LETTER] FROM BERWICK, THE 9TH OF APRIL [1585.]

THE King remains at Halyrudhouse, accompanied with Arran, Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, the Colonell, Secretar Matlane, and, as is thought, is to take his progress to the West.

He speaks plainly, that if Arran or Gray has made any promises to the Queen of England, ather touching his marriage or coming in England, he will perform nothing of it; and therefore they are about to devise some new trick to delay time with the Lord Hounsdone, while they may get some further purpose brought to pass.

Captain Bruce came to Berwick the 5th of this month, with letters from the Justice-Clerk, and, as we hear, is to return again shortly, and to bring in some Scotish hackneys to courteours; to drift time awhile, and to promise there shall be a great Earl sent in thereafter to end all matters: howbeit there is never a true word meant.

The Lord Lindsay is laying at the point of death, supposed to be dead, and therefore hath gottin licence to come to the Struthers to his own house. Claud Hamilton shall pass off this country, betuixt this and the 3d of May, to France, and hath some living appointed to him, and it's thought he shall goe to the Guisians. Crawford and the Master of Gray are agreed; there was a great bragging between them in the calsay of Edinburgh.

The King bears with Gray. Matlane, Melvil and Gray, with Huntly and Crawfurd, meane France's gate; and Arran is not privie to their doings. The King is mervelously perswaded to have nothing to doe with England, with diverse arguments, as,

1*st*, They have his Mother already; and if they had him, they might take the Crown, and doe with it what they pleased.

2*d*, Beginning their course or ending in England, he shall not only hazard the title of the Crown of England, but jeopard his own being now established.

3*d*, The old League of France would be in hazard to be broken, which were great dishonour to him; with many other such like.

Always assure yourself there is no keeping with England, of any promises made, but so far as will serve their own turnes: As to the Earl of Morton he is at the horn, and is laying among the clans, looking when they shall ride upon him. The whole country where he is, is bound with him; he will not come in, except they sould send such pledges for him as he is content withall.

As to Marshall, I hear nothing of him. Glencairn, I hear nothing of him; nor other in Scotland, but these before-named. Bothwell remains ill liked of at Kelso, upon his own guard, and is charged to ward, but I think shall not obey; but they will oversee him, and he is little good worth.

As to the state of the Church, there should have been a Synodall Assembly of the whole ministry within the Diocese of Sanct Andrews, the 6th of this month, but is continued till the 13th of the same; and the King has sent his letters to every exercise, very sharply charging all to convene. What will fall out there?

But I think they that have not subscribed shall not compear there, whose names between Stirling and Berwick are these :—

Mr Robert Pont.	Thomas M'Gie.
— Adam Johnston.	John Cairns.
— Nicol Dalgleish.	[Richard] Thomsoun, at Leith.
— Patrick Simpson.	James Lamb.
— John Hall.	

THE MERSE.

Mr John Clapperton.	William Carrail,
— John Hume.	and
— Robert French.	Andrew Wincester.

IN TIVIOTDALE.

Mr John Knox.	George Johnston,
— [William] Cranstoun.	and
— Robert Kerr.	Williame Balfour.

I hear of none in Fife, but David Ferguson, John Dykes, and Mr Thomas Buchanan.

As to the North, I cannot tell anything, but I fear that Dun[1] hath corrupted all: for Mr James Melvil,[2] and Mr James Balfour, as it is reported, came to Edinburgh and subscribed.

Finally, there is a great discontentment through the whole country: the readers are made ministers, and all corruption hath entered in, for every man hath gotten four kirks.

I am informed that there shall some harder injunctions yet be laid to their charge that have subscrived; and they that have not, if they compear at this Assembly, shall be warded, and if they compear not, shall be banished. I shall do good will to send you all things that ye wrote for last. I pray you advertise me, whether Mr Andrew[3] has made an answer to the Acts of Parliament, for all

[1] John Erskine of Dun.

[2] Minister of Arbroath, and brother of Andrew Melville.

[3] Andrew Melville: The Answer referred to is contained in Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 269.

Brethrin, We salute zoll hartlie in ye lord. Ye hees pleasit our
god ost his gudnes, to offer occasione off libertie to his kirk at
yis pnt wist in yis countrie, quhilk of ye multitude off his mertz we
houpe he sall fardar adebaue. Praying zoll wist all diligence
as ze ar zelus of ye commone cause, to repar hether tobart
yis contre that be mutual conference. We may (as our god
will gille wist ye grace) concure and mutuall put to our hands
to ye warke, concerning ye glorie of our god, and ye adebance,
amnt ost ye kingdome ost his sonn Jesus christ quhais spreit
wist wist zoll, and conduct zoll. Frome Strevilinge, ye
vj day ost novembr, 1585

Robert pont
mr Jo hum cray
And. melvine
Mr andrew polmart
James anderson
Patrick Gillespie
Walter balcanquall
Mr Gallouay
Robert Cruges

(Addressed on the back.)

To ye lovinge brethren mr James
tarnuchael mr Jhone Davidson
mr James melvine & ye rest ost
ye scottish prothes gite hoste
at lowden in home lane
in mr antonie mitins
house.

the godly depend upon for him; for it did properly belong to him, otherwise it had been answered before now. Surely we are daily looking for ane mischief or other, to light on our godless courteours. As to my escheat, it is tane up to the rigour at home, and I have got nothing away except my books.

THE BRETHREN'S LETTER FROM STIRLING, 6TH NOVEMBER 1585, RESAVIT ON FRYDAY 19 THAIROF, ANSWERIT 8 DECEMBER 1585.[1]

BRETHERIN,—We salute zow hartlie in the Lord. It hes plesit our God off his gudnes to offer occasione off libertie to his Kirk at this present wythin this countrie, quhilk of the multitud off his mercy we houpe he sall fardar advance, praying zow wyth all diligence as ze ar zelus of the commone caus, to repar hether towart this Contrie; that be mutuall conference we may (as our God will give ws the grace) concure and mutually put to our handis to the wark concernyng the glorie of our God and the advancement off the kingdome off his Sonn Jesus Christ, quhais Spreit rest wyth zow, and conduct zow. From Streviling the vj. day of November.

ROBERT PONT.
MR JOHNE CRAG.
AND. MELVINE.
MR ANDRO POLVART.
JAMES ANDERSON.
PATRIK GILLASPIE.
WALTER BALCANQUALL.
M. P. GALLOVAY.
M. ROBERT BRUCE.

(*Addressed on the back,*)
To thair loving brethren, Mr James Carmichael, Mr Johne Davidson, Mr James Melvine, and the rest of the Scottish Prechours, give these at London in Honie Lane, in Mr Antonie Martin's hous.

[1] This is the indorsation of the original.

Mr James Melvill's Letter to Mr James Carmichael, the 2d of January 1585-6.

From Berwick I came directly to Court and to the Parliament, where I found matters so far by my expectation, that I looked like one that had fallen out of the lift: I was so amazed, for whereas I supposed that our folks should have used that authority which God had put in their hands, and purpose throughly to goe to reformation, I find all contrariwise. The King playing Rex, scorning and taunting all, boasting the poor, and bragging the rich, triumphing over the ministers, and calling them lownes, smaicks, seditious knaves, and so furth. There was assembled a number of our best brethren. We suited abrogation of the Acts of Parliament, and an act for establishing of Discipline. The Lords sent us to the King. The King boasted us, and we got no more. We gave in our animadversions on the last acts, shewing how they could by no means stand.

But the King would have us contented with an interpretation of his, and declaration dyted by himself, the which he alledges should be as good for us as an act of Parliament; and when we got it, it was but a Dun humble kow. At last he promised a conference, and General Assembly to be convocated be him, *imperatore presidente;* and so we spent *operam et oleum.* In the meantime, Mr John Howeson made a good exhortation, telling the truth, and meet for the purpose. But there was no remedy, he must go to ward.

Mr William Watson followed after, and to get him some liking and commendation as appeared, spake raggatly the rough truth; and he was shoped up beside the other. The King alledged it was the English ministers (so he termed us) that had stirred them up; and made Mr Craig, Mr David Lindsay, and the minister of Linlithgow, to occupy the rest of the time. Mr Craig pleased the King in all points, and exhorted the Lords and ministers not to

stand upon their innocency, but to fold their feet, and crave pardon and grace at the King: so justified the subscribers, and condemned those that had left their flocks. At last then was your maich the Bishop brought, and he taught, *Ecce quam bonum, et quam jucundum*, and flattered all. What shall I say, man? I abode never such a cross in my life, as at this kind of Parliament. What could we doe? We ran to the Lords, every one after other, and some time altogether. Wee discharged our consciences to them, we threatened them, and warned them, and cursed them.

But whatever every one severally confessed, it was wrong laid the wyte upon over much wisdom.

The wise said it was not yet time, but we should see a redress belyve in another parliament; *sed interim patitur justus*: and the curse of God lyes on them for building of their own houses, and suffering the house of God to lay. The King would suffer neither living nor honour to be taken from any of the troublers, na scarcely from Captain Candie[1] James, let be their lives. I fear nothing but a more [sevère] judgement upon the King, Lords, and people, nor I have seen.

As to the subscribing ministers, first, when the Lords came in and prospered, they seemed to yield and offered satisfaction; but how soon they perceived the Lords to be boasted, and gave over that which God had given them, and the King to stand stoutly to the old mark, and Mr Craig to preach openly against the Peregrine ministers, they stood stiffly in their wickedness, and insist in defence of their fact. James Gibson spoke plainly in the pulpit of Edinburgh his mind of the King, and was called and accused, and is presently in ward in the Castle of Edinburgh. His accusation and answer to the King I have sent you. Mr Andrew has been a sore traicked man since he came home; ryding up and down all the country, to see if he might move the brethren to repent and join together, and waiting on court and parliament, and is now compelled for one cause or other to goe and rest in Glasgow

[1] Apparently a phrase, which is elsewhere used, to signify a special favourite of the King.

There is an act of restitution made in favours of all ministers, that within thir few years past off the countrey, to their livings and offices; and this is all that we could obtain at this parliament. But I live yet in hopes of better, *per secundam navigationem.*

A Part of Mr Carmichael's Letter to his Father-in-Law,[1] against the Subscriptioun of the Kingis Acts, 4th Martij 1585-6.

I am sorie that any varience sould now arise in that Kirk, where nothing hes bene heard bot concord, except within thir two zeirs; and wishes that, without partial affection, men may wey the merits of the cause, and do that quhilk may serve for removing of the same, rather than to stand on thair reputation, least in standing to the defence of infirmitie, (quhilk may fal on man,) ane error becum a cryme. With what conscience the Subscription was offrit in anie of your degreis, I abstein to reason, bot ane thing I knaw, that the simplicitie of the best rank hes bene foullie abusit: for if thei had foirsene the craft and policie of thair adversares to have bene to send the simple subscriptions heir, without anie mention of anie obligation, or secreit binding and contract, (quhilk was keipit back for the nance, to incurage and incense the Bischops, under culour of your conformitie with thair hierarchie, against the gude brethren of this land, wha, as thei had bene chastised with roddes before, myght thairefter be tormented with scourges, or stangit with scorpions,) I suppose they wald everie ane for thair awin part haif rather susteaned a greitter battail and affliction, nor they wald haif gevin a warrand of that tyrannie heir, whereof God had ance delyverit his Kirk thair.[2] And, indeid, examin the best forme of Subscription that is past, the best may be found bad aneuch: For wha

[1] The person's name to whom this letter was sent has not been ascertained.

[2] Carmichael had remained in England for some time after the return of his brethren, for the purpose of negotiating the affairs of the Church. The dedication, to King James, of his "Grammaticæ Latinæ, de Etymologia, Liber Secundus," Canteb. 1587, 4to, is dated from Cambridge, in September 1587.

seis not bot captiouslie men myght have subscrivit the Mess Buke, or the Alcoran of Mahomet, with the same condition. Gif, for defending of this, anie division shall arise, I wald the Brethren sould mark on whose part the offence is offerit, and who are the authors of that scisme, and rather wald confess thair infirmitie, that the mater may cease, to God's glorie and quieting of the Kirk of Christ, then, by defending of that whereupon na honest face can be set, injustlie to disturb the same with pertinacie; for it is to be feared that the curious insisting thairin, sal move some to abuse exemples and other places of the Scripture, wreasting them to serve thair purposes, although impertinentlie, against their awin consciences and meaning of the Holie Ghost, the author and writar thairof; for I wald the fyne patrons of that fact wald examine what kynd of covenant was maid betwene the Lord and Joas the king and the people, in the presence of Jehoiada, even that thei sould be the Lord's people;[1] and what covenant was maid betwene the king and the people, and al the congregation in the House of God, and thei wald be eschamit to mak comparisone with that covenant, wherein al were bent to go fordwart in the feare of God, and betwene this subscrivit paction, wherein the one partie had craftilie travailit for serving thair awin turn, to circumvene and pul back the other from God's obedience and that sinceritie, whereunto thei had zeildit with gude reason by subscription befoir; and the other partie had captiouslie involvit thame selfs for eschewing of a wodbreade in sic a labirinth as in the quhilk ane other Minotaure wald soner be slane then he could escape, and quhilk na man of sound jugement, and quha hes not bene polluted with that pick, can approve or allow, yea al men condemns as a thing conteaning ane hicher offence then waiknes in the nature of man. Moreover, what scruple was in that covenant, whereat ather Jehoiadah or his sonnes, or anie of the Preists or Levits did tak offence then? zea, no posteritie did find anie dowt in anie thing of that covenant since. But, alace, I am eschamit to note the causes of gruge,

[1] 2 Kings xi. 17; 2 Chron. xxiii. 3, 16.

the scruple, the dowts, the grose errouris, the greis of defection from the former covenant with God and with the king, in those acts quhilk, after sa monie tong interpretations, abids yet als sklanderous as ever thei did to brethrene abrode and at home, that whosoever gois about to mak sic comparison, thei sie thame selfs driven in infinit absurdities, for *uno inconveniente dato, plurima sequuntur.* The reforming and mitigating of them after thair voting, before thei were proclamit; the reforming and mitigating agane before thei were printed; the printed and writtin intentions for commentares to expone thair ambiguitie; the protestation of gude brethren at thair proclaming; the just animadversions gevin in on thame since; the insisting to have thame, by other contrarie acts, not reformed, bot planelie abolished, as lawes quhilk can admit na fair nor sound interpretation, proves this. If the conscience of anie wald be sa gross as yet to stand in thair mantenance, and prease, by so doing, to wesh ane Indiane or black-more, whom al the watir in the sea can never mak quhite; for that were ane evill web to bleitch. Nether can thair be anie other meaning tuiching the other covenant betwene David and al the eldars of Israel,[1] quha with thair assisters, 322,222, came to Hebron to mak him king; for the Lord (before whom it was maid) was callit to witnes that contract was lawful, honest, godlie, of benevolence, without constraint, or anie matter of controversie or misliking, urgeing the unwilling consciences, and forcing to allow the resisting hands to subscrive, and so, considering all the circumstances, hes nothing ado with this unlawful, unhonest, ungodlie, compellit, controvertit, misliket, urget, and thristit out subscription, by minashing and threatning of prisoning or worse.

Quhairfor, Sir, I exhort yow Christianlie in God's name, that as he did use yow to go before uthers in the beginning of the Reformation with the reade knapska, and hath continewed yow in the rycht syde in sundrie assaults of the Church, and hath usit your voce and pen in perelous tymes hertofore, to defend the just

[1] 2 Sam. v. 3; 1 Chron. xii. 23

cause, and impugn and confute the persewars thairof; so now, that ze nether let zour tong nor hand be movit to tak the patrocinie of ane corrupt and leud action, and to hald the wrong end of the staf by your accustomit and wonted manner, to the blinding of anie other who may follow your fitsteps, whose gravitie, yeirs, and experience may gif greiter autoritie nor that cause craves at your hand. Rather in tyme sie your awin simplicitie and rash catching of manie others in a violent tyme, in that net out of the quhilk thei wald maist willinglie, with som honestie, be red if thei could. And so tak up your self, confes your infirmitie, a word will tak all away. Inarme your self with gude arguments in that part, whereof the Scriptures furnishes gude and plentiful stoir to the satisfeing of al gude men at home and abrode, to the calling back of manie who, in blind imitation of others, hes bene farther careit asklent then reason can warrand thair consciences before God, or cleir thair cause before men; and that the adversares who pleisit themselfs and thair faction heir may find als greit schame as ever thei gat vain glorie before. By this soverane salve and medecin may this blote onelie be takin away meit for scapperars, even by confession of a fault in the awin degrie; of quhilk kynd of doing the wisest and most learned of the antient Fathers hes not bene aschamit to confes, retreat, and recant thair errouris to God's glorie, comfort of the Church, and thair awin special commendation. By so doing, Sir, persuade your self to obtein the greitest honour an old scholer in Christ's scole, and sojour in your Christian weirfare, can attene unto in this life. It will not be the countinance of court, the multitude consenting, nor quhite hairs of thair gyders, that will beire out the argument to the end. It wil fal to the ground, thocht al men hald thair hands about the heade of it. The places of Christ, Peter, Paule, are nothing to purpose, brocht to prove that quhilk no man denyis. The invective in the last six lynes (quhilk I wish sould have bene left to Salust, Cicero, and Catalin) makis thair cause never a quheit the better, and requires mair settled and modest jugement in the declamer sitting over deiplie on the conscience, thochts, and maners of brethren then becums Christians. Let

rather the fact be laid to the tuichstone, and sie whither the tryars and diligent inquirers of the deid, or the committers and defenders thairof, salbe found the uncharitable and ingenuous calumniatoris.

Thus have I frielie, in reverence and love, schewit my opinion in this matter, and that privatlie to your self alone, to consider it mair deiplie, without bitternes or upbraiding calumnie to thame who sie and hes socht out this mater mair warelie, whose harts I trust ze sal find far from calumnie or seiking praise to them selfs by reproche of uthers, unles that men wilbe moir obstinate and wilful nor tractable and wise, that hes wryed from the streicht path way in honouring God or pleasuring thair prince.

I wil not say that (in the meane tyme) such as are turne cotes, and can change with all seasons, (and sail with everie wynd,) subscriving to whatsoever, how ignorant, how vitious and ungodlie soever thei be, live at thair ease in al pleasure, and in some place are thocht to be most meit men for the ministerie, what rests bot if thei were preasit, thei wald be readie to cap, and cope, surpleis, and to receve the Service Buke of this land for the pleasure of men, without regard of conscience, quhairof thei have so litle feiling.

That the not-subscrivant mycht be judged traitouris, and the subscrivand goode subjectis, yet it is easie to prove, if experience hath not alreadie taucht it to be trew in manie, that nether is subscriving alwayis a sure note of gude subjectis, nor zet the refusal due proof of a rebel.

[Indorsed]

38, A part of my letter to M. . . . Martij 1585. My Opinione of the Subscription of the King's Actis.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE DEATH AND FUNERAL OF

MR JAMES LAWSON,

MINISTER OF EDINBURGH.

M.D.LXXXIV.

JAMES LOWSON or LAWSON was born near Perth, before the year 1540. He was educated under Andrew Symson at the grammar school of that city; and from thence he went to St Andrews, having entered St. Mary's College in 1559, and was a fellow-student with Andrew Melville. After completing his academical studies, he spent some time abroad, as tutor to the son of the Countess of Crawfurd.

In 1567 Lawson returned to St Andrews, where he gave lessons in Hebrew; and two years afterwards he became sub-principal King's College, Aberdeen. His presentation is dated 8th January 1569. In September 1572, he was invited to Edinburgh as colleague and successor to Knox. In this office of the ministry he continued till within a few months of his death; being constrained by the tyrannical proceedings of Lennox and Arran, in May 1584, to leave his flock and retire to England, where he died in October following. He is described by James Melville as "a man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I never heard preache bot he meltit my heart with teares." The same writer avers, that "for giftis and estimation he was chief amanges the ministerie."[1] Dr M'Crie has stated, it was chiefly by Lawson's exertions that the buildings of the High School of Edinburgh were completed in 1578.[2]

The following minute account of Lawson's death and funeral is preserved in Calderwood's larger manuscript History. It is evidently copied from some contemporary authority. A small portion indeed, at the beginning, is nearly verbatim from James Melville's Diary; but Melville himself was at that time in Newcastle, and he expressly says, "after dyvers moneths seiknes he died, speiking till

[1] Melvill's Diary, pp. 33, 219.

[2] Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 295.

his utter houre maist holilie to God's glorie, and comfortablie till all the heirars: bot *his deathe, and speitches, quhilk war manie and notable, I leive to thame quha war present.*" As Calderwood had in his possession the Observations or Diaries of James Carmichael and John Davidson, both of whom were present, it is highly probable that the following narrative was copied from the papers of one or other of them; and the hope may be expressed that these papers, which, no doubt, would be of considerable importance, may still be in existence. Archbishop Adamson forged a Testament in Lawson's name, containing a pretended recantation of his principles, and likewise various letters addressed to his brethren in a similar strain: these may be found in the printed Calderwood, along with a copy of the genuine Testament.[1]

Lawson appears to have left various works in manuscript; for, according to David Buchanan, "Scripsit præterea quædam præclara opuscula de divinis præcipue Scripturis, quibus nomen suum ad notitiam posteritatis transmisit; inter cætera,

Conciones eruditas in totam fere Apocalypsin.
Sacra Poemata de variis locis Scripturæ.
Vitam Joannis Knoxii.

Et alia plurima chartis commisit."[2] In his Testament, he requests Andrew Melville, Davidson, and Carmichael, to concur with his brother Walter Balcanquell, in revising his "writts, books, and papers, and to use the same as they think may serve best to the glorie of God, and the comfort of his kirk." But he is not known as the author of any printed work.[3]

[1] History, vol. iv. pp. 201, 208, 697, &c.

[2] De Scriptoribus Scotis, p. 118. Edinb. 1837, 4to. This author (who died in 1652) commits a mistake in saying that Lawson flourished in the year 1588.

[3] Some Latin verses by him are prefixed to Adamson's Catechism, 1573 and 1581. See p. 305.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH AND FUNERAL OF Mr James Lowson, at London, 12th October 1584.

After that Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Lowsone, and sindrie other of the brethrein, had visited the Universiteis of Oxfoord and Cambridge, and conferred with the godlie and learned there, in the moneth of Julie they returned again to Londoun. Mr James, partlie through travell and alteratioun of the aire, but speciallie for the misbehaviour of his owne flocke, who had subscrived a letter calling them woolves and hyrelings, being of a melancholick constitutioun, fell in a heavie disease, which resolved in a melancholious dysenterie, which by no medicine could be cured. His tongue served him, to his departure, to utter manie heavenlie and confortable speeches to the hearers. Dolorous was his death to the godlie. As he lived most godlie and sincerelie in the whole course of his life, speeking to edificatioun; farre from all slaunderous or vaine and idle words, as none with whome he ever had his conversation, yea, nor the enemeis of Christ and his Gospell which are without, can be able to lay to his charge the contrare; so gave he an evident proofe, that the true feare of God was deepelie seated in his heart.

He yeelded his spirit unto God, deing as he lived, uttering most confortable and zealous speeches, to the consolatioun and admiratioun of all the hearers, who felt it true which Jesus the sonne of Syrach sayes, "It is better to be in the hous of mourning nor of banketting;" for a most precious lessoun there might be learned, as of a livelie paterne how to die, and not to feare death. For there are manie to be seene having a shew of godlinesse in their life, who, when they are putt to a sharpe proofe by sickenesse, declare their professioun to have beene meere hypocrisie, and utter

nothing but blasphemous, slaunderous, and injurious speeches. But he, being tried as in a fiery furnace the space of thirty-foure dayes, never pronounced out of his mouth so muche as an impatient word; but most confortable, constant, and zealous sentences, more moving (with his eyes lifted up to heaven, his hands stretched out,) than anie gesture or behaviour of a most zealous preacher in pulpit can expresse; not onlie preaching as he had beene in pulpit, but also singing of psalmes, and provoking others with him; so that at tenne houres, three dayes before his death, he caused sing the 103d psalme, the 124th psalme, and again, few houres immediatlie preceding, the same 103d psalme; and when voice could not serve, his lippes were weill espyed pronouncing the same words which were sung.

He told among other things, cheefelie when he dytted his owne Testament, in Latine, desiring Mr James Carmichaell to helpe him therin to perfyte it, that he was minded to sett doun his life and parts therof, if it had pleased God; and that he would not have beene ashamed to have expressed his meane educatioun and penurie, when he entered in Perth; faine to have receaved gaines of the hands of the schollers, untill his good master, Mr Andrew Symsone, receaved him in his hous: for he would not have sett doun for all the world, anie thing but that which was true, that God might have his owne glorie in raising him up frome the dust, and not be spoiled of anie part of his praise, for his carefull providence toward him; wherin, may be remembred, the work of God in bringing him to Londoun. For after that the Lord had perfited his worke with him in Edinburgh, and brought him frome that unthankfull number in Edinburgh, who, since the comming of Aubigney in Scotland, withstood the goode and floorishing estate of the Gospel, and for their particular gaine and aide of merchandise with France, rather inclyned to the new forraine courses, than liked the wounted amitie with her Majestie of England sould be interteaned; in defense wherof, as publictlie in pulpit, and privatlie ellis where, he susteaned the hatred of the Frenche court, and the wrathe of the Aubignists in Edinburgh, it pleased Him to

bring him to Englaund; when in Berwick, he taught, to the great consolatioun of all the hearers, who testifeing with manie teares, with what joy and confort they heard the doctrine of salvatioun out of his mouth.

Comming to Londoun, albeit the injurie of time offered no ordinarie calling to preache in pulpit, yitt undoubtedlie his thirty-four dayes teaching, with authoritie, in his sickenesse and bed, wanne some to Christ, and confirmed manie in his truthe; who ather receaved of his owne mouth, or by faithfull report of the godlie that were present, who at all occasiouns reported daylie his most noted sentences to their famileis and acquaintance, which provoked new confluence to his owne presence, to be pertakers of their confort: which manie exercises, undoubtedlie procured and confirmed manie disciples unto Christ, who testifeid their earnest love to him in their last office of humanitie, to convoy his corps to the grave; where, by conference, and repetitioun of his sentences and godlie admonitiouns, manie were allured to love him whom they never did see. But it was no small burthein to him that lawfull calling to preache was not offered; and he desired oft the Lord to be mercifull to them, that nather would enter in the kingdom of God themselves, nor suffer others to enter therin.

Heere followeth his Testament. [Dated at London, in Honie Lane of Cheapside, 7th of October 1584. See it printed in Calderwood's History, vol. iv. p. 201.]

Mr James Lowson, Minister of Edinburgh, ended the course of his life the 12th of October at London, in Mr Antony Martin's house in Honie Lane, at Cheapside be north, near to the Standart, in the upper chamber, in presence of Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Carmichaell, Mr John Davidson, Mr Walter Balcanquall, Mr John Cowper, George Douglass, Mr David Hume, Patrick Forbes, Mr Wilson taylor, Mr Strauchan, Mr Guthrie, Robert Garrow, Scotish men; beside English men and women. The time of buriall being appointed upon the morne, which was Wednesday, at two afternoon, he was carried in a coffine covered with a small linnen cloth and a black cloth above, by six, as was appointed by

the four brethren before; by Mr Melvill and Mr John Davidson, before, Mr James Carmichael and Mr Walter Balcanquall behind, Mr Clerk and Mr Gardener in the midst, all preachers. These were sooner releeved then they would be, by Mr David Hume, George Douglas, Mr Archibald Moncreif, Patrick Forbes, Mr Robert Lauder, Mr Monsone, and Mr Guthrie, Mr Lin, Mr Harrison, schoolmaster of Paul's. These were releeved by Mr Strauchan, Mr Forsyth, Mr Wilson, Patrick White, Mr Hindson; and so by many godly brethren, ministers and citizens, who most covetously and most gladly offered themselves partakers in that work, so thickly, comely, and courteously, as if he had been best known to them, and of their chief kinsmen of greatest authority in the town. This was an unaccustomed frequency, yea, even with the chiefest men of the city; who for the most part in their common burials, being thirty, forty, seldom ane hundred. There resorted of gentlemen, honest burgesses, famous and godly matrons, above five hundred persons: preachers, Maisters Travers, Suddick, Clerk, Gardner; Mr Baptist, minister, Mr Fontain, Castole, Lanée, all three ministers of the French Church, and many French men; Doctour Bright, Mr Smith, Esk and his wife, Antony Martin, Potter, Fent, Alane, Doctour Crake, Mr Barbour, Mr Wood, deprived Egerton, Mr Feild, Mr Edmonds, Mr Collins and his wife, Robert Garrow, Mr Smith elder, Barbour, Smith, Surfleet, Mr Brian, Mr Cout, Mr Brown, schoolmaster at Sanct Antonies, Mr Bodlie, Mr Hornbie, Mr Bacon gentleman, Mr Pope, Secretar Walsinghame's gentleman, Mr Hiett merchant, Mr Norinton, Sturtevant, Culver, Mr Whiteheid gentleman, married Bishop of Elie's wife's daughter, Mr Frevele gentleman; all sound Christians, and pure professors of the Evangell. Of matrons, Alderman Martin's wife, who had bestowed twenty grains of unicorn's horn, beside other things, upon him, so carefull was she of his health and restoring. Mrs Sadler, Mrs Johnston, Mrs Martin, Antony Martin's wife, all carefull mothers and sisters for him; Mrs Harisone, Overton, Vautrollier, Mrs Vannil, Mr John Davidson's wife, &c.

He was buried in the New church-yaird at Bedlem.

VISITATIONS

OF THE

KIRK OF HOLYROODHOUSE,

BY THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

M.D.LXXXIII.—M.D.XCVIII.

After the Reformation, part of the Abbey Church of Holyrood was fitted up, and continued for upwards of a century to be used, as the parish church of Canongate. Before the accession of King James to the throne of England, the situation of this church must have brought its minister into frequent communication with the Court. It is however necessary to keep in view, that his pastoral charge was quite distinct from that of minister of the King's household.

The first Presbyterian minister of Holyroodhouse was John Craig. In April 1562, Knox finding himself unable to discharge his duties as sole minister of Edinburgh, solicited the Council that Craig might be appointed his colleague; but from the want of funds, this plan was not carried into effect till about the close of the following year. His successor was John Brand.

In July 1580, John Craig, who had been translated from Edinburgh to New Aberdeen, was brought back as King's minister, and we are informed, that "the Assembly blessed the Lord, and praised the King for his zeal." John Duncanson was previously minister of the King's household, with a stipend, in 1567, of L.200, and a small addition to this sum in 1574. He was minister of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling; but at a later period he came to Edinburgh with the King, and continued to officiate in the Chapel of Holyrood.

In June 1589, another minister, Patrick Galloway, was brought from Perth, and added to the King's household, in consequence of Craig's increasing infirmities; who, in 1595, was "awayting what hour it shall please God to call him, and is unable altogether to

serve any longer." He however survived till 1600, and died at the advanced age of eighty-eight. In May 1601, the Assembly nominated some of their brethren as colleagues to Galloway; "the King's Majestie having declared his intention and desyre to have a minister for his Hienes' house, in respect of the deceise of Mr Johne Craig, and Johne Duncansone's old age;[1] and another to the Queine's Majestie's house; and ane uther to the Prince's house." Galloway continued as King's minister till June 1607, when he was translated to one of the churches of Edinburgh.

JOHN BRAND, who succeeded John Craig as minister of Holyroodhouse, was a man very generally respected. He had originally been a monk in the Abbey of Holyrood. In 1567, Brand's stipend was as follows:—"ij^c merkis, xij bollis of aitis; j^c merkis thairof to be payit be the Commendatore of Halyruidhouse, with the xij bolls of aitis, xl merkis be the Cannogait, and xl li. out of the thrydis, ay and quhill sa mekle annuallis of the Cannongait be vacand." On the margin is added, "To be payit all be the Abbay." This may be compared with the similar entry in 1574. See p. 368, note 2. It appears from the Books of Assignations, that between 1588 and 1596, John Davidson officiated as second minister of Holyroodhouse.

On the 29th October 1594, Henry Blyth was selected by the Presbytery to officiate[2] in the ministry, "now and then, as necessitie requirit," in the room of John Brand. Early in 1598, Blyth was formally appointed his colleague, as minister of Canongate.[3] From the minutes of Presbytery, 2d September 1600, we further learn that "this day John Brand departit this lyfe;" and on the 24th March 1602, the Presbytery ordained "Mr Henry Blyth to satisfy thair sister, Abigaill Smyth, relict of vmquhile John Brand, of the 100 poundis modefyit to hir be the Lordis Modifiaris."

[1] After John Duncanson's death, his son James addressed a Supplication to the King, for payment of arrears of stipend, in which he states that his father had served the King, from his infancy, for a period of thirty-six years.

[2] Presbytery Records, last February, 1597-8.

[3] See also 28th March and 11th April 1598.

The following Visitations of the Kirk of Holyroodhouse contain nothing peculiar to that Church, in regard to the mode of procedure. Such visitations were periodically made by the several presbyteries.[1] On an appointed day, parties being called, the ministers, elders, and people, were severally examined; and if complaints were made against any individual, such points were maturely considered. The Visitation in 1583, is printed from the original extract signed by the Clerk.[2] The two subsequent Visitations in 1588 and 1598, with a few other extracts connected with the church and parish of Holyroodhouse, are printed from the Presbytery Records, of which the earliest volume now preserved commences on the 19th of April 1586.

When James the Sixth visited Scotland, in 1617, Calderwood informs us, "in repairing the Royall Chappell of the Palace of Halyrudhous, beside the place which was prepared for the organs, and the quiristours to sing, there was also carved the statues of the twelve Apostles, and the foure Evangelists, curiouslie wrought in timber, which were to be gilded and sett up, to decore the Chappell. But the people murmured, fearing great alterations in religion; whereupon the Bishops dissuadit the King from setting them up in the Chappell," &c. He also says, "Upon Satterday, the 17th of May, the English Service was begune in the Chappell Royall, with singing of quiristours, surplices, and playing on organes." From this and similar statements, it would appear that some separate portion of the Palace had been set apart for the Chapel Royal, without interfering with the regular use of the Abbey Church for the inhabitants of the parish of Canongate.

After the Restoration, Charles the Second having resolved to rebuild the Palace of Holyrood, ordered the Church to be repaired, and in all time coming to be solely used as a Chapel Royal. This is more distinctly specified in the Act of the Privy Council,

[1] The Royal Household was not exempted from such ministerial visitations; and on more than one occasion, a list of grievances in the King's House, which required to be corrected, was submitted to the Assembly.

[2] Wodrow Folio MSS., vol. xlii. No. 4.

1672, which is printed at page 466. But it is evident that no steps were then taken in regard to the Church.

In September 1686, James the Seventh appointed the great room in the Palace to be fitted up as his private Chapel; but in the following year, in order to resume the occupation of the Abbey Church, he issued a warrant on the 3d December 1687, directing "that our Chappell at Holyroodhouse (formerly made use of as the parish church of the Canongate) be repaired and put in order with all possible expedition, to the end it may be fitted in all things for being our own Catholick Chappell, where divine service may be performed: and likewise be made capable of the Ceremonies and Solemnities of the most ancient and most noble Order of the Thistle."[1] But soon after the Revolution, the populace, enraged at the introduction of the Romish Service, broke into the Church, destroyed all the interior ornaments, and left nothing but the bare walls.[2]

[1] Charters of Holyrood, printed at the expense of Lord Francis Egerton for the Bannatyne Club, Preface, pp. lxxvii and cxxx.—Lord Fountainhall's notice of the proceedings in Privy Council, when the King's intentions were made known, is too curious to be omitted.:—

"July 12, 1687, At Privy Council, there is a letter read from the King, bearing, that the Abbay Church was the Chapel belonging to his Palace of Holyroodhouse; and that the Knights of the noble Order of the Thistle, which he had now erected, could not meet in St Andrews Church, (being demolished in the Rebellion, as they called our Reformation:) and so it was necessary for them to have this church; and the Provost of Edinburgh was ordained to see the keys of it given them. After a long silence, the Archbishop of Glasgow told it was a mensal and patrimonial church of the Bishoprick of Edinburgh; and though he was now translated, and the See was vacant, yet it belonged not to the Provost to deliver the keys: This was understood that he was seeking the compliment, to be employed himself, to keep some possession in Edinburgh, whereof he was seeking to be Commendator; however it was adjusted, that the keys should be immediately delivered to the Chancellor himself; and the inhabitants of the Canongate (whose parochial church it was not of old before the Reformation, but belonged to the Convent there) were ordained to go to the Lady Yester's Church; and the French Minister and congregation were put out of it to the High-school, or Common-hall. So this is the first Protestant church taken away from us." (Decisions, vol. i. p. 466.)

[2] See Arnot's History of Edinburgh, p. 181.

VISITATIONS OF THE KIRK OF HOLYROODHOUSE.

I. Visitation, in June M.D.LXXXIII.

The xi. of Junij 1583.

The quhilk day Mr Johne Davidsone, Moderatour of the Prisbatre of Edinburgh, and Mr Nicoll Dalgleis, Commissioneris of the said Prisbetre, beand present at the Assemble of the Kirk of Halyruidhous, afoir thair Communioun, this ordour was observit as followis:—

In the First, efter the invocatioun on Godis name, Johne Brand, Minister of the said Kirk, beand removeit, it was requyrit be the said Commissioneris gif ony persone or personis had ony thing to lay to the said Johnis chairge in doctrene, office, lyfe, or conversatioun? Quha first, the haill with ane voce praisit God for the doctrene of the said Johne, quhilk thai fand continuale trew, proffitabill, and deligentle useit, &c. And for the office, in executing of dissipling, the maist part praisit God, &c. Nochtwithstanding it was laid to his chairge, be ane brother, That the said Johne had over suddanlie publisit ane manis name in pulpit: Secundlie, he was chairgeit, be sum uther brether, That he was sum part negligenter in Veseing the seik: And, in seiking of reconsiliatioun amang personis being at varience.

The said Johne being callit, answerit, as tuitching the First, He rather askit Godis mercy that he had bene sa slak and sa lang delaying the publising of the relapsit fornicatour; quha begouth to mak his repentance, bot fell bak from the same: and farther, he

affirmat, that he did na thing in that cais bot at command of the cessioun; quha being present, affirmit the samin.

As tuitching the Visitatioun of the seik, he declairit he was evermair maist wiland and glad to wissie the puirest creatour, being advertisit or requyreit thairunto, in the verray nicht seson; and farther requyreit, gif ony persone or personis could say of thair conscience, that ever he was chairgit or refusit.

As tuitching the Thrid, he affirmit it that the contrair was trew, ane thing exceptit, viz., being oft tymes to be chosin to be judge or arbitrall in sevill materis he had for just causis refuisit it. And tuitching wyfes flyting, that be oft reconseling, and without feir of punisment, thai war growne the moir reddie in daylie flyting in the gait.[1] In all uther contraverseis he tuik God to witnes he was maist wiland and redy to tak pain for greance.

Secundlie, Cummand to the tryall of the Reidar, findis that thai ar destitute, and thairfoir referit to the Balleis and counsell to provyd for ane, and nane to be admitit but avice of the Prisbetrie.[2]

Thridlie, It was inquyreit gif ony was at varience? Quhair it was answerit, that thai had tane ordour thairanent, viz., that thai had nominat certane personis to the nummer of fyve or sax, to sit thryis in the oulk, for to reconcele all thois that thai knew was at varience.

Fourtlie, Being requyreit of the reparatioun of the Kirk and kirk-zaird: first, anente the Kirk, it was declairit that thair was ane ordour to be tane thairanent, according to ane compromit past betuix the Commendatour and the Cannongait; bot tuitching the kirk-zaird, be all it was lamentit that it was utterlie profainit be hors bestiall, and that the said kirk culd provyd na ordour for

[1] '*Flyting in the gait*,' or scolding in the street.

[2] This was undoubtedly at variance with the resolution of the General Assembly, in April 1581, prohibiting the appointment of Readers. See page 323. But this serves to show, that in those times it was easier to pass resolutions than to carry them into effect. Alexander Thomson was Reader, from 1574 to 1582, with the stipend of L.16, Scotish money.

keiping of the samin. For the quhilk it was thocht meit, that baith the Commendatour of Halyrudhous and Bailleis of the Cannogait, sould be callit before the Prisbetrie of Edinburgh, and accuisit everie ane for thair awin partis, viz., the said Commendatour and his houshald and dependaris, and the said Bailleis and counsell for thair haill inhabitaneis, and that sic ordour mycht be tane heiranent it, that heirefter desentlie it mycht be keipit.

Fyftlie, Certane generall heidis was proponit, quhilk thair previe cessioun thocht gud to tak the avice of the haill, viz., The wesching of the puir folkis feit be the Frenche Ambassadour, &c.: Divers bydand from the communioun for variance, as thai confes, &c.:[1] Anent the north syd of the Brig of Leyth, quha being ane part of thair parochin, wald declyne from thame, and have ane kirk of thair awin.

To the quhilkis it was first answerit, concerning the wesching of the said puir menis feit, that sa mony of thame that was fund penitent, confest that thai com ignorantlie, sould be ressaveit to repentance, thai cumming bairfutit. The rest that war stuburne, and Etian [Estienne?] Frenscheman, quha congregatit and causit the rest to cum to the said hous, sould be callit befoir the Prisbetrie and accuisit.

As for thame that had varience, sa mony as refuisit to be reconsilit, efter dew admonitioun of that previe Kirk, they sould be callit lykwyse befoir the Prisbetre..

As tuitching the north syd of the Brig of Leyth, it was thocht guid that the samin sould be ryple advysit, and bayth the parteis, viz., the inhabitantis of the Cannogait, and also the inhabitantis of

[1] "Under James IV., Robert Ballenden, the Abbot of Holyrood, endowed a Chapel in North Leith, which he dedicated to St Ninian, for the convenient worship of the people; and he gave them an additional convenience, by building a Bridge of three arches, that connected the Northern and Southern sides of the port. This endowment, which comprehended some benefactions to the poor, was confirmed by James IV., in January 1494. This Chapel was subordinate to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, till it was converted into a Parish Church in 1606." (Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 783.) In the Presbytery Records of Edinburgh, November and December 1595, are some notices relating to the Kirk "re-edifeitt on the North syd of the Brig of Leith."

the north syd of the Brig of Leyth, hard and considderit befoir the Prisbetrie. Efter the quhilkis, na further materis be proponit, bot all satlit in peax.

Eftir thankis geving, the said Assemble dissolvit, and ordanit this ordour to be insert in thair buikis, and the extract subscrivit be thair Clark to be gevin to the Moderatour.

WALTER VRUING,[1]
Clark to the Kirk of Halyruidhous.

II. VISITATION OF THE KIRK OF HOLYROODHOUSE.

xxvi. Novembris 1588.

ACCORDING to the Commissioun gewin to Mr Robert Pont, Mr John Davidson, and Mr William Watsone, the xii. of this instant, to visit the Kirk of Halyrudhous, and to report thair diligence. The said brethren reporting that thai fand sindrie misordours in the said Kirk; and for that effect had warnit the Minister and the eldaris of the kirk to be present this day; quha comperand, promisit to amend the sam, and desyrit that the Presbyterie wald burden John Setoun, litster, to accept the office of the eldarschip upon him, unto the quhilk he was electit. The said Johnn being present before the Presbyterie, acceptit the said office upon him; and for remedeing of sic misordouris in that Kirk, as namelie, for reforming the misordouris in the buriall, and reparatioun of the kirk, the Presbyterie has ordanit the Abbot of Halirudhows, and the Baillies of the Cannogat, to be warnit to compeir before them the thrid of December nixt.

III. EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

x°. Decembris 1588.

THE Presbyterie hes ordanit the Bailleis of the Cannogat to

[1] The signature in the MS. is not very legible: it might be some other name, instead of Vruing.

repair the Kirk and kirkyard; and in tyme cuming to use no buriall in the kirk, as thai will answer upon thair obedience to the Kirk.

29. *Maij* 1593.

Complaint given in to the Presbytery of Edinburgh by John Brand, Minister of the Church at Holyrudhouse, against the Bishop of Orkney[1] and the Baillies of the Canogaitt, for nocht repairing of thair kirk, nor keiping of thair buriall. (They were directed to be summoned before the Presbytery.)

5. *Junij* 1593.

Anent the summonds direct against the Bischop of Orkney and the Baillies of the Canogatt, for nocht repairing of thair kirk nor keiping of thair buriall; according heirunto, thai being warnit, callit, and compeirand. Everi ane alledging the falt on the wther, throw the nocht bigging of the North style; the said Bischop promisit to giwe answer the xij. of this instant, quhat he wald do concerning the bigging of the said style.

12. *Junij* 1593.

Anent the promeis maid be the Bischop of Orkney, &c., Compearand be Bartilmo Kello, his servand, declarit That his Maister the Bischop was content to buyld the said style, the Cannogatt restoring the materiallis that thai took away from it, &c.

6. *Januarij* 1595-6.

Anent the desyre of James Reid, Constable of the Castell of Edinburgh, in effect craving that, seing thair was ane paroche kirk within the said Castell, command wald be given to John Brand to baptese the barnis borne in the Castell. The Presbyterie understanding that the kirk thairof is unreparitt, willis the said Constable to repair the same, and to dedicatt it for na uther use bot for preiching. Thairefter his desyre salbe answerit.

[1] Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in 1570 became Commendator of the Abbey of Holyrood. He died on the 23d of August 1593.

IV. Visitation of the Kirk of Holyroodhouse.

M.D.XCVIII.

xxvi. Septembris 1598.

Anent the Commission gevin the 12 of this instant, to certain Brether to visit the Kirk of Halirudhous, and to return thair answer this day; according hereunto, Mr Michael Cranstoun, moderatour, declarit that he, with the rest of the Brether imployit in commissioun, had visited the said Kirk the xxii. of this instant: the quhilk day Johnn Brand, and Mr Henrie Blyth, ministers at the said kirk, being removit, and efter inquisitioun takin be the eldaris, deaconis, and rest of the congregatioun quha wer present, of thair doctrine, lyf, of thair wyfs and famileis, as also of thair disipline; it was reportit thair doctrine was sound, thair lyf honest, and in disipline thai wer faythfull. And through the largenes of the congregationis, the eldaris and deaconis of the Kowgait, a part of the said congregatioun, complainit thair was sum oversyght of thame; quhilk thei promisit to be mendit. Nathing reportit of thair wyfis and famileis bot good.

2. The Eldaris being removit, it was reportit of thame that thai wer dilligent in thair office, and honest in lyf.

3. The Deaconis being removit, it was reportit that thai wer faithfull in thair office, and honest in lyf.

4. Robert Lawson, reidar and scoolmaster, being removit, sum offences being fund in him, the sessioun of the said Kirk promisit to take ordour with him; and finding sum oversyght in the testimoniallis gevin, ordanit that na testimoniall pas fra the said Robert, bot that the same be subscrybit also be ane of the ministeris.

5. The Sessioun book of the said Kirk being syghted, it was fund formall.

6. Thei fund greit faultis with thair buriall in thair kirkis. The Magistrattis promisit, for thair partis, to stay all buriall in the said kirk in tyme coming, unless thei be urgit with a superiour; and

gif thei war urgit, thei promisit to advertise the Presbiterie; and gif it be not on a Presbiterie day, to adverteis sa mony of the brether as myght be had, that thair advys myght be takin.

7. Fynding greit abuses made in their buriall, and haveing read the act made in November 1577 in thair sessioun concerning the buriall, ordanit the sam to be put in executioun.

8. Finding that Mr Hercules Rollock, ane of their congregation, not resorting to their paroche kirk, ordanit thame to call the said Mr Hercules before thame, and to charge him to resort to his paroche kirk; and in case he resortit not, to proceid against him with the censures of the Kirk.

9. Finding na gleib designit to the minister, has ordanit a letter to be writ to the Abbot to crave his presence; unto the quhilk time thei contineuit the designatioun of the said gleib and mans.

Finallie, fynding the North syd of the Brig of Leith to be a part of that congregatioun, quhilk of the self myght be a congregatioun, resolvit to visit the sam, and to deall with thame for provisioun of a minister to serve amangis thame selfis.

Upon the quhilk resolutioun thei stayit the tryell of the Reidar, Eldaris, and Deaconis of the said North syd, and went upon the 25 of this instant to the said North syd; and thair, efter inquisitioun takin of the eldaris and deaconis thair, it was reportit of thame that thei wer honest in lyf, and diligent and faythfull in thair office.

2. Robert Davidsoun, thair reidar, being removit, it was declarit that he was honest in lyf, and contentit himself with simple reiding.

Finallie, ane supplicatioun being gevin be the said eldaris, deaconis, and neighbouris of the said North syd, quhilk being read, and the overtouris gevin in be thame being considerit, especiallie craving that sum of the neighbouris of the South syd of the Brig of Leith, perteining to the Regalitie, and being in tyme of the Papistrie of the parochin of Halyrudhous, may be joinit again with thame: thei ordanit the said neighbouris to advys amangis thame selfis, q^hat for thair awin partis thai wald do for provisioun of a minister amangis thame selfis; and concerning the said desyre, thei

resolvit to speik the said neighbouris of the said South syd the xxviij. of this instant, quhilk day was appointit for Visitatioun of the Kirk of Leith: Quhilk report being resavit, the ministeris of Halyrudhous were ordanit to see the former thingis performit.

29. *Junij* 1603.

The Presbytery ordained Mr Henry Blyth, now and then to officiate in the Castell of Edinburgh; and the Presbytery to try whether it be a paroch be itself.

V. An Act of Privy Council.

Apud Halyrudehouse, decimo tertio die Septembris 1672.

Whereas it is necessary and suteing to his Majestie's pious and religious dispositioun, that some convenient place be designed and sett apairt, wherein his Majesty, and these of his family at his Palace of Halirudhouse, may worship God and perform all publick religious dueties; and that the Abbay Church doeth ly contigue to the said Palace, and is at his Majestie's disposeall: Therefore, the Lord Commissioner his Grace, and Lords of his Majestie's Privy Councill, doe designe, sett apart, and appropriat the said Church for the ends and uses aforsaides; and doe declair the same to be his Majestie's Chappell-Royall in all tymes comeing: Discharging heirby the Magistrattes of Edinburgh or Cannongate to use the same hereafter as ane paroch church; and that notwithstanding of any former tolleration or possession they may pretend in or to the said Church.

VINDICATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

IN REPLY TO DR BANCROFT'S SERMON, AT PAUL'S CROSS, LONDON.

M.D.LXXXIX.

UNTIL the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, notwithstanding the difference in external forms of worship and discipline, there existed a friendly sympathy and intercourse between the Churches of England and Scotland. Dr RICHARD BANCROFT, afterwards raised to the Primacy of England, was one of the earliest writers of that Church who manifested a spirit decidedly hostile to the Presbyterian form of Church government. In his sermon preached before the English Parliament, at St Paul's Cross, in February 1588-9, his leading object was to exalt Episcopacy, by asserting the divine right of Bishops as a distinct order from Presbyters;[1] and while he made a strong and vehement attack on the English Nonconformists or Puritans, whom he charged with ambition and covetousness,[2] he also took occasion to throw out some unfounded aspersions against our own Church.

The Sermon was soon afterwards printed,[3] with some additions, and occasioned no ordinary sensation, even among the friends of the English Church. As it is of rare occurrence, we have here ex-

[1] See Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 292; Collier's Eccl. History, vol. ii. p. 609, new edit. vol. vii. p. 80; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 321; M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 305; Hetherington's Westminster Assembly, p. 47.

[2] "Doctor Reynolds his Letter to Sir Francis Knollis, concerning Doctor Bancroft's Sermon at Paule's Crosse, 9th Feb. 1588, in the Parliament Time," was added to a tract, "Information, or a Protestation, and a Treatise from Scotland, &c." Imprinted 1608, small 8vo.

[3] There seem to have been two editions of Bancroft's Sermon printed in 1588. The other has on the title, "Imprinted at London by I. I., for Gregory Seaton, 1588." (Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 1326.) It was reprinted at London, 1637, 4to; and again, from a MS. copy, in the volume entitled, "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: or, a Collection of Tracts relating to the Government and Authority of the Church." London, 1709, 8vo. The Editor (H. Gandy) expresses a hope that Bancroft's "incomparable Sermon," and the other tracts, might be "a means to keep all those who are yet of the Church of England still in her communion, which is truly primitive and apostolick, and to bring back those who have forsaken her principles and doctrine, which are sound and orthodox." He was evidently ignorant that the Sermon had previously been printed.

tracted that portion which relates to Scotland. That it excited feelings of surprise and indignation among our Presbyterian brethren, will appear from the following extracts from the Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh :—

1589.

"April 29.—It is thocht good and concludit, that ane Answer be made be Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Bruce, and Mr Johnn Davidsone, and that the same be pennit, to the sclanderous Sermon preichit at Paulis Croce be D. Bancroft; and that the Kingis Majestie be spokin heiranent, at his returne."

"June 10.—Anent the ordinance made the 29 of April last, in the quhilk it was concludit, that ane Answer sould be maid and pennit to the sclanderous Sermon preichit at Paullis Croce be Dr Bancroft, be Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Pont, and Mr Johnn Davidsone. According heirunto, the said brether declaring that thei had usit their diligence, and bestowit thair travelis, quhais diligence the Brether being weill lykit with, continewit inspectioun and syght of the same till the next General Assemblie, desyring thame to present the same to the said Assemble to be sychtit be thame."

"Dec. 9, Sess. 2.—The Presbiterie hes concludit to direct a Supplicatioun to the Queenis Majestie of Ingland, desyring hir Majestie to tak order with Mr D. Bancroft, for that infamous sermon preichit be him at Paul's Croce, traducing in it the haill discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, and this Supplicatioun to be direct be the advys of Secret Counsall; and to this end, appointit Mr Peter Blakburne, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr James Brysoun, Mr Thomas Balquhanan, to concure with certan uther brether for penning of the sam."

In connection with the extracts from Bancroft's Sermon, we have subjoined :—

I. A Letter or Supplication addressed to Queen Elizabeth, which had been prepared, agreeably to the above resolution of the Pres-

bytery; but, no doubt, like a similar "prolixe but pithy letter," it "was not sent and delivered as was intended." It is here printed from a copy, in a contemporary hand, among Calderwood's MS. Collections.[1] The similar letter referred to, said to be "penned by Mr Johne Davidson, at the desire of some brethren," is contained in the late edition of Calderwood's History, vol. v. p. 73;[2] along with a set of Queries, sent by Bancroft to John Norton, an Englishman and stationer, residing in Edinburgh. This paper was obtained in consequence of an intercepted letter to Bancroft; when Norton was examined "by some of the ministrie, upon suspicion of secreit intelligence with Bancroft, to the prejudice of our Kirk."[3]

Bancroft published anonymously other two works of a similar nature with his Sermon:—

1. "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline, &c. Faithfully gathered by Way of Historicall Narration, out of the Bookes and Writinges of Principal Favourers of that Platforme. Anno 1593. Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, 1593." 4to, pp. 465. Reprinted, Lond. 1663, 4to.

2. "Daungerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practised within this Iland of Brytaine, under Pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyteriall Discipline. London, imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, 1593," 4to. Reprinted, with the Author's name, Lond. 1640, 4to.

II. An extract from a rare tract, entitled, "A briefe Discovery of the Vntruthes in D. Bancroft's Sermon." This anonymous tract, which has neither place, name of the printer, nor date, was perhaps printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, in 1589 or 1590. There is at least no reason to doubt, that it has been correctly attributed to JOHN PENRY, an English Nonconformist minister. He

[1] Wodrow Folio MSS. vol. xlii.

[2] In Calderwood's History the letter is thus introduced:—"Mr John Davidsone penned this letter following, at the desire of some brethren, to be sent to the Queen of England; which containeth ane apologie for our Kirk against the calumneis of Doctor Bancroft, uttered in Sermoun, the first Sabboth day after the beginning of the Parliament, and after published in print. But it was not sent and delivered as was intended."

[3] Calderwood, vol. v. p. 77.

was the author of various works on the necessity of Reformation in the English Church, some of them printed in this country, where he occasionally resided. He was tried on the charge of publishing seditious writings against the Orders of the Church, and against the Queen; and on such charges, he was executed at St Thomas' Watrings, 29th May 1593.

III. An accurate reprint of a tract by John Davidson, in vindication of the Church of Scotland. Wodrow, in his MS. Life of Davidson, says, "This book is so scarce that I have not seen it." Its scarcity may easily be accounted for, as it appears to have been carefully suppressed. Thus Calderwood says, "the King favoureth (Gordon) the Jesuit, and in the mean tyme is offended with Robert Waldegrave, printer, for printing Mr Johne Davidsone's Answere to Doctor Bancroft's calumneis;"[1] and in a letter, dated 20th October 1590, from Mr Bowes, ambassador in Scotland, to Lord Burghley, Treasurer of England,[2] is the following paragraph:—

"By my former letters, I advertised your L[ordship] of the booke written by Mr John Davidson against some part of Mr Doctor Bancroft's sermon, preached at Paule's Crosse, and imprented. This booke given me by the K[ing,] I send inclosed to zour L[ordship.] And albeit that the K[ing] hath earnestlie travailed to staie and suppresse the rest of the bookes; yet it is said that some fewe have escaped the hands of the Printer, whom the K[ing] hath much blamed for the same; and bound him, with sufficient suerties in this towne, to print nothing hereafter without the K[ing's] allowance and warrant, agreeable to the order nowe appointed in that behalf."

[1] Hist. vol. v. p. 112.

[2] In the State Paper Office.

Notices of the King's Declaration, 1585.

As the tract written by Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, and published in the King's name, is so frequently referred to in all the histories of the time, as well as in the pages of the present volume, it may not be out of place to furnish some notices respecting the earlier editions. The Declaration itself will be found in Calderwood's History, vol. iv. p. 254, along with "a Censure and confutatioun of the same." Referring to its republication in the Continuation of Holinshed, "with an odious preface of alledged treasons," the historian says, "Our Kirk deserved no such indignitie at their hands. . . . But lett such a lieing libell ly there, as a blurre, to blot the Chronicles of England." It first appeared in January 1585, under this title :—

"A Declaratiovn of the King's Majestie's Intentiovn and Meaning toward the lait Actis of Parliament. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas Vautroullier, 1585, cum privilegio regali." 4to, twelve leaves. There is another edition, in a smaller type, "Imprinted at Edinburgh by the assignement of Thomas Vautroullier, 1585," 4to, ten leaves. The English republication, mentioned at pages 491, 494, and 510, has the following title :—

"Treason pretended against the King of Scots, by certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, whose names hereafter followe. With a declaration of the Kinge's Majestie's intention to his last Acts of Parliament, which openeth fully in effect all the saide conspiracy. Out of Skottish into English. Imprinted at London for Thomas Nelson, and are to be solde at the West Ende of Paules. 1585," 8vo, pp. 24. This edition is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany ;[1] and from it we shall insert what Calderwood[2]

[1] Vol. vii. p. 50.

[2] Hist. vol. iv. p. 352.

has termed "A counterfoote Epistle;" being "The copie of a Letter sent from a gentleman in Scotland, to a friend of his in England, touching the Conspiracie against the Kinge's Majestie;" as follows:—

"My approved friend T. S.,

"There hath beene lately secret practising against the Kinge's Majestie of Scotland; but time serveth not nowe to set down the maner of their proceeding in the said attempt. I have here sent to you the Kinge's declaration to his last Acts of Parliament, and, for brevitie, have set downe the names of the conspirators, which are as followeth. And thus, in hope you will accept my good will, I commit you to the Almightie. From Edenbrough, this 20 of Februarie, 1585.

"Yours, CHRISTOPHER STUDLEY."

"The Lord of Don Whasell, the Lord of Dunkrith, the Lord of Baythkicte, Robert Hamelton of Ynchmachan, M. James Sterling: These were apprehended at the Kinge's court. John Hoppignell of the Mores, apprehended at his owne house, by the captaine of the Kinge's garde. The Lord Keir and Lord Maius apprehended, with other gentlemen, about Sterling. The Lord Blaketer and George Douglasse are sommoned to the court upon suspition. The Lord Don Whasell, the Lord Maius executed. The treason discovered by Robert Hamelton."

Some of the persons whose names are given in the above letter, in such an unintelligible form, (the Scotish lairds or landholders having been converted into lords,) were brought before an assize, 6th February 1584-5,[1] for being concerned with the Earl of Gowrye in the Raid of Ruthven: John Cunningham of Drumquhassill, Sir James Edmonstone of Duntraith, and Malcolm Douglas of Mains. Robert Hamilton of Inchmachane appears to have come forward as a witness against them.

[1] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 139.

The Declaration was next included in the enlarged edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, printed at London in 1586–7, with the following introductory paragraph, so emphatically denounced by Calderwood:—

"[In this year, 1583,] the King assembled a Parliament in Maie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted; which giving occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceive thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the King (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him,) to set downe this following Declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherin he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the majestie of his crowne, publikelie to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subjects of his dealings, towards such as were under his government, sith he was not bound thereunto, being to dispose of those his subjects according to the lawes of his realme, and the customes of those countreis. But before I set downe that Declaration, I thinke it not unmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same Declaration.

"There were some lawes in the same Parliament enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the King seemed to be growne over dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of government in the ecclesiastical hierarchie: Upon which lawe established, the Earles of Angus and Mar, with divers others of the temporalitie and the spiritualtie, as Andrew Melvine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion, (as it was termed,) were inforced for the use of their conscience, and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countrie, and to flie into England, there to use the libertie of their religion, and to provide for the safetie of their persons; who comming into this realme, made their abode, and sojurned at Norwich.

"About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton unto the King, intended to be practised against his Majestie,

whereupon some were summoned upon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the Lord Blakater and George Dowglasse were summoned to the court, upon suspicion that they were consenting and conceling to and of the same treasons. For the second sort, touching the same, the Lord of Donwhasell, the Lord of Dunkreth, the Lord of Baithkict, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the Kinge's court; besides which, John Hoppingell of the Moores was taken at his owne house, by the capteine of the King's gard; and the Lord Keier, with the Lord Mains and other gentlemen, were taken about Sterling; and, lastlie, the Lord Donwhasell and the Lord Mains were executed, with the Lord Ruthwine, Earle of Gowrike, Treasuror of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland: Which being thus done, the King, as is before said, made this following Declaration upon the said Acts of Parliament, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those laws, with a further explanation also of the same lawes delivered in that Declaration with these words."[1]

It would be useless to specify the numerous republications of the Declaration. It is included in Calderwood, and the other histories of that time; and "it continued (as Dr M'Crie remarks) to be quoted, and copied, and reprinted, AFTER KING JAMES HAD DISOWNED IT, AND ADAMSON RETRACTED IT, as a false and slanderous libel."[2]

[1] At p. 433 of "The Annales of Scotland, in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left," &c., (1571 to 1586,) by Francis Boteville, called Thin.

[2] Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 230.—See Adamson's Recantation, printed in Row's History of the Kirk, p. 118-129; and in Calderwood's History, vol. v. p. 119-127.

A

SERMON PREACHED AT PAULES Croſſe the 9 of Februarie *being the firſt Sunday in the* Parliament, Anno 1588, by Richard Bancroft D. *of Divinitie, and* Chaplaine to the right Honorable *Sir Chriſtopher Hatton Knight L. Chancelor of England.*

Wherein ſome thingis are now added which then were omitted, either through want of time, or default in memorie.

2 Tim. ii.

Stay prophane and vaine bablings, for they will increaſe unto more ungodlines.

Imprinted at London by *E. B. for Gregorie Seton,* and are to be ſold at *his ſhop under Al-*derſgate.

1588.

August. *Schismaticos non fides diversa facit: sed communionis dirupta societas.* Schismatikes are such as retaining with us the true faith, do separate themselves from us, for orders and ceremoneis.

Hierom. *Nullum Schisma non sibi aliquam postea confingit hæresim ut recte ab ecclesia secessisse videatur.* Schismatikes in short time for the most part do proove heretikes.

Hierom. *Epistolas plenas mendaciorum et fraudulentiæ atque perjurii in orbem dirigunt, ut et aures polluant audientium et existimationem simplicium lædant, quod impleatur in eis hoc quod scriptum est: A prophetis Hierusalem est egressa pollutio in omnem terram. Non enim eis sufficit iniquitatem propriam devorare et proximum lædere: sed quos semel oderunt per universum orbem infamare conantur et ubique seminare blasphemias.* That is in effect thus, In that they cast abroad their infamous libels, so leudly fraught with lies, and sleights, to corrupt therby the eares of their hearers, and to hurt the opinion and judgement of the simpler sort: that is fulfilled in them which is written, From the false prophets which are in the Church, is wickednes gone foorth into all the lande. For it is not sufficient for them to hide and devoure their owne iniquities, and by such calumniations to hurt their neighbors: but those whom once they hate, they labor to defame through all the world, and do sow in everie place their cursed and slanderous speeches.

Galat. *Discipulos sæpenumero gignunt, ideo se nocentiones quod Magistros superent audacia, vana ostentatione et inani suasione perfectionis. Hi cum aliquid addiderunt aut immutarunt, suam quoque seorsim habent sectam, cujus ipsi eadem permoti gloriæ cupiditate authores videri volunt. Nemo enim est ejusmodi vir, qui non aliquid novi comminescendo eminere et nominari: et magister suorum, aut doctor dici et haberi cupiat.* The schollers of schismatikes, through a vaine ostentation, and perswasion of perfection, are commonly more impudent and woorse then their masters. These men having added or changed any thing, will have by themselves a sect of

their owne, whereof (being as desirous of glory as their masters) they desire to be reputed the authors. For there is none of them who, by devising of some new trick, doth not covet to be famous, and to be accounted a captaine and doctor of his owne crue.

A SERMON PREACHED, &c.

> "*Deerly Beloved, beleeve not every Spirit, but trie the Spirits whether they be of God. For manie false Prophets are gone out into the World.*"—1 JOHN iv. 1.

THESE words which I have readde unto you (Right Hon. and beloved in the Lord) do divide themselves into three parts: A prohibition, *Beleeve not everie Spirit:* A commaundement, *But trie the Spirits whether they be of God:* And a reason of them both, *Because many false Prophets are gone out into the World.* Of these three parts, the last in order is the first in nature; and the first is the last: and I meane to proceed accordingly. First, I will shew unto you, that many false Prophets are gone out into the World: Secondly, The triall of them is to be considered of: which two points being well understood, the necessitie of the prohibition will evidently appeere; which is, that we ought not to beleeve every Spirit.

. . . . . .

(Page 53.)—Of the Communion Book.

Againe, as touching the Communion Booke, you know what quarels are picked against it, although for mine owne opinion, there is not the like this day extant in Christendome.

In the beginning of King Edward's raigne, notwithstanding it was then carefully compiled and confirmed by a Synod; yet by
Fox. and by after, (that I may use Master Foxe's words,) *Through the obstinate and dissembling malice of manie*, it was impugned. There upon it was againe reviewed, and after published with such approbation, as that it was accounted the worke of God. But yet not long after, there were againe, who affirming the same to resemble the Masse Booke, *Divisionis occasionem arripiebant*, did greedily
Alesius. hunt (as Alesius saith) for occasion of division, *Vocabula et pene sillabas expendendo:* Weighing and sifting the very words, yea almost every sillable in it.

Fox. Whereupon Archbishop Cranmer procuring the same booke to be translated into Latin, and requiring M. Bucer's judgement of it, received this his approbation: That there was nothing therein contained, which was not taken out of the Word of God, or at the
Bucer. least which was against it, *Commode acceptum*, being well understood. Some things indeed there are, saith he, *Quæ nisi quis candide interpretetur, videri queant non satis cum verbo Dei congruere:* Which, except a man do charitably interpret, may seeme not sufficiently to agree with the Word of God. And in another place, *Quæ rapi possunt ab inquietis ad materiam contentionis:* Which may be snatched of unquiet men to breed matter of contention.

Fox. Upon this occasion the booke was again carefully survaied, and almost in every point (which then was so cavilled at and wrested) corrected and amended, King Edward died, Queene Marie succeeded, the booke is condemned; but yet God raised up meanes for the defence of it.

Jo. Oulde. Master John Oulde, a very learned man, writ a treatise against the Papists in defence of the said booke, and of everie part of

the Reformation injoied in King Edward's daies. Archbishop Cranmer likewise being provoked therunto, did offer a challenge to al the Papists living, that if he might obtaine the Queene's favor, to take unto him Peter Martir, and fower or five others, whom he would choose, they would togither defend the foresaid Reformation (naming withal the Communion Booke) to be in everie point agreeable to the Word of God; and to be in effect the verie same, *Quæ fuit ante annos* 1500, which was above 1500 yeeres ago.

Another also in those daies, as it appeereth in a Preface before Archbishop Cranmer's booke of Unwritten Verities, writeth of the Communion Book in this maner: *Then* (meaning in King Edward's daies) *the Common Praier was rightlie used, and the Sacramentis were plainlie administred, according to Christ's institution, and the rule of his Holie Worde.* Furthermore, the godlie fathers (who then were fled, and for the libertie of their consciences lived in exile) using in their meetings this forme and order of publike praier, Master Knoxe, a man who was of nature too contentious, with some other that joined with him, began to quarrell, and to make many exceptions against them.

Doctor Grindall, late Archbishop of Canterburie, being there in banishment with them, certified Bishop Ridley, condemned to die, and then in prison in Oxford, of Master Knoxe's perverse behaviour. Whereunto the godly father answered again in these words, (which he said he thought should be the last that ever he should write,) "Alas! that brother Knoxe could not beare with our Booke of Common Praier, in matters against which, although I grant a man (as he is) of wit and learning, may finde to make apparant reasons, yet I suppose he cannot be able, soundly by the Worde of God, to disproove any thing in it."

Grindall.

Ridley.

Afterward, when it pleased Almyghtie God to blesse this Realme with the happie governement of our Soveraigne Laidie, the Queene's most excellent Majestie that now is, (whom Almightie God long preserve, with all health and prosperitie, to rule and governe us,) the said Booke, in some points bettered, togither with

the truth of Christian religion, established in hir brother's daies, was againe, through God's favor and hir goodnes, restored unto us.

Deering. Of this Booke, a certain learned man, writing against Master Harding, uttereth these words by waie of challenge: *Our Service is good and godlie, everie title grounded on Holie Scriptures, and with what face do you call it darkenes? Sure with the same that the prophesies of the Holie Ghost were sometimes called dreames, the doctrine of the Apostles heresie, and our Saviour Christ a Samaritaine. As* Elias *said to the Priests of* Baal, *Let us take either our bullockes, (meaning the Pope's Portuise, and our Communion Booke,) and leave the peeces on our altars; and on which God sendeth fire, let that be the light.* And a little before, *O Master Harding, turne to your writings; examine your authorities; consider your councels; apply your examples; looke if anie line be blameable in our Service Booke, and take hold of your advantage, I think Master Jewell will accept it as an article.*

Heerby you see, deerly belooved, what account was made of this Booke in times past, and that by men neither for life nor learning to be any way contemned. But now the case is altered; and many are growen to such a hatred of it, as they scarcely have patience to heare the Booke once named. Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, Peter Martir, with many other, as famous men as ever this lande brought foorth, notwithstanding they imployed their whole times very diligently and painfully in the studies of divinitie, and other good learnings therunto appertaining, were compassed about belike with such thicke clouds and mistes of palpable darknes, that they could in a maner see nothing.

Marie now a third sort of men are risen up in the world; who do affirme, that they al joined upon a wrong issue; and that the authority which both sides labored for, doth indeed appertaine unto their presbyteries, and ecclesiasticall senates. Page 71.

I would be loth, deerely beloved, to abuse you with untruthes: and therefore I have thought good to make this matter more plaine unto you by a very manifest example, authorised in a Declaration published by the King of Scots. A Declaration.

About some sixe or seaven yeares ago, (as I do imagine,) certaine men of the new government, intending the erection of these Presbyteries in Scotland, begun their parts, and proceeded as followeth. Scotland.

They did greatly inveigh against the superioritie of Bishops, and likewise repined at the King's authoritie in causes ecclesiasticall: whereupon, in his minoritie, a certaine number of ministers gathering to themselves certaine gentlemen, and diverse others, did erect by their owne authoritie their ecclesiasticall senates; and usurping all the whole ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, did alter the lawes at their owne pleasures, without the knowledge and approbation, either of the King or State.

They likewise tooke upon them to discharge the estate of Bishops, and to declare the same to be unlawfull; directing their commissioners to the King, and commanding him and the Counsell, under paine of excommunication, never afterwards to appoint any more Bishops, bicause they had concluded that estate to be unlawfull.

They prescribed lawes to the King and State, and appointed general fastings throughout the realme, when they thought good; especially when som factioners in the countrie were to move any great enterprise.

Besides, diverse of the ministers having preached very factious and seditious doctrine, and being in that respect called before the King, to answer the complaints made against them, they utterly disclaimed the King's authoritie, as an incompetent judge; alleag-

ing for themselves, that for such matters as were spoken in the pulpit, they ought to be exempt from the judgement and correction of princes, denieng his authoritie flatlie in causes ecclesiasticall.

The King giving commandement upon the Saterday, to certain noble men for the feasting of the Embassador of France in Edenborough the next Monday after; a number of the presbyterie understanding thereof, assembled themselves together on Sunday in the morning, and presumptuouslie caused the ministers to proclaime a faste to be held the same Monday, and could by no means be entreated to alter their determination therin. So as whilest the lords and the chief of the citie, according to the King's commandement, were about the intertainment of the Embassador, the Ministers, one after another, all the daie long in their severall sermons were bitterlie inveighing against them; and had it not been for the King's great importunitie, they had been all excommunicated.

But yet another pranke which they plaied passed all these. The King with the advice of his Estates in Parleament, having resolved upon a certaine fact committed by some of his subjects, that it was treason; these men in their assemblie (esteeming their judgement to bee the soveraigne judgement of the realme) did not onely approove the same fact as lawful, contrary to the said act of parleament, but ordained all them to be excommunicated who would not subscribe to their determination therein.

When the King saw what course these men held, and how, notwithstanding the equalitie they pretended, they sought altogether their owne advancement; how they erected that in themselves, which they had dejected in the Bishops; how they tooke more upon them then ever the Bishops had done; how they did imitate preposterouslie the papall jurisdiction; how, under the pretence of their presbyteries, they trod upon his scepter, and labored to establish an ecclesiasticall tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God or man could tollerate: And perceiving withall, that the new erected government was the mother of all

faction, confusion, sedition, and rebellion; that it was an introduction to Anabaptisme and popularitie; that it tended to the overthrow of his state and realme, and to the decaie of his crown; and that he must either discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of that forme of goverment,—by the consent and act of Parliament, 1584, he overthrew their presbyteries, and restored the Bishops again to their places. All this you may finde more at large set down by the King himselfe in his said Declaration.

It may heer be said, (for they dare say what they list,) that now the King is of another minde; and that this declaration was made when he had conceived some displeasure against them.

For the King, he is not altred: *Ictus piscator sapit.* His crowne and their soveraigntie will not agree togither. And what cause he had to proceed against them as he did, although it be great boldnes in such a case not to rest satisfied in the word of such a King; yet for your better understanding what to think of this kinde of government, (for 'Never a barrell will proove the better herring,') you shall heare the opinion of one of our owne countrie men,[1] who was in Scotland about the same time, and observed verie diligentlie the wonderfull pride and insolencie therof.

I judge, saith hee, (writing of this Parleament now assembled,) *that if the Parliament should establish such names, and those the officers according to those names which seeke their owne discipline, that then in steede of one Pope, we should have a* 1000; *and of some Lord Bishops in name, a* 1000 *Lordly tyrants in deed, which now do disdaine the names. This I have found by experience to be true: I can testifie by triall of Scotland, which have travelled it over in their best reformed places; as in Donde, Saint Andrewes, Edenborough, and sundrie other townes; and have knowne the King in great danger and feare of his life by their lordly Discipline,* &c. And againe: *I have seen all maner of wichednes to abound much*

[1] Bancroft here refers to Robert Brown, (see Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 1, and vol. v. p. 8,) who gave the name to the sect of Brownists, although he afterwards changed his principles. See Davidson's Reply, p. 512.

more in their best places in Scotland, then in our woorser places heer in England.

Furthermore, it may please you, Brethren, to heare the same man's judgement of such as do labor so busily in this matter, in a treatise of his against one Barowe.

Whereas you charge us (saith he) *in denieng Christ in his offices, and consequently not to be come in the flesh, it shall appeere by your presbyterie or eldermen, that indeed you are and will be the aldermen, even to pull the most ancient of all, Christ Jesus himselfe, by the beard; yea, and seeke not onely to shake him by the lockes of his haire out of his offices, but also all his ancients under him, I meane the lawfull magistrates and ministers, which have lawfull authoritie from him.*

Wherefore, not we, but you rather, seeke the glistering blase of great name; and if once you might get up the names of Elders and Presbyters, what mischiefe, crueltie, and pride would not streame from that name, even as fire from a blasing star, to set on fire the whole world? For every busie foole, the more busie he were in discrediting others and seeking mastership among the people, the better Elder he should be judged; yea, and this new name of an Elder given him were even as a sacrament of grace, and would seale up all his knaverie; that whatsoever filthines dropped from him, yet the skirte of his ancient's gowne should cover it.

This man's opinion heerin I know will be greatly contemned, bicause I think he hath bin of another judgement. But yet they may give him leave to speake, as his experience (which is no foolish master) hath taught him. For commonly it comes to passe, when rash men run hedlong into any new devises, that *posteriores* Cicero. *cogitationes solent esse sapientiores*, their afterwits are best. Howbeit, let him finde what favor at their hands he shall, I must indeed confesse, that if this matter had onely depended upon his report, or opinion, I would not at this time have made mention of him. But it is far otherwise: For indeed, if their proceedings be better considered, that which he hath said either of his judgement touching their Presbyteries, or of his experience in Scotland con-

cerning their practises, and that even against the King, it is in a maner nothing.

I besech you, Brethren, especially you that have been brought up in learning, and are able to look into this cause, do but consider how the cheefe magistrates have beene used and dealt withall wheresoever this absolute government which they speake of hath been erected. Read the writings of the chiefest pillers of these platforms, as the booke *De Jure Magistratuum in Subditos*; the booke intituled, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*; another, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; the Dialogs of *Eusebius Philadelphus*, with sundry other of that sort; and you shal find in them these most strange and rebellious propositions stifly maintained, dilated, and amplified.

The people of themselves may set up God's service, and abrogate superstition: It is lawfull for the people by force of arms to resist the Prince, if he hinder the building of the Church: That is, (as it appeereth by the whole drift almost of that booke,) their Presbytereis. *The people that doe not resist the Prince affecting the seat of God,* (that is, claiming supremacie in causes ecclesiastical,) *do, as it were, offer sacrifice to idols. If Princes do hinder them that seeke for this discipline, they are tyrants both to the Church and ministers,* (saith one of them;) *and being tyrants, they may be deposed by their subjects,* as they doe generally all of them hold.

Steph. Junius, p. 36.

Idem, p. 28.

Idem, p. 3.

Dialog of white divels.

I dare avow it unto you, Brethren, and I thinke no man will take exception against it; that if all were laid before you that the Popes have done against Princes, it is not more then these men defend may be put in execution, when they think good, by themselves and the people.

I might make this thing verie plaine unto you by divers particular examples, which they greatlie allow and propound to themselves for their imitation; were it not that the very naming of them would grow offensive unto you all. Onely, in generalitie, it may please you to understand what is written to this purpose in a booke printed at Geneva, and compiled by three or foure whose names I know not. *Although* (say they) *the Popes, for sundry enormities, have deposed Princes by their unlawfull authority, yet*

the reason that mooved them so to doe, was honest and just, and meete to be received and executed by the body or state of everie common wealth.

If any do heere object, that I stand too long upon this matter, considering that these things do touch men's dealings and writings in other countries and cannot in any sort be applied to our Reformers in England, my answer is, that I wish from the bottome of my hart it were so; but I greatlie feare, by that which already is done, that except there be in time verie good order taken, it will fall out far otherwise.

For it seemeth to me, that whatsoever hath bin done heerin abroad, is labored for to be put in execution heer with us at hom. Our Bishops you see how unchristianly they are handled, even with more contumely and disdainful reproch then ever it is to be read that the heathen used against their priests, of what condition and behavior soever.

. . . . . .

TO THE MOST MIGHTIE PRINCES, AND WORTHELIE MOST RENOUNED LADY OF OUR DAYES, ELIZABETH QWENE OF ENGLAND, &c., AND HER RIGHT HONORABLE COUNSALERIS, THE MINISTERIS OF GODIS WORD IN SCOTLAND, PRESENTLIE ASSEMBLED IN EDINBURGH, WITH THE INCREASE OF THE SPIRIT OF GODLIE GOVERNMENT, WISH A LONG AND PROSPEROUS REIGNE IN CHRIST TO HER MAJESTIE.

ALTHOUGH hitherto we have not bene accustomed, most mightie Princes, and right honorable Counsaleris, to writt to your Majestie and Honouris, yet presuming of your goode affection allway remaining toward ws, being urged by some pece of necessitie at this time more then before, through the unfreindlie, yea, and injurious dealing of some of your subjectis continuing and daylie increassing against ws, your well approved freindis and trustie well-willeris in Christ, (as it pleased your Majestie within these few yeris, not withowt signification of a thankfull mind, by your owen hand wryt, to acknowledge ws to be, in the which freindship toward yow and your whole Realme, yet, God be praysed, we constantlie continue;) we have taken boldnes at this time in speciall, because otherwise we se ther wilbe no end of our adversareis dealing against ws, to powre owt our complaintis in this cace unto yow; not dowbting but among the midst of your most weyghtie effairis ye will voutchsafe some litill time favorablie to heare ws, and to redresse the wronges done unto ws, as ye looke no dowbt for the like favour in time comming at our handis in any thing that concerneth our calling; the proofe wherof hitherto, and in speciall within these few dayes, we have declared, though unrequired, in a matter that semed not

a litle to have towched your Majestie's honour, if in time some of our Brethren had not prevented it.

Now, as hitherto, it hath pleased God to joyne these two Realmes in a most joyfull and fruictfull amitie, wherof (to Godis glorie be it spoken) we have not bene the smallest instrumentis heir amongst ws, so Satan, that old serrpent, (besid the commone ennemie, who of long time hath not ceassed by all meanis to brangle, shake, and overthrow the same,) hath not bene idle of lait yeris in raising wp some wicked instrumentis among yow, also especialie of the Ecclesiasticall state, as they wilbe called, to quarrell and invade ws with manifold calumneis; to the end, that we and our ministrie by that meanis, being made odious aswell in the eis of our native Prince and State, as in youris, no credit should rest any more to be given to ws by aither of yow, wherby we should be able profitablie to be employed in that service heirafter; therby choosing rather to hasard the knowen confirmed amitie betwen ws, and to hunt after some new meanis of ther owen invention, to patche wp ane dowbtfull new plateforme in hope of ther owen better standing, then to suffer the sinceritie of our ministrie (otherwise most fearfull to ther guiltie consciences) to continue in qwietnes amongst ws: which uncharitable proceiding, whatsoever wes ther policie, or the policie of ther patron in that cace, hath proceeded no dowbt owt of the workhous of Satan, for the fearfull separating of the blessed amitie betwen the two realmes, which never wes better to be taken head unto by the wise and godlie of both the realmes then at this time of suche eminent danger appearing presentlie to sease upon ws both.

Then to come to the matter, (wherwith otherwise most unwilling wer we to medle, if necessitie of defending our owen innocencie, and procuring so far as in ws lieth the firme continuance of our blessed amitie in Christ, hade not bene layd upon ws,) among many practises wherwith we have bene injured greatlie by these men foresayd these yeris past, we will make mention of two or thrie onelie at this time.

The First wherof wes, at the time of our late trowbles, when

that most slanderous libell falslie called the King's Majestie's Declaration came in print into England, (by whose procurement we will not determinatelie affirme;) but this is certaine, that not onelie gredelie wes it receaved, diligentlie red, and that in the eares of diverse cheife personages of the realme, the cheife places therof that served most to our shame being accuratlie remarked, with great triumphing as it wer in our ignominie, yea, printed againe at London, and with an odious new preface prefixed therunto reprinted againe. But it is also insert and imprinted word for word, as we heir, in the Chronicle of your countrie, compiled by Holinsede, for the perpetuall memorie therof: all which thingis wer done, no dowbt, by ther allowance, at least of the cheif of theme, if not by ther speciall procuring and commandement.

Secondlie, ane Bancroft, (Chaplaine, as he boldlie affirmeth, to the Lord Chanceller,) emboldened by these ther procedingis, to say no worse, with most impudent mowth took upon him to traduce us, our ministrie, and whole Churche, openlie at Paule's Croce, on Sonday the 9 of Februarie last, in time of Parlament, in the most frequent assemblie of that realme; wher, beside many unworthie parts uttered by him against the goode brethren of your owne realme, he entred upon us, not sparing our verie dead, but railing against that worthie famous father Mr Knox, of goode memorie in the Churche of God; and, as a man alltogither caried away with a made furie against ws, heighlie charged ws as cheif authouris (as it wer) of all the domesticque unqwietnes and sedition that of a long time, through the malice of Satan, hath bene within the bowellis of this our commonwell. Yea, and not staying ther, he feared not most wickedlie to affirme, (and that onelie upon the testimonie of suche an infamous witnesse as he himself in effect confesseth to be unworthie of any credit at all,) that by our lordlie Discipline (so he owt of his infamous author speaketh,) the King hath bene brought into great danger and feare of his lif; and last of all, odiouslie mingling ws with Anabaptists, Brownistis, Barowistis, and we cannot tell whome, that his malice may be evident to all men, he boldlie affirmeth, and that withowt all pretence of any warrand for him,

save his owen rash assertion, that all that hitherto is spoken, is nothing in respect of that which might be sayd against ws; then the which what greater accusationes can be brought against ws to make ws worthelie not onelie odious in all goode mennis eis, but also unworthie to live upon the earth, if these thingis most falslie alledged wer of trewth.

But God be praysed, beside the testimonie of our owen consciences, the universall knowledge and consent of the whole body of this realme, and testimonie of all the honourable and worthie persones, your Majesteis ambassadouris, and otheris goode men of your realme who have bene here among ws from time to time, as also his Majesteis owen approbation many times, bothe in word and dede, do plainelie witnes the contrairie to be trew: and in speciall his publict and solemne protestation made before the Generall Assemblie in June last,[1] wher being present in his Royall person, he openelie protested that he estemed his standing and the standing of religion as presentlie it is taught and professed in Scotland, so to be joyned together, that the wellfair of the one wes the wellfare of the other, and contrarie wise, &c.; as the publict record therof more at lenth will bear witnesse to the world for ever. As also, before his departure owt of the realme, as he commended himself, his voyage,[2] and the prosperous successe of all that work, to our eirnest prayeris; so he commended in speciall, the qwietnes of the whole Realme to the cairfull watching and prayeris of the Ministrie; which to this hour, God be praysed, hath had such good effect. The Lord in his great mercie, for Christ's sake, continue it, that worthelie it may confound that rash and wicked babler, with all his patrones in that cace and complices whosoever; wherin we appele your present Ambassadour him self[3] (no ennemie to that Papale Hierarchie) to be a faythfull witnesse, let him signifie unto yow our partis now in the Kingis absence, for whose happie

[1] On the 17th of June 1589.

[2] King James the Sixth, at this time, was in Denmark. He sailed from Leith on the 22d of October, and was married at Upslo, in Norway, (and not Upsala, in Sweden, as sometimes stated,) on the 19th of November 1589. He spent the winter in Denmark, and returned on the 1st of May 1590.

[3] Sir Robert Bowes.

returne we pray continualie with greater desire of his presence than heir is nedefull to expresse. Nather have they contented themselfes with this open railing against ws in that furious invection, but also they have alledged * * * * * *[1] unto the whole world.

Thirdlie, and last, beside the odious pointing owt in particular, both by word and print, some of our goode and well approved brethren who escaped into England in time of our late trowbles, with most reprochefull epithetis by some of that crew, after ther arrogant, yea, and (in that case we may well say) verie ignorant maner, we, our discipline, and whole ministrie, are most ridiculouslie flooted, as we heir, in ther stage playes, pamphletis, and pasqwillis, imprinted day by day, so that ther appereth no end of ther malice against ws, except in time by your wisdome and authoritie ther insolencie be suppresst; which if it shall, after this maner so fearcelie persecuting the good brethren ther, your most loyall and trustie subjectis at home, and so hielie provoking our patience your well approved freindis your neighbouris abroad, who have deserved no such things at your handis, continue unrepressed—as it shall bring a fearfull curse with it within your owen bowellis, so can it not but muche coole our kindnes, which God forbid, to the great indangering of all: for of all times this is most unfit to suffer them to rage so without and within, when so great danger is so imminent from the common enemie. Yea, if they wer wise they should learne to be war of suche proud and unquiet proceidingis, remembring that as pride goeth before destruction, so the saying of the poet[2] is verie trew in them:—

Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
Plus dapis, et rixæ multo minus invidiæque.

Alace! goode men, they wot not what evill they do to themselfes. But, *quos perdere vult Jupiter*, sayeth the verie heathen man, *iis primum mentem adimere solet.* But if ther unquiet procedingis wer onelie

[1] A line in the MS. is cut off at the foot of the page.

[2] Horat. Epist. lib. i. xvii.

hurtfull to themselfes, and not dangerous to the state where they are suffered so to rage, and subsequentlie to the common cause, it wer no great matter, howbeit they that sow iniquitie reape affliction, as Salomon sayeth; but as the verie societie of the evill men, (muche more the mentenance of them in ther evill is dangerous to them with whome they menteined, as Achab found by the mentaining his fals prophetis,) so it is verie trew that may be well gathered out of the Revelation, 18 chap. 3 vers, they shall be pertakers of the plagues that are pertakers of the sinnes.

Wherefore, most mightie Princes and right honorable Counsaleris, our humble request is unto yow, first, That these our greifis and injuries being weyghed as becometh, they may be redressed in such sort as we may perceave our letters to have had some weight in sight; and that it may appear ye make such accoumpt of our freindschip in Christ, that for the favour of a few persones, onelie seiking themselves and ther owen worldlie standing, with the injureing of so many your faythfull subjectis and trustie freindis, whome as ye made up and pleasured for the commoditie, as ye thocht, of your common wele, so finding them hurtfull to the same, ye may unmake and displeasure without any hurt to your state; that for the favour of such, we say, ye will not despise our humble and resonable sute:—

And first, That ye will cause delet out of your Chronicles[1] that whole leing libell, (which, as it is altogither falslie forged, containing as many lies almost as lines, as in the owen time and place shalbe cleirlie proved, so it is not the Kingis but the apostat Bishop of Sanctandrois doing, wherof we have the Kingis owen declaration subscrived with his hand for proofe, wherin in plane wordis he callis it the Bishop of Sanctandrois owen declaration; which that miserable wretche himself, now justlie out of the favouris of God and man both, can not deny;) least otherwayes we being drevin to

[1] It may be remarked, that after the publication of Holinshed's Chronicles, by Harrison, and others, in 1586-7, there were a variety of passages in the Continuation which seem to have given great offence to Queen Elizabeth, who caused a considerable number of leaves to be suppressed. But a few copies having escaped, these castrations were afterwards reprinted.

set out the falshood therof to the world, these men may appear to have gained small credit to your Chronicle by blotting it with a blur of manifest falsheads, containing as many lies almost as lines; which if we se no other remedie, shalbe made manifest to the world to ther perpetuall shame.

Secondlie, We desire that our goode name, so hielie defaced by that chaplaine Bancroft, may be as publictlie and universallie restored to us againe, as by him it hath bene most contumeliouslie taken from us, and that without partialtie or respect of any person: for this we dar boldlie affirme, that whosoever he be that will defend and countenance any such a seditious firebrand as Bancroft is in that matter, he is no freind to the Gospell, nor favourer of the amitie between the two landis, but a sworne ennimie to them both. Yea, we wold not have yow ignorant, that our Kingis Majestie himself wes so offended when he red that part of that invective which is against us, that as he bursted foorth into great choler against the author therof, so he promised to answer and confute it in most eirnest and sharp maner; which no doubt he hade done if his other greter effares hade suffered him, and if he hade remained at home.

And Thirdlie, We crave that ordour may be taken with suche as have allredie defaced us and our brethren, in sermonis, pasquiles, print bookes, and stage-playes, and that herafter no suche uncharitable dealing be used against us; which our lawfull requeastis if they shalbe granted, as your Majestie and Honoris shall discharge a parte of your dewtie therin, so shall ye knitt us in more strait freindship unto you and your state for ever then ever wes amongst us heirtofore: otherwise, if these our sutis be slenderlie passed over, which we looke not for, as we mind never to be undewtifull to your Majestie and Honoris, so are we not so base minded nor so destitute of meanis as to suffer the innocencie and sinceritie of our ministrie to be so falselie and injuriouslie impeched for nought by the proudest of that Baalamitish generation. But hoping that your Wisdomes will wiselie foresie the meanis to prevent suche contention bytimes, as otherwayes may hardlie be quenched in our dayes,

we are to conclude with this freindlie advise in this our common danger, that it may please you, after the example of goode Josaphat, to proclaime a publict fast universallie outthrough your realme, with preaching and supplicationes to be made in all convenientis partis of your land; of the apointed day or dayes wherof it may please you to give us timelie advertisement, that warning being given universalie therof to our people, we may all joyne togither to intreat the Lord our God for mercie and pardone of our former sines and rebelliones at his hand, and for his defence against our ennemies: ffor it is not now with man but with the Lord that we have to do, nether must we dreame that the Lord will alwaye fight for ws from heaven if we continue in our sinnes, yea, and increase in the same by persecuting his servandis more sharplie then at any time before. Alace! is this our thankfullnes for our late and last deliverance? Wherefore let us leave of suche ungodlie dealing, and in time go foorth and mete the Lord, and give him the hand, that we being delivered and our ennemeis confounded, we have our mouthes filled with a new song to praise him that sitteth on the throne, and the Lamb for evermore; to whome, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be praisse and dominion for ever.

This much for our sutis and the discharge of our consciences; and your Majestie and Honouris favourable Answer with spede, if it be your pleasures.

(*Indorsed*)
Letter to the Queene of England
against Bancroft.

A BRIEFE DISCOVERY OF THE VNTRUTHES AND SLANDERS (AGAINST THE TRVE GOVERNEMENT OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST) contained in a Sermon, preached the 8 of Februarie 1588, by D. BANCROFT, and since that time, set forth in Print, with additions by the said Authour.

[4to, pp. v., 56, without name of place, printer, or date.]

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(Page 42.)—TOUCHING SCOTLAND.

WE answere, that we desire not the Eldershipp to be planted in the Church of England, because Scotland or Geneva enjoyeth the same, but inasmueh as Christ Jesus, the Head and King of his Church, hath commaunded it to bee therein. And, therefore, we admit the government of no Church under heaven to be the paterne of that which we desire, but only that regiment which is set downe in the Word of God, the perfection whereof if any Church hath attained unto, wee rejoice with them, and desire to be pertakers of so great a blessing, in the Lord's good time. But as for any thing that is amisse, (if there be ought,) either in Geneva or Scotlande, wee labour no more to have that established in England, then we doe to have the great abuses that raigned in the Church of Corinth, or Galatia, to be imitated. The slaunder which you have, both against the King's Majesty there, in giving out that he is a deadly enemy unto the present governement established in his kingdome, and watcheth but his time to overthrow it, and also against the godly ministers of that realm, in making them traitors unto their soveraign, I leave to be answered by themselves: and I dout not, but you wil in time be forced to answere the injury

From the 72. to the 78. page.

that you have offered unto that godly and noble King, and also unto the whole Church within his dominion.

But let it bee graunted that the true Church governours in Scotland behaved themselves rebelliously towards their Prince, which yit is most false, What is that to the Church-government which they enjoy? Doe you thinke it a good reason, to say that the Archbishop is a traitour, therefore the Archbishopricke is gilty of treason? You cannot deny but Thomas Becket was a traitor, so were divers others that have beene Archbishops of Canterbury; but I trust you will not therefore attaint the Archbishopricke of treason.

Browne, a knowne scismatike, is a man very fit to be one of your witnesses against the Eldership. His entertainment in Scotland was such as a proud ungodly man deserved to have. God give him and you repentance, if it be his will, otherwise you shall make an hard reckoning both of you, before the judgement-seate of Jesus Christ, for the slaunders which you have raised up against the governement of his kingdome heere upon earth. Your calender deceived you; for it was not the Parliament of the yeere 88 whereof hee wrote, but of another held anno 86, or before.

If any thing be written amisse in any of the books that you mencion, wee have nothing to doe therewith. Bring our owne assertions, and you shal be answered. We holde it altogether unlawfull for ministers and church officers to deale in any civil cause, much more to depose princes; and, therfore, our attempts that way are not to be feared. Looke you and your masters unto those thinges, who arrogat unto your selves that preheminence which is, indeede, dangerous unto the throne of the magistrate, and thinke parliaments and lawes cannot bee halfe orderly kept and enacted without Lords spirituall.

Your feare, that whatsoever hath bene done or written in forraine countries is laboured to have execution with us at home, is but the overflowing of your gall. The disease is daungerous, and you may one day aunswere for your distemperature in his presence, before whome the imaginers of evill against their brethren shall have their reward.

We holde, indeede, that the magistracie is God's ordinance, bee he a good or a bad, an heathen or a Christian, that is called thereunto, so that the right of a Christian and an heathen magistrate within his dominions is the same. You that hold the contrary professe your selfe not to bee a subject for conscience sake, as the Apostle commaundeth, but for some other respect. So you would bee very dutifull belike, if you were under an heathen prince. Rom. xiii. 2.

Ministers, wee say, are not to deale in civill causes; and therefore, in that point, wee ascribe unto the magistrate both *potestatem, juris et facti*, that is, power to make lawes and to execute them. If there arise anie difficultie (as often as it commeth to passe) of that which is agreable unto the Law of God, in matters that are controverted; then, indeed, it is the minister's dutie to enforme the magistrate of the mind of the Lord; wherein hee doth nothing els but (*respondere de jure*) shewe what the will of God is, that the magistrat may (*statuere de facto*) pronounce sentence accordingly.

For Ecclesiasticall matters, it is the Word of God onely that therein hath (*potestatem juris*) the power to determin what is acceptable in the sight of God; and the minister ought to have the knowledge thereof, that he may declare the same, both unto magistrate and people. The church officers also are appointed of God, to execute all ecclesiastical maters. And if you should attribute this power unto the magistrate, the magistrate might justly account of you as you are. For will you have the magistrate to preach the Word, administer the Sacramentes, take the charge of watching over the maners of the people, and distributing to the pore within his parish? Or will you have him to visite the sicke, comfort the weake, ordaine ministers, discusse controversies in religion, and exercise the Church censures by excommunications, &c.? And yet these are the only maters which wee account ecclesiasticall, and wherein alone we hold it lawfull for church-officers to deale: other punishments of malefactors, as imprisoning, fining, or any mulct that toucheth the life, body, or goodes of men, are only to be referred to the magistrates, who beare the sword for that purpose. Our Bishops, usurping this sword, doe shewe that they

and their father's house, and not wee, doe labour to bring and maintaine confusion in Church and common wealth.

Your exhortation, both unto people and magistrates, that the one shoulde avoide, and the other punish heretical spirits, we imbrace with all our harts. Being ready to shewe, as our writings have done at large, that your errors, corruptions, idlenes, pride, ambition, slaunders, and untruthes, uttered against the truth, hath not only (as dayly experience teacheth us) begotten and nourished the lamentable ignorance which every where raigneth in this land, but alsoe called for the wrath of God to fal uppon us, because such unruly and wicked spirits as you are tollerated in the holy ministerye amongest us. You are now come to the gathering uppe of your slanders and untruthes, into an heape in the conclusion of your sermon, lest the readers and auditors shoulde forget that you are an impudent slaunderer. And, therefore, that you may incense the magistrates against us, in one place especially, you rake them up after this manner.

Hir Majestie is depraved, hir authority is impugned, and greate dangers are threatned. Civil government is called into question, princes prerogatives are curiously scanned, the interest of the people in kingdomes is greatly advanced, and al government generally is pinched at and contemned; the Church is condemned, the auncient fathers are despised, your preachers are defaced, and yet these men are tollerated.

Prov. xii. 6. Whereunto I answere with the wise man, that the lying tongue slayeth the soule, and that the very wordes of the wicked lye in wayte for blood, but the mouth of the righteous wil deliver them. And so wee doubt not, whensoever wee are araigned for any of these heavy accusations, but that wee shalbee delivered from this bloody tonge. The reader knoweth that (as a noble emperour spake in the like case) if it be sufficient to accuse, no man can be innocent. Nowe, if he hath these advantages against any of us, let him set down his particulars, and name the man or his writings, and he shalbe answered; otherwise, we make no other account of such epistrophaes, and homoioteleutaes, then of the barking and

dogge rethorick of some profane Lucian or godlesse Porphirie. It is no news for us to have our legs and thighs desired to be broken. The reader is to remember, that this was the Jewes requests unto Pilate concerning our Saviour Christ; and, therefore, wee are not to thinke it strange that M. Bancroft is guided by their spirit whose place he supplieth. But this wee are to knowe, that neither he nor his masters shal do any thing against us, but that which the Lord our God hath long since determined, and therewith, by his grace, wee hope to be right wel contented. John xix. 30.

Instead of arming his hearers with reasons out of the Word against us, whome he accounteth sect-masters and false prophets, hee commeth off after his wonted manner, with *idem per idem*, leaving his auditors in as great doubt as they were before; and saith, that the doctrine of the Church of England is pure and holy; the governement therof, both in respect of her Majestie, and of our bishops, is lawfull and godly: the Booke of Common Praier containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word.

Her Majestie's governement, he knoweth well enough, we call not in question; he and his patrons have corrupted the doctrine of our church; and as for the hierarchy and Common Booke, when he hath made up the holes which I have alredy shewed to be in both, (besides the uncureable woundes that other men have discovered,) he may build somthing upon his conclusion, which, if he doe not, his maner of disputation, in craving and begging the matter in controversie, will in a while growe to bee a common proverbe. If we were such unreasonable men as we would find falt with matters that are blamelesse; his exhortation, that private men would take heede, and the magistrate take punishment of us, would carry with it some waight. But inasmuch as both the magistrate and people see that wee have cause to speake, and perceive that our adversaries can doe litle, if they cannot set a fair face upon a crackt cause, wee feare not any great hurt that his tongue can worke unto us.

And the very same account doe we make of his speach where hee saith, that wee use the same argumentes for the soveraigntie of

our Presbiteries against the Prince, in causes Ecclesiasticall, that the Pope doth for his principallitie in the same, and we answere as the papists do him. But these thinges (as hee saith) hee cannot stand to proove at this time; onely hee thought it necessary to advertise his hearers of it, that they might the better beware of such kind of spirits. Take his advantage who list.

This is Whitgift's quarrel, and answered long since.

Answere. We care not how little a doo we have at the Arches, and, therefore, we meane not to take any great advauntage against your tongue, any further then your blushing may be for the clearing of the truth. The reader will thinke you worthy to be marked in the forhead, according unto the Romaine lawe, except you proove this which you have so confidently sèt downe. Though, as it should seeme, you have a commission to use your tongue and pen at your pleasure, yet you cannot blot out the light of men's reading and knowledge. We are known to be so out of amitie (in this case especially) with all Romanists, and you truly accounted to be so neerly allied unto them, that wee desire no other weapons to strike downe the hierarchie, then M. Luther and M. Calvine have used to overthrowe the Romaine chaire and her ministers.

How often shall it be tould you, that we would have no civill matters handled in any Ecclesiasticall meeting? And, therfore, that we admit not any thing in our assemblies to be decreed against the constitutions of princes, any further then princes may account the truth of the Word to bee against their statutes. We are as far from making our owne wils to be the rules of other men's lives, or from affirming that what wee speake is the very Word of God, as you are from being ashamed to lie in the face of the sunne: You have taken great paines in sowing the seed of most grosse untruthes: Repent betimes, least in the Lord's just judgement you reape the fruits of your lying tongue.

D. BANCROFTS RASHNES

IN RAYLING AGAINST THE CHVRCH OF SCOTLAND, NOTED IN AN ANSWER TO A LETTER

of a worthy perſon of England, and ſome reaſons rendred, why the anſwer thereunto hath not hitherto come foorth.

By I. D. *a brother of the ſayd Church of Scotland.*

EX MVLTIS PAVCA.

AT EDINBVRGH
PRINTED BY ROBERT WALDE-GRAVE. ANNO. 1590.

A PROOFE OF DOCTOR BANCROFT'S RASHNES

Against the Church of Scotland.

Men of anie sound judgemente (good Sir,) that hard or read that declamation made at Paule's Crosse the 9 of Februarie 1588, in time of Parlament, by Richard Bancroft, Doctor[1] of Divinity, and chaplaine, &c., (as he will needs be styled,) and afterward enlarged by him, and set forth in print, may easily perceive that (small regard had to godly edifiyng, by the right cutting of that worthy text of Scripture, *Beleeve not everie Spirit*, &c., 1 John iv. 1, which then hee tooke to entreate) he made the whol drift of his speach, to serve his intended turne, for a bitter invection against the godlie brethren of Englande, who urge Reformation of that Churche, and chiefly, the remooving of that heavie bondage of Antichristian government by loftie Lordes, wrongfully called Bishops, (an hurtfull relicke of Romish confusion,) and restoring in the place thereof the joynt administration of Christian Discipline by the Ministers and Elders of the Churche, which is most clearely prooved by them and others, to be established by the Word of God, to continue to the comming of the Lord Jesus Christ: whose godly endeavours, when for a while he hath laboured to improove, after his maner, hee leaveth the matter in question at last altogeather, and setteth himself against theyr persons, and travaileth with tooth and naile (as they say) to bring them into extreame hatred with the supreme Magistrate, as men who by this their new government, (so it pleaseth him to speak of it,) intend no les matter then hie treason and rebellion, by overthrowing her Majestie's authority in Ecclesiasticall causes, and highly derogating there-

[1] In the original tract, the words Doctor, King, Queen, and Majestie, are usually contracted, as initial letters, D. K. Q. and M.

by to her supreamacie in that case, to the apparant indangering of her person and state in the end, except good order bee taken with the matter in time: Then the which, what can bee more odiously affirmed, and more woorthy of extreame punishment, if it be true?

But how doth he proove all this geare, I pray you? even from his owne feare forsooth, which riseth upon his falsly conjectured suspicions, without al groundes of truth, to wit, that as outlandish meanes and practises have bene traiterous and rebellious in erecting and establishing of this new government, (as he speaketh,) so hee feareth, that they, who so exactly, and with such hoat persuit, follow the outlandish preceptes in this case, will fall to the same meanes in England, (pag. of his book, 83, 84;) and least his credite should come in question, for abusing his auditors with untruthes in this matter, he wil not seeme to speake any thing without his warrand; and therefore finding nothing to charge the good breethren at hoame withall in this case: (such is the mercy of GOD toward them, that the very adversarie himselfe, seeking matter of accusation against them, can finde no hole in their coat, doe his best, but by his unwilling silence, is compelled, in a manner, to justifie their dewtifull modestie in seeking reformation hitherto.) Not being able then, I say, to finde any thing against the brethren of Englande in this case, (for otherwise they shoulde have heard of it, ye may bee sure,) he raungeth abroad, and as a stranger curious in an other Commonweale, making choise, especially of Scotland, hee setteth upon it with al his maine, assuring himself of sure proof of his purpose from thence, (pag. 72.) In doing wherof, as he most outragiously upbraideth our whole Ministerie and Christian Discipline of our Church, with a cartfull of calumneis, utered against them both: So he cannot refrain himselfe from most reprochfull slaundering of the King's Majestie himselfe, as after shal be seen, and disdaineful contemning of the whole inhabitants of the land. A perrilous practise (whose Chaplaine so ever hee be) against the happie amitie between the two Realmes, especially now in these daungerous daies, wherein our common peace is so highly indan-

gered, aswel by the domesticque male-contens and conspirators at home, as by the forraine detected enemy abroad: good men in the meane time, pillers, as it were, and chief intertainers thereof, daily waxing fewer and fewer in both the lands.

Neverthelesse, so egar is the man in the matter, that before hee will not bring his stick to the fire, he will not spare to speake evil, even of those things which he knoweth not, and verye boldelye, though most rashly, builde uppe an uglie heape of most slanderous accusations against our sayde Church, and that upon the false testimonies of the frivelous reports of other men, and chiefly of two, the very bare naming of whom, where they are knowne, is sufficient ynough of it selfe, to discredit whatsoever is alleadged in their names: For as touching the former of them, corruptlie and falslie called Bishop of S. Androis, it is much better that the legend[1] of his leud life bee buried in eternall oblivion, then that Christian eares should be polluted with the unsavorie mention thereof. Although it is not hard to gesse, the whole course of his proceedings (as a lyon may be knowen by his clawes) by one speciall action. For what will that man be ashamed to doe that durst father his owne forgerie uppon the Lord's lieutenant the King's Majestie himselfe, and that in a matter of no lesse importance then the Declaration of the meaning of some acts of Parliament; which howbeit it was but his own declaration, (as his Majestie hath plainely witnessed by his own hand writ, yet extant to be seene,) and not the King's, yet durst he bee bolde to give it out in the King's name, as though hee had beene the verie undoubted author therof: If this be not to play the falsarie forger, and that in the hiest degree, let the Chaplain himself be judge. P. Adamson.

But here hee will replie, that this is but our Ministers' affirmation, (who, saith he, page 75, dare say what they list.) Otherwise, as the Declaration is the King's: so, as for the King, he is not altered: *Ictus piscator sapit*, &c. Whereby he will not only have that

[1] Davidson probably alludes to a scurrilous invective in Scotish verse, written by Robert Semple, against Archbishop Adamson, entitled, "The Legend of the Bischop of St Androis lyfe, callit Mr Patrik Adamsone, *alias* Coustean."

counterfeit and bastard declaration bound on the Kinge's backe, whether he will or not: but before it shall not be so, he dare be bold, in the same page above cited, to charge his Majestie with deepe dissimulation, while in effect he affirmeth, that howbeit the King by his writing, speaking, and actions, would seeme to approove the present exercise of that same discipline, which so flatly is condemned in that foresaid declaration; yet hee doth not approve it in hart, because, (saith the Chaplaine,) he is not altered, to wit, from that thing which he would have him to have set downe in that declaration, flat contrary to his present practise, allowing it after al the waies foresaid. In the which saying, hee necessarily dooth implie deepe dissimulation to be in his Majestie, while hee will have him to condemne that in heart, which in deed so manifestly he doth allow: let it be judged then, whether it be our ministers that speak as they list, or he.

It had become his person and place to have spoken and written, at the least, more reverently of his Majestie, how uncharitablie so ever hee had judged of him in his mind; yea, charitie would have made him thinke with himselfe, (if there had beene a sponke thereof within him,) that nowe being of perfect age, and yeres of discretion, he is christianlie mooved in singlenesse of hart, by his auctority to approve that Christian discipline, which nowe he cleerely seeth to be so well warranted by the Worde of God, which perhaps in his minority and none age (being misled by crafty men) he did not so perfitly understand. But let not his Majestie nor any prince, looke for any better dealing at the handes of any of his coat, when their honor and these men's profites come into their way to be ballanced.

But God be praised, it hath pleased his Majestie not to winke at this malapert calumny, but to note it with a coale, to their confusion that allowed of that lye, while by his own hande writ, set downe in the margent of BANCROFT'S book, page foresaid, just over above these his most impudent assertions. "For the King he is not altered: *Ictus piscator sapit.* His crown and their soverainty will not agree together," most plainely hee declareth the

singlenes of his heart in this behalf, flat contrary to these impudent assertions, in the words following:—

MY SPEAKING, WRITING, AND ACTIONS, WERE AND ARE EVER ONE, WITHOUT DISSEMBLING, OR BEARING UP AT ANY TIME, WHAT EVER I THOUGHT.

Whereby, as he purgeth him selfe of al dissembling in times past, so hee protesteth, that his speaking, writing, and actions, in approving the present exercise of Discipline, are fully agreeing to his thought and minde, and therefore hee concludeth in these wordes following:—

Ergo CASTS THE LIBEL, *ne quid asperius.*

Which is as much to say, as wherefore the D[octor's] assertions are untrue, to use no rougher tearmes, which, after his accustomed maner, is subscribed as followeth:—

I. R., That is, *Jacobus Rex.*

Which wordes uttered in Scottish after this sorte, if the Chaplaine shall goe about to misconstrue, or wrangle from this his true meaning, his Majestie hath faithfully promised to give him such a categoricke and simple answer, by a plain lie in round English, as shall make him, and al his maintainers in this cause, to be ashamed that ever they medled with this matter. Thus God recompenseth the foolish, while hee maketh deceite to returne into the harte of them that forge evil.

And touchinge that truthles TURINUS, of whome the chaplain had the paterne of this pagean: he is presently as far out of his Majestie's favour (let the Bishopists of England trust the intelligence given by him to them of the contrary, so much as they list) as ever before he semed to be in it. But whether he shal receave the like recompense in the end, that his predecessor did, at the handes of that worthy emperor Alexander Severus, while being fastened to a stake, the cryer stoode thus crying to the people, smoke he solde, and with smoke he is punished, it resteth to his Majestie's discretion to consider.

But yet I thinke that soe the Chaplaine will not let goe his holde; but will alledge that in noe wise hee is to bee blamed for building uppon the testimony of this his author, in that declaration at least, (whatever the man be otherwise,) seeing, so publickly and universally, in a maner, it was received by many of his betters for the King's owne Declaration, in so much that it was printed again, and reprinted with a most odious preface at London, without any controlement, in so far as it concerned us, red, and remarked diligently by many, and vigilantly insinuated to the view of som chief personages of the state, who were made so to like of it, and to thinke it to be of truth, like to som new gospel, that som, not of the most inferior of such whoe are called children of the Most High amonge them, have not spared, as we heare, to take boldnes therby of late, in their publict judiciary trials reprochfully, to upbraid our countrimen, in the persons of such as were tried before them, comparing them to Scottish men, who, when the King proclaimed a feast, wold needes have a fast, or contrariwise, when the King wold have a fast, they proclaimed a feast,[1] alluding to that false narration touching the banketting of the French Ambassadour, set downe in that counterfait Declaration. And last of al, for the perpetual triumphing memory thereof against us, it was insert worde for worde in the Chronicle of England, compiled by HOLINSHED,[2] and published to the posteritie in print. To the which I answer, that as the multitude of offenders authoriseth no an errour, so he shoulde not have followed a multitude to doe evill, much lesse shoulde hee have added evil to evil, and done worse then any that went before him: but before the publishing of so waighty a matter after such a maner, hee should without partiality have examined the truthe of the thing to the bottome; and not otherwise so impotentlye have suffered him selfe to have bene caryed away through the apish imitation of men, perfitly knowne to him to be partially affected in this case: yea, and to speake

[1] In the original tract, the previous line is reprinted by mistake, "wold have a feast," instead of "a fast," &c.

[2] See the preliminary notice, page 473–476.

further, howbeit the most part of the things contained in that slanderous libel, after due trial had bin founde true, yet charity would rather have buried even the multitude of sins, then so bitterly have blown abroad some oversights, to the reproch of a whole reformed Church. What could the veriest Papist of them al have done more?

But what should be said to a bellie that hath no eares, that poore DEMAS, (if he be no woorse,) hunting appearandly for promotion to some prelacie, (as the manner is,) is so incorporate with that company of climers to preferment, (as they call it,) and imbracers of this present worlde, that he is as corrupt, and partial in this case, as the proudest of them; so that of one, ye may learne all: Otherwise, if there had bene but a sponke of sincere judgement in him, as worthilie hee might have suspected that marveilous heape of most horrible accusations to have bene incredible in a Churche, namely, where so long the truth hath beene sincerely preached and professed: So, he needed not to thinke it any strange or new thing, for crafty miscreants, having credit in Court and Church, to finde the meanes many times to abuse the names of princes and excellent men, yea, and of God himselfe, as cloakes to cover their divelish and naughty devises. Whereof, let these examples be witnesses, to wit, of JOAB, JESABEL, HAMAN, GEHASI; the old Prophet of Bethel, and all the false prophets, false apostles, and false teachers, that ever spake, or speak the vision of their owne heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord; and who ran and runne when the Lord hath not sent them.

And last, touching the printing againe and reprinting of that forged Declaration at London, and joyning it to the Chronicle of England, where through some whome the Lorde hath called gods, thinking all cock sure, take occasion of upbraiding the Ministerie of our countrie when it pleaseth them: As these shall die ignominiously like men except they repent; so, what honour those have procured thereby to their country, and what credit to the Chronicle therof, let them brag of it when the uprightnes of our cause, sufficiently cleared by this and the like writings, shall justifie it selfe to their faces, and the true storie thereof, that shall remaine

registred to all posterities, shall witnesse the honesty and duetifull dealing of our Church in al things, to their shame.

Thus much then being spoken, touching the former of the Chaplain's two witnesses, let us nowe come to the other, his inconstant
R Brown. countrey-man, (as hee describeth him, for as for mee, hee shall bee no woorse than he himselfe maketh him,) the naming of whome, belike, might doe his cause more harme then his testimony can doe it good, and therefore he contenteth him self with a very slender description of him; so that not without a note of reproch in the end he sends him packing in these wordes following:—"This man's opinion heerin, (saith he,) I knowe wil be greately contemned, because I thinke hee hath bin of an other judgement, &c. Howbeit, let him finde what favour at their handes he shall: I must indeede confesse, that if this matter had onely depended uppon his report or opinion, I would not at this time have made mention of him." Wherby you see what a wethercock he maketh of him, and howe rediculously he leaveth him to beg credite where hee may finde it, for he can give him none. Here I omitt to make mention of the jar that is fallen out since betweene our Chaplaine and his suborned witnes, for that, that upon no fair promise of recompense, hee coulde procure newe furniture at his hands of some more particuler matter against the newe onset, that with long preparation he hath intended against us. Seeing then, that no man's pen nor tong can more discredit this his second witnes then he doth him self, (partly by the wordes above rehearsed, and partly by the Doctor's words following in his declamation, where he flatly again maketh him to be of a changeable humor;) if he drink no better by his meanes than hee hath brewed, let him blame himself, understanding that evil advise is worst to the adviser. I will not speake at this time of the shameles falsehoode that is alleadged out of the testimonye it selfe, which whensoever it shal be particularly examined, will make the Doctor repent that ever hee cited such a testimony, and specially, where most impudently it is affirmed, that hee hath knowne the Kinge in greate danger and feare of his life by their lordly Discipline, the contrary whereof,

as it is cleerely knowen to al the worthie persons, Ambassadors of England, who have had their long residence here amonge us, and private intelligence of all our affaires after an other manner then ever his wandring witnesse coulde attaine unto: so is it many wayes affirmed by the King himselfe; and daylie experience, God be praised, doth confirm the same.

Both the Chaplaine's authors then, being such prettie fellowes as hath bin declared, I trust it be not hard to bee seene, how little credit is to bee given to his declamation, grounded uppon their railing reports, (to leave the demonstration of the falshood of the matter uttered by them, to the owne time and place.) For he should have considered, that of how little credit soever he was himselfe, yet it behoved his witnesses to be free of infamy: according to the saying, A proctor may be infamous, but not a witnes. But it seemeth, that either he was not greatly careful of his own name, who would repose uppon the cracked credits of such defamed persons, in so waighty a matter, or els he thought (as GYGES did, by means of his ring,) to walke invisible, as in a cloud, that none could or would espy his nakednes. But, good man, he is far deceived, as by the answere to his severall asseverations, (if neede be,) more throughly and sensibly he shall understand.

It is easie then to be seene, how far short the Chaplaine hath come in probation of the alleadged treasonable outlandish practises, of men of the new government, (as scoffingly he calleth the urgers of Reformation,) whereof he would seeme to take such feare, that except good order be taken to prevent the like at hoame, thinges will grow to some extremities, (pag. of his booke 83.) And therfore, I trust the Queene's Majestie, and her honorable Councell, will see this surmised proposition of danger of outlandish practises, by the meanes of Christian Discipline, to be somwhat better proved, before they will feare any danger to insue to their state through the same: yea, and I thinke, if they knew, but even so much, as heere truly I have set downe to you, (Sir,) in this short discourse, touching this matter, as the cause of Christian Disciplin, should even be the better liked of them all, seing it, and the favorers

of it, to be so shamefully belied: so the Doctor's patrons in this case shuld pride themselves but a little of that slanderous declamation, and thinke them and their cause but smally beholden unto it, what ever hath bene their opinion therof before.

For let any wise man judge, if one eg can be more like another, then the Doctor's maner of reasoning is to that forme, that REHUM SHIMSHAI, and the rest of the men beyond the river, used in a letter to King ARTAHSHASHTE, for hindering the building of Jerusalem, Ez. iv., save only, that the judgement of them beyond the river, was found to be in the authentik bookes of the Chronicles, according as was alleadged by them: and our Chaplain's argument leaneth only upon the counterfeit and forged chartales of known and confessed infamous persons, and a false chronicle grounded thereupon. Wherefore, if their authentike books of Chronicles did not truly convince Jerusalem to be a rebellious citie to kings and provinces, of what force should this Chaplaine's infamous libel be (I pray you) against the good brethren of England, to prove that they will be rebellious to their Princes, if that Christian disciplin be admitted to have place within that land? For as Jerusalem was not a rebellious citie to kings and provinces indeed, howbeit the Books of their Chronicles did beare so: so the exercisers of Christian Discipline in Scotland are not necessarily to be accounted rebellious to the King for exercising of the same, howbeit the bookes of the Register of the Acts of Scotland did containe the same. Howe much lesse, then, ought false surmised forgeries of known infamous men have credite in that case?

And if the envy of the sect of the Nazarites, urged by prophane TERTULLUS, is not sufficient to beare downe PAULE, as a seditious mover of the people, because he professed, preached, and followed Jesus of Nazaret, whom the Jewes most injustly and wickedly slewe, as a seditious person, and blasphemer, by the meanes of two subborned false witnesses, Why should the good brethren of England, that seeke Reformation, be charged with a mind hereafter of sedition, by the meanes of Discipline, because the Church of Scotland, in respect of the same Discipline exercised in it, is unjust-

lie condemned of sedition, by the Hie Priests of our daies, two false witnesses being alleaged for that purpose, by their TERTULLUS at Paul's Crosse? I see no reason why they should. Let not the comparison be odious, because, I compare not the persons in themselves, but in the causes which have their own likenes and agrement in some proportion. I have insisted the more in this matter, bicaus your cause and ours are most neer linked together. For the adversaries would terrifie her Majestie from admitting of Christian Discipline within her realm, for fear of like inconveniences to fal out therby to her quiet government, which are falsly alledged to have fallen out by the same to our King and state. How be it, it be not good logicke, to charge the good cause of Discipline with any infamy, by reason of the faults of the ministers and favourers thereof, yea, even put case they were sufficiently proved, seing that is but a sophisme from the person to the cause, (as they say,) How much lesse then ought it to be condemned, when the adversaries are not able, do their best, to blot even the persons, by accusing of whom they labor to condemne the cause? But I perswade my selfe, that all this their paralogizing, and false maner of reasoning shal helpe them, and hurt us as little in the ende, as the sophistry of REHUM and his companions beyond the river helped their cause, and hindred the building of the Temple: and as the smooth rhetoricke of TERTULLUS prevailed not against PAULE, no more shall their course alwaies prevaile against the good cause in Englande. Wherefore, let HAGGAI and ZACHARIAS do their parts faithfully, and without fainting; exhort al men, according to their callings, to further this holy building; not doubting but God, in his time, shall moove DARIUS fully to authorise the building of Jerusalem: howbeit, through the injury of these daies, men may be forced to leave of building for a season: And let PAUL stand stoutly to the defence of his just cause, saying confidently, "Neither can they proove the things whereof now they accuse me,' Acts xxiv. 13. And TERTULLUS and his maintainers shall finde themselves disappointed, and PAUL, by little and litle, shal grow to some greater liberty, and his cause shall prevaile in the end.

But nowe let us come, accordinge to your desire, to the causes why that declamation of D. BANCROFT'S, so far as concerning Scotland, is not Answered, wherein, howbeit, I am not to prejudge the Church of Scotland, yet, for your further satisfaction, I have thought good to set downe the causes of the delay, so far as ever I coulde learne or perceive. And, first, you may be assured that it was not for lacke of habilitie in the meanest of a thousand in Scotlande to have confuted that calumnious chartale, fraughted with as many lies almost as it hath lines, that it was not answered: howsoever it pleaseth sŏm of your grand Doctors of Divinity (very learned men, ye may be sure, if they be not far deceved) reprochefully to point out some of our wel approoved brethren, and especially one, by the note, of like an unlearned, yea then, a very unlerned Scot: whome yet, notwithstanding they never hard nor sawe, more then D. BANCROFTE did heare and see the Church of Scotland, and the things wherewith most rashly hee doth charge it: but Who is so bold, as they say, as blind Bayard? Yet if any ARISTARCHUS among them, hath taken occasion of the writing of anye brother here, so to speake, let it bee judged by the learned, what just cause he had so to do: and I doubt not, but he shal be found to have had litle learning, and lesse conscience in so doing, which is spoken, not so much for the Apology of any man at this time, as to note the disdainefull contempt of these hauty persons. For he must be of very rare learning, as not a few can beare me witnes, in whom this sort (for I speake not of all) of the generation of Bishopists will acknowledge any learning to be, if once directlie and seriously he oppone himselfe to their pride: For as there is nothing, wherin they commonly boast them selves more, then in the beard, and shew of learning; so is there no shaft that oftner flieth out of their bag against others, then the boult of lack learning. Howbeit, if it were not for avoiding of uncomly, and unchristian rendering of reproch for reproch, it were no hard mater shortly to decipher the profound science of those two especially, who were chief authors of that reproch, and to let them understand, of what form and classe among the learned, learned men indeede

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did ever esteeme them to bee, notwithstanding all the windye volumes written by them: For *scribimus indocti doctique, &c.* Howbeit, yet I deny not so much knowledge unto them otherwise, as shall bee a witnes against them, if they use it not better, and as might profit the Church in some measure, if they had grace to imploy it to the right end.

But to returne to our purpose, as the Answer was not delaied, for lacke of sufficient qualified men amongest us for that, and for a greater purpose, God be praised, if need be: so it was thought needles, and superfluous, here amongst our selves, where the truth of those things alledged in that Pamphlet were so clearly known, as there needed no other confutation of them, then the shamelesse impudencie of themselves: and as for the Answere, in respect of others, it was delaied first, as I take it, for avoiding of unhappy contention, that is woont to arise uppon suche occasions, wherby it might have come to passe, that daungerous alteration might have bene wrought betweene the two Realmes, as a godly and wise man of yours, commending the discretion of our men in that case, did not conceal, in a letter written to som of good account in our countrey, not along ago. For the firebrand of selfe-love, and great ardency of men, in defending their owne sayings and doings whatsoever, suffereth them not many times, so much to regard the truth and peace of the Church, as their own stincking estimation: whereof there is too great proofe in manifolde lamentable examples, as well of antiquity as of our own daies, both far and neer, to the timely admonition of us all, if advisedly we consider of the counsaile of God's Spirite, saying:—"The beginning of strife is as one that openeth the waters: therefore, or the contention be meddled with, leave off;" which, howbeit more fitly it may be applied to the adversaries (in this case) the persuers then to our Church, yet no man, I trust, can blame the Ministerie of Scotlande, to regard it greatly, so long as there is any hope that the truth and their innocencie may be in saftie without their answere; otherwise, they are not ignorant, that there is no les danger, alwais to keep silence, then never, as HILARIE speaketh.

Secondly, The Answere was deferred, as I take it, in hope of due redresse to be put to that offence by the Queene's Majestie and her Honourable Counsaile, who our men thought (as they thinke yet) esteemed so of their friendship, that they wold not suffer them to lie under any opprobrie unremooved, so farre as lay in them, neither would suffer them to receive any injurie uncorrected, at the hands of any whome they might command: for there are not many years past, since it plesed her Majestie, not without signification of a thankful mind, by her letters, to acknowledge the Ministers of Scotland by name, to be hir most loving and trusty frends in Christ, (as yet, God be praised, they continue to this day, which is not unknown to her Majestie and faithful Counsellers,) in regard whereof, they yet expect the due amendement of that wrong, and that so much the more, as they have bene put in hope thereof, from thence by writ, purposely written to that effect, from some great personages, who, howbeit nowe they rest from their labours, (to the no small forewarning of the present state of Englande, if the matter be well marked,) yet our men think, that they shal not lack such favour in that Counsaile, as shal procure redresse of that injury in due season, in respect of the good opinion they understande (and that even by writ of late) her Majestie and Counsaile yet retaine of the Ministery of Scotland, and their Christian friendship toward them, and that estate.

Thirdly and last, A secret bridle of God (who ruleth the actions of men acording to the dispensation of his providence) staied them from answering, for causes known onely to himselfe, as they so sensiblie in a manner have perceived (especially they who were privie to the matter) that the knowledge thereof may sufficiently satisfie the minde of any modest man, who wil acknowledge the provident dispensation of God to be such, as howsoever the heart of man purposeth his waye, yet the Lord doth direct his steps.

This much I thought meet (good Sir) to impart unto you, touching the dangerous rashnes of D. BANCROFT, in slandering our whole Church so unadvisedly, after such a publicke manner, and that uppon the naked reportes of two such infamous witnesses (partlye

by manifest demonstration of trecherous dealing in one of them, and partly by his owne confession, touching the other) as are not to have credit against any particular Christian, much less against a whole Church, a King, and a Realme: As also touching the causes of the deferring of the Answere thereunto, so far as I understand, which things, if they were known to the Doctor and his complices, (but even as heere rudely they are set downe,) they might, peradventure, let them have experience (which is a foole's, though not a foolishe maister) that they have run to far headlong into these slanderous and new devises: and so hearafter might learne more advisedly and charitablie to deale with their neighbours and brethren, who have deserved no suche things at their hands: yea, it is very like, if these same things were read or summarily and shortly reported in her Majestie's hearing, either by yourselfe, or some other good Christian, who hath credite and favour about her royall person, (for alack good Princesse, the trew report of things, especially in these and the like maters, commeth seldome to her eares, a common calamitie of princes, whoe commonly of all others in the world are most destitute of faithful persons aboute them, trewlie and without flattery to informe them of the truth of matters as they are in deede.) If these things, I say, were truly known to her Majestie, I surely perswade my selfe, that those lordly brethren of DIOTREPHES, who rule or rather tyrannise above their brethren with violence and cruelty, should be quickly charmed from authorising such rashe libertie of publicke rayling, and defaming of a whole neighbour Church, which alway hath so well deserved of the present state of Englande, and their proude hornes should be hastely hamered downe, that they should not be able hereafter to thrust with side and shoulder, and push all the weake with their hornes, til they have scattered them abroad, and to make such havocke of the Churche, by a disguised persecution, as presently they doe: Yea, this much at least, I doubt not, shoulde be graunted, that (all bitter invection and persecuting of the good brethren of England, that are of the same judgment with us, surceassing) the controversie should be decided

A loving chalenge of disputation.

by the Word of God in a lawfull Assemblie, and brotherlie conference, appointed by the supreme magistrates to that effect: Otherwise, if this come not to passe, (which God forbid,) as we must not cease to commend the troubled estate of those our Christian brethren to GOD in our private and publicke praiers, so must we not leave the just defence of our honest cause of Christian Discipline, which (touching the substance thereof, whiche chiefly is in controversie) hath no less warrand to be continued perpetually within the Church, under this precept of Christ, "feede my sheepe," then hath the preaching of the Worde, and ministration of the Sacraments, and so consequently floweth no more from the authoritie of the Civill Magistrate then they doe, whatever formall professours in worde, but not admitters of the yoake of Christ on their neks indeed, cry out to the contrary. This much (good Sir) I thought good by writ to ansuer to your letter, after this manner, here before set downe, both to satisfie you and others, touching this matter in some measure, which, if it shall seeme good to you, ye, either by your selfe, or by some other, may briefly impart unto her Majestie. Farewell. From Edinburgh, the 18 of September 1590.

Yours in the Lord, I. D.

ANE FORME

OF SINDRIE MATERIS TO BE USIT IN THE ELDERSCHIP.

M.D.LXXXIX.—M.D.XCII.

THE following series of Forms connected with ecclesiastical proceedings, may be considered of some importance, as exemplifying the modes of procedure in the election, presentation, and admission of Ministers, and other matters to be used by the Eldership or Presbytery of Haddington; and also, it may be inferred, by other Presbyteries, towards the close of the sixteenth century. The MS. volume from which they are printed, is described at page 399. There is every reason to conclude that this portion of the volume was collected, and partly written, by James Carmichael,[1] Minister of Haddington, respecting whose life some particulars will be found at page 409.

At page 539, there is added an extract from the Presbytery Books of Haddington, (communicated by the Rev. Hew Scott, minister of Anstruther Wester,) containing a short form of Evening and Morning Prayer, and of Grace at Meat, written in 1595, by John Davidson, at the request of the Presbytery.

JOHN DAVIDSON, the author of the Reply to Bancroft, which is reprinted in the present Miscellany, and of these Prayers, was born at Dunfermline about the year 1549. In 1567 he entered St Leonard's College, St Andrews, where he took his degree of A.M. He early gave proofs of his literary disposition, having in 1572, whilst one of the Regents in the College, "maid a play at the marriage of Mr Jhone Colvin; quhilk (says James Melville) I saw playit in Mr Knoxe's presence; wherein, according to Mr Knoxe's doctrine, the Castell of Edinburgh was beseiged,

[1] On the first leaf of the MS. is written, "This book pertenis to Johne Buchane," (see page 537.) There is also the signature of Agnes Carmichaell, repeated.

takin, and the Captane, with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie." This play was probably never printed, and is not known to be preserved. In the following year he published a poem on Knox's death, under the title of "Ane brief Commendation of Vprichtnes."

This was followed anonymously by another poetical tract, "Ane Dialog or Mutual Talking betuix a Clerk and ane Courteour, concerning foure Parishe Kirks till ane Minister;" which, reflecting on the Regent Morton's policy in conjoining several churches under one minister, involved both the author and Lekprevik the printer in much trouble. Davidson fled to England, from whence he proceeded to the Continent; and Lekprevik was prosecuted, and confined for some time in the Castle of Edinburgh; as is very fully related by Calderwood, and by Dr M'Crie in the Life of Melville, as well as in the republication of Davidson's Poetical Remains. Edinb. 1829, 8vo.

It would occupy too much space to enter upon the particulars of Davidson's subsequent life. It may only be added, that his name appears in connexion with various churches in Edinburgh or its vicinity; more particularly with Liberton, the East Church of Edinburgh, and the Canongate, previously to his settlement at Saltpreston, or Prestonpans, in 1596, where he continued to exercise the office of minister, and, as it was stated, "without any fee or reward," until he was silenced, in consequence of having incurred the King's displeasure. It may be mentioned, that Davidson built the church and manse at his own expense, besides founding a school in the parish for teaching the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. His death took place in the beginning of September 1604.

ANE FORME OF SINDRIE MATERIS TO BE USED IN THE ELDERSHIP.

Ane Forme of Summondis.

The Presbyterie of Hadingtoun to our lovitis (N.,) officeris in that part, executouris heirof, We command zow, that incontinent eftir the sycht of this our precept, ze pas and warne to compeir befoir us in our Assemblie, to be haldine in the paroch kirk of Hadingtoun, the day of nixtocum, at elevine houris befoir none, to ansuer for the sclander offerit be , throw lang lying in , contrarie the Law of God and Christiane maneris, and to heir self ordanit to onderly the Discipline of the Kirk; thairfoir, with certificatioun as efferis, the quhilk to do we commit to zow, conjunctlie and severallie, our full power be this precept, gevin under the subscriptioun manuall of our Moderator and Clerk. At Hadingtoun, the day of

The Secund Summondis.

The Presbyterie of Hadingtoun to our lovittis, officiaris in that part, executouris heirof, We command zow, that incontinent efter the sycht of this our precept, ze pas and warne to compeir befoir us in our Assemblie, to be haldin in the paroche kirk of Hadingtoun, the day of nixtocum, at elevin houris afoir none, to resave injunctionis for the sclander offerit be , throwch leving in filthie , contrarie to the Law of God and Christiane maneris; for the quhilk war summond befoir to compeir befoir us, and compeirit nocht, with certifi-

eatioun and failzie, we will proceid to excommunicatioun against as contemnęr of the ordour and discipleine of the Kirk; the quhilk, &c.

A Forme of a Gift vacand to the Defraud of the Kirk.

——— Commissioner of the kirkis within the Presbytery of (N.) with the especialle advyss and consente of the said Presbyterie, to our lovitis , or ony uthir minister or reader within the boundis of our said Presbyterie, conjunctlie and severallie, grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, throw Jesus Chryst. Forsamikle as , within the shirefdome of (N.) is presentlie vacand be deceis of vmquhill (N.) quha depairtit this lyfe zeiris, or thairby, the rycht and patronage thairof, perteining to (N.;) and now, be the lawis of the realme, we find presentlie vacand, be ressoun na qualifeit persoun to use the office of ministerie within the kirk, being nather dewlie nor ordourlie provydit to the said (N.,) according to the act observit and ordanit be Act of Parliament, within the space of sex monethis after the deceis of the said last tituler, possessour thairof, and sua of the law and Act of Parliament foirsaid, the sam is becum in the kirkis handis, *jure devoluto;* and we, thairfoir, on na wayis willing that the kirk and congregatioun of (N.) be destitute of ane lauchfull pastor and minister, and having tryit and examinat the doctrine, qualificatioun, and gude conversatioun of our weilbeluiffit (N.;) and having fund him able to use the charge of ane minister within the Kirk of God, and having tane his aithe of fidelitie towardis our soverane, the Kingis Majestie, we have resavit and admittit, and presentlie resavis and admittis the said (N.) to the said , and hes disponit and presentlie disponis the sam to him, with all teindis, rentis, and emolumentis thairof, mans, gleib, and kirkland of the samyn, for all the dayis of his lyftyme, the sam at this tyme being at the dispositioun of the kirk in maner forsaid: Quhairfoir, we requyre zou, or ony

of zou to quhome thir letteris salbe [presentit,] that incontinent after the sycht heirof, ze pas with the foirsaid (N.) to the paroche kirk of (N.,) and thair enter him to the reall and full possessioun of the said , foundit in maner foirsaid, be delyvering of the Buke of God in his handis, as ye will ansuer to ws upone zour dewtifull obedience; provyding that the said George mak residence at the said kirk, preache the Word of God, and minister the sacramentis of Jesus Christ be himselfe, and lykwayis remaine honest in lyf and conversatioun, sua that na [sclander] arys be him to the evangell; and in cace, be decreit of the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, to the judgment quhairof he salbe alwayis subject, he be funde ether necligente in doctrine, or in lyfe sclanderous, or for gude causis thocht worthie and meit to be transportit to another place and charge, this present dispositioun, with all that sall happin to pas thairupone, salbe resignit in favouris of sum uther qualifeit persoun to be presentit thairto of new, requiring also the Lords of Counsall and Sessioun to grant and gif letteris for ansuering and obeying of the said (N.) of the teindis, rentis, profeitis, mans, gleib, and kirkland of the , according to justice. Gevin under our subscriptiouns manuall.

Ane Commission to the Generall Assembly.

Be it kende till all men be thir presentis, us, the Presbytery of Hadingtoun, to have maid, constitut, and ordanit, and be the tennor heirof, makis, constitutis, and ordanis W[illiam] Lord Z[ester,] A. H. of W., the Laird of T., E. B. of C., Mr James Carmichael, M. T. M., T. G., and ilk ane of thame, conjunctlie and severallie, our verray lauchfull, irrevocabill, and ondoutit commissioneris and procuratouris, geveand, grantand, and commandand to thame, conjunctlie and severallie, our full, fre, and plaine power, speciall mandiment, expres commandis, and charge, for ws, and in our namis, to compeir befoir the Assemblie of the

haill Kirk of Scotland, within the toun of Edinburgh, the xvij day of Junij instant, [1589,] and thair, in our namis, resoun, and als give ansuer upone all thing, as the Assemblie present hes to propone, or requyred to be done and execut, to the glorie of God and profit of all Christiane brethren, and to vote and grant thairto as accordis, and generallie all uther and sindrie thingis to do, use, and exerce, that to the office of commissioneris pertenis, or of the law and consuetud of this realme in sic causis is knawin necessar to perteine, as give we war thair our selfis present in proper personis, firme and stabill haldand, and for to hald, all quhatsumever thingis our saidis Commissioneris, conjunctlie or severallie, in the premissis leidis to be done. In witnes heirof, the Moderatour and Clerk of the Presbytery hes subscryvit thir presentis. At Hadingtoun, the day of .

Ane Edict.

To all and sindrie to quhom it efferis, be it knawin that is to be admitted to the office of the Ministrie, to the quhilk he is preifit be the Kirk, quho hes tryit this lang tyme his literatour and gude conversatioun; and, thairfoir, gif ony man knawis ony impediment, or that his lyf and conversatioun be not sa honest as that office cravis, that thai declair the samyn to the Presbyterie of Hadingtoun, upone Wedinsday nixt the xxij of Julij instant, with certificatioun, that gif na man object aganis his lyf, the Presbytery will proceid to his admissioun without any langer delay: and this we mak knawin be this our edict. Gevin at Hadingtoun, the xv of Julij 1590.

A Supplication.

Unto zour godlie Wisdomes of this present Assemblie humlie meanis, we, the parochinaris of Nather Keith, that, quhair we haif

bein frustrat of the Word of God and ministratioun of the Halie Sacramentis sen the formation of religion, and that, throucht the non-residence of Mr Johne Keith, persone of our kirk, unto the quhilk benefice he is provydit of auld, sua that nane could enter to the serving of that cure thruch want of ane stipend, and now at last be instant sute zour Wisdomis hes grantit to us ane learnit and qualifeit man to be our minister, quha hes enterit and servit ane certen space gratis, upone our promeis of provisioun, and hope that zour Wisdomis will tak cair for us and him that we be not separat as utheris befoir, entering in our ministrie, foir want of sufficient provisioun. Heirfoir, we beseik zour Wisdomes, that zea will interpone zour authoritie with the said Mr Johne, quha hes bruikit the fruitis and teindis, quhairupone our saullis and consciences mycht be comfortit with the healthsum fude of salvatioun, ayther to compell him to demit the sam, or ellis to returne and serve the cure in proper persone, according to gude conscience, and zour Wisdomes ansuer maist humlie beseik.

Collatioun.

Maister James Carmichael, minister of Godis Word at Hadingtoun, and commissioner of the eldership of Hadingtoun, or to my lovitis, Thomas Gregge, minister of Godis Word at Northberwick,[1] or onie uther minister of the evangell within the Kirk of God, of the said boundis, grace, mercie, and peace, from God the Father, throwch Jesus Chryst, with continuall incres of the Halie Spreit. Forsamekle as the vicarage (of Gulane,) lyand within the shirefdome of Edinburgh, and the constabularie of Hadingtoun, is vacand be the non-residence of A. B., last vicar and possessour thairof. To the quhilk also the presentatioun of ane qualifeit persoun pertenis[2] to our Soverane Lord, and the admissioun, collatioun, and confirmatioun thairupon, belangis

[1] The previous words are partly deleted in the MS., and instead of being in the first person singular, are written, "The Presbytery of Hadingtoun to our lovitis," &c.

[2] Jac. VI. Parl. 8, c. 102.

to me[1] be act of parliament and lawis of this realme. And our Soverane Lord hes presentit unto ws be his Hienes letter, givin under his privie seale, my belovit brother, (Mr Thomas Makgie,) unto the said vicarage, of quhome also, according to his Majesteis directioun, I hafe tanc tryall, and hes fund him sufficientlie qualifeit to instruct the people in the trew Word of God and the rycht way of salvatioun, and als to be honest in lyfe and conversatioun. Be ressoun quhairof, I haif admittit him to the charge of the ministrie, resavit confessioun of his faythe, and his aith for acknowledgeing our Soverane Lordis authoritie and dew obedience to his ordinar. And for his honest sustentatioun hes gevin unto him the vicarage forsaid, with all teindis, fructis, rentis, profeitis, proventis, emolumentis, mans, gleib, kirkland, orchardis, zardis, with their pendiclis and uther pertinentis thairof quhatsumevir, during all the dayis of his lyftyme. Quhairfor, in the name of the eternall God, I requyre zow, and ilk ane of zow, as ze salbe requyrit, heirupon to pas to the said paroche kirk of Gulane, and thair to give the said (Mr Thomas Makgie) lawfull institutioun of the said vicarage, and als to put him in reall and full possessioun of the samyn, with all teindis, fruitis, rentis, proventis, profeitis, emolumentis, mans, gleib, kirkland, orchardis, zairdis, with their pendicles and uther pertinentis quhatsumever, be placeing of him in the pulpet of the said kirk, if anie be, and delyvering of the booke of God callit the Byble in his handis, requyring all the parochineris and inhabitantis of the said paroche, to intend and obey to him as to the lawfull pastour of their saullis, with sic reverence and obedience as it becums them to do of the law of God, as ze will ansuer upon zour deutie and obedience. And to the effect he may the mair easilie intend to the feiding of his flock, and preatching of the Word of God, and that he may be the mair reddely answerit and obeyit of the fruitis and emolumentis of the said vicarage, with the pertinentis, without onie molestatioun, I humblie requyre the Senatouris of our soverane lordis Counsell and Sessioun, to grant to the said (Mr Thomas) his Hienes's letters in all

[1] Jac. VI. Parl. 12, c. 144.

the four formis, to cause him be answerit and obeyit in all and be all thingis, as is above specifeit, and conforme to his presentatioun induring his lyftyme, under all hiest panis, useit and wont. In witnes heirof, to thir my letters of collatioun and admissioun, subscryvit with my hand, my seale of office is affixit. At Hadingtoun, the . day of Februar, the zeir of God J^m v^c fourscoir ten. Befor thir witnesses, A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

INSTITUTIOUN.

TILL all and sindrie faythfull in Christ, to quhais knawlege thir presentis sall cum, (Thomas Gregge,[1]) minister of Godis Word at (Northberwick,) wisheth grace, mercie, and peace, from God the Father, throuh Jesus Christ, with the perpetuall increase of the Haly Spirit. Thir presentis sall testifie, that at command and charge of the Commissioners speciall letters of admissioun and collatioun within writtin, directit to me, I past to the paroche kirk of (Gulane,) lyand within the shirefdome of Edinburgh, and Constabularie of Hadingtoun, and thair gaiff to (Mr Thomas Makgie,) minister of Godis Word at (Gulane,) lawfull institutioun of the vicarage of (Gulane,) and pat him in reall possessioun of the same, with all teindis, fructis, rentis, proventis, profeitis, emolumentis, mans, gleib, kirkland, orchardis, zardis, with all pendicles and uther pertinentis quhatsumever thairoff, be placeing him in the pulpet of the said paroche kirk, and delyvering the boke of God callit the Byble in his handis, and with all uther solempniteis useit in sic cases, according to the tennour of the letters within writtin in all poyntis.

Quhilk thingis I did in the said paroche kirk, the day of J^m v^c fourscoir ten, about four houris eftirnone, or thairby: In verificatioun of the premisses, I haif subscrivit this my letter of institutioun with my hand, at day, zeir, and place above writin, befoir thir witnessis, A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

[1] The words enclosed in a parenthesis are deleted in the MS., and the letter (N.) inserted.

INSTRUMENT HEIRUPON, [*i.e.* UPON THE INSTITUTION.]

IN Dei nomine, Amen: per hoc præsens publicum instrumentum, cunctis pateat evidenter, quod anno incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo tertio, mensis vero Maij die decimo quinto, regnique supremi Domini nostri Regis vigesimo quarto anno: In presens of us, connoters publict, and witnesses under writtin, personally compeirit ane venerable man, (Mr Thomas Makgie,) minister of Godis Word at (Gulane,) haveand in his handis tua lettres, the ane contenand the gift and presentatioun off the vicarage of (Gulane,) daitit at Edinburgh, the day of , the zeir of God J^{m} v^{c} fourscoir ten zeiris, maid in the Kingis M. name, under his privie seall, writtin in paper, and direct to the Commissioner of the Presbyterie of Hadingtoun; the uther lettre direct from Mr James Carmichaell, Commissioner of the Presbyterie of Hadingtoun in that part, writtin in like maner in paper, subscrivit and seallit according to the ordinance, direct to (Thomas Greg,) minister of Godis Word at North Berwik, for executing of the samyn, daitit at Hadingtoun, the day of the zeir of God above writtin. Quhilkis writingis the said (Mr Thomas) delyverit to the said (Thomas,) requiring him for lawfull executing of the Commissioner's lettres, according to the tennour thairof. Quhilkis writingis the said (Thomas) resavit reverentlie fra the said (Mr Thomas,) and with diligence deliverit the samyn respective to us notaris publict, to reid effectuouslie, and publishe the samyn to the witnesses underwrittin. And after the reiding of the samyn, the said (Thomas,) according to the tennour of the saidis Commissioneris lettres direct to him, tuke the boke of God callit the Byble in his handis, and delyverit the samyn to the said (Mr Thomas Makgie,) quha wes alsua placeit in the pulpet of the paroche kirk of (Gulane,) to the effect that he suld thairefter preche the Word of God contenit in that boke to his congregatioun, as he wald answer to the Lord his God; and in that behalf, put and investit the said (Mr Thomas Makgie) in corporall and reall posses-

sioun of the said vicarage of (Gulane,) with all teindis, frutis, rentis, proventis, profeitis, emolumentis, mans, gleib, kirkland, orchardis, zardis, with thair pendicles and uther pertinentis quhatsumever thairof, efter the forme and tennour of the forsaidis Commissioneris lettres in all pointis. Super quibus omnibus et singulis memoratus (Magister Thomas Makgie,) a nobis connotariis publicis, subscriptis sibi fieri petiit instrumentum publicum seu publica instrumenta, unum vel plura. Acta erant hæc in ecclesia parochiali de (Gulane) apud suggesdem [suggestum ?] ejusdem, horam circiter quartam post meridiem, præsentibus ibidem desuetis [discretis] viris, A. B. C. D. E. F. G. testibus ad præmissa vocatis pariterque rogatis. Et ego vero, &c.

Ane Dimissioun of a Benefice.

Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres, me, A. B., vicar of C. D., fforsamekle as be gude lawis and constitutiouns of the realme, alsweill civill as ecclesiasticall, it is provydit that personis non-residents at their kirkis sall not injoy, bruik, nor possesse anie benefice of cure, and I being abstractit through civill effairs from the residence at the said kirk, and not being able to serve the cure thairof be my self, and in proper persone, to the discharge of my awin conscience in the ministrie of the Word; and yit willing sa far as in me lyis, that the parochineris of the said parochin be not defraudit of the preaching of the Word of God, and ministratioun of the halie sacramentis, bot be servit at the kirk of C. D., as thai haif ever bene sene the reformatioun of religioun, and specially be minister at the said kirk, and willing to mak dimissioun of the said vicarage to the furthering of that gud wark. Thairfor to haif made, constitute, and ordanit, be the tennour heirof, makis, constitutis, and ordanis my weilbelovitis and ilk ane of them, conjunctlie and severallie, my veray lawfull, undowtit, irrevocable procuratoris, actoris, factoris, and special eirand beirar, gevand, grantand, and

committand to them, and ilk ane of them, conjunctlie and severallie, my full, frie, plane power, generall and speciall command, expres mandat, and charge for me, in my name, and upon my behalf, to compeir befor our soverane Lord the Kingis Majestie, and in his Majestie's handis as patrone, with all reverence, humilitie, and submissioun, to dimitt *simpliciter* the mans, gleib, kirkland, houssis, biggingis, zairdis, landis, tenementis, anuel-rentis, teindis, and dewtie quhatsumever perteining to my said vicarage, to the effect that the samyn and title thairof may be confarrit and disponit be his Majestie, as patrone forsaid, to the said A. B., quhilk mans, gleib, kirkland, and all utheris landis, tenementis, anuellis teindis, and uther dewtie not specefeit, with their pertinentis, I, of my awin ffrie motive, will, certane knawledge, and deliberat mynd, have dimittit, and be thir presentis *simpliciter* dimittis in his Hienes handis as patrone forsaid, with all rycht, title, intres, clame of rycht, and possessioun quhatsumever quhilk I had, haif, or onie way clame or haif thairto, to the effect above expremit, and thairupon instrumentis and documentis to ask, tak, and resave, as neid beis, and generally, all and sindrie uther thingis to do, use, and exerce, quhilk to the office of procuratorie of law or consuetud of the realme is knawin to appertene, and that I micht do my selff and I wer present, firme and stable halding and for to hald, all and quhatsumevir thingis my saidis procuratouris, or onie of them, in my name in the premissis leids to be done. In witnes heirof, I have subscryvit thir presents with my hand, my seale is affixit. At , the day of , the zeir of God J^{m} v^{c}, &c., &c. Before thir witnessis.

A Presentation of a Laick Patron of ane new Erection.

Alexander Home of North Bervik, undoubtit patron of the personage and vicarage eftermentionat, unto the rych worschipfull the Presbytery or Commissionaris of Hadingtoun, greting: Forsamekle as I am heritablie infeft be our Soverane Lord in al land

haill the landis and barony of North Bervik, with advocatioun, donacioun, and rycht of patronage of the personage and vicarage of the paroche kirk of North Bervik, as my infeftment thairof proportis: And I, considdering that it becumis me of my dewtie to sie that the said paroche kirk be sufficientlie provydit of ane hable and qualifeit persone, be quhais cair, travell, and diligence, in serving the cuir at the said kirk, God may be glorefeit, and the flok of that charge sufficientlie instructit: And being alswa informit of the qualificatioun, literature, and guid conversatioun of my lovit David Home, minister, and of his eirnest affectioun to travell in the functioun of the ministrie in tyme cuming; thairfor I have nominat and presentit, lyk as I, be thir presentis, nominatis and presentis the said (N.) to the saidis personage and vicarage of the said paroche kirk of North Bervik, and confer the samin to him, with all rentis, proventis, emolumentis, and dewteis perteining thairto, for all the dayis of his lyftyme: Requiring zow heirfoir, the saidis Presbytrie and Commissionar foirsaid, to try and examin the qualificatioun and habilitie of the said (N. N.) for serving the function and ministrie within the Kirk of God; and gif he beis fundin hable, meit, and sufficientlie qualifeit thairfoir, that ze admit him to the saidis personage and viccarage, and authorize him with zour testimoniall thairupone, conforme to the ordour observit be zow in the lyk casis. And incace of his insufficiencie to use the said office, that ze report the samin to me agane within the space of ane moneth nixtocum eftir the dait heirof, that I may present ane uther qualifeit persone as use is. In witnes heirof, to thir presentis, subscryvit with my hand, my seall is affixt. At North Bervik, the feird day of Apryll 1592, befoir thir witnessis.

A Signature of a Presentation of a Benefice.

Oure Soverane lord being informit of the qualification, literature, and gude conversation of his weilbeclovit (N.,) and of his earnest

affectioun to travail in the office and charge of the ministrie within the Kirk of God: Thairfore ordanis ane lettre to be maid under the privie seale, in dew forme, nominatand and presentand the said (N.) to the parsonage of (N.,) lyand within the shirefdome of (N.,) and diocese of vacand be deceis of (N.,) last persone, (vicar,) and possessour thairof. And that the said lettre be extendit in the best forme, with all clausis neidful, directit to the commissionar or presbyterie of (N.,) requiring him (or them) to trye and examinat the qualification of the said (N.;) And gif he be found meit to use the said office of ane minister within the kirk of God, to admit him to the said benefice, receave the confession of his faith, and his aith for acknawledging and recognosceing of our Soverane Lord and his auctoritie; and to authorize him with the testimoniall of his admission, as effeirs; or in case of his insufficiencie for the said office, to report the samin to his Hienes within the space of moneths efter the dait heirof, that ane uther mair qualifeit persone may be of new nominate and presentit to the said benefice. Ordaning alsua the Lords of Counsale and Session to grant and direct lettres at the sicht of the said letter, under the Privie Seale, and of the said commissioners (or presbytereis) testimoniall of admissioun, for answering and obeying of the said (N.,) of all and sondrie the fructs, rents, teinds, profits, emolumentis, and deuteis quhatsoever, of the said personage (or vicarage,) and to nane others, during his liftyme, in due and competent forme as effeirs. Subscryvit be our Soverane Lord at , the day of , the zeir of God ane thousand five hundreth fourscoir zeiris.

ANE TESTIMONIALL.

TILL all and sindrie quhome it effeirs, to quhais knawledge thir presentis sal cum, and speciallie to the richt honorable and weilbeluvit brethrene in Chryst, the Provest, Bailleis, Counsall, and Ministrie of Glasgw, the Eldership and Sessioun of Hadingtoun, wissis grace, mercie, and pece, from God the Father, throuch our

Lord Jesus Christ: Forsamekle as our brother, Johne Buchane, Musician and Maister of the Sangscole of the said Burgh of Hadington,[1] compeirand befoir us, declared he wes to resort and to remane with zow, desyrand this our testimoniall direct to zow of his lyfe and conversatioun, quhilk we thocht ressonable: And thairfoir be thir presentis, testifies that the said Johne hes remaned and continewed in the said Burgh of Hadintoun, in daylie companie and resort with us, sen the moneth of August, in the zeir of God 1583 zeiris, be the space of ix zeiris or thairby, behaving himself in maist honest, quiet, and sober maner, leving in the feir of God, using his office and cure with all dexteritie, without offence or sclander offered be him or against him, in or be anie persoun, swa that amangst ws, praysed be God, he is unreprovable sa far as we understand, or hes ever cumed to our knawledge. And this we testifie to be of treuthe be this owr testimoniall, subscrivit with all owr handis as fallowis, the thrid day of May, the zeir of God 1592.

A Testimoniall.

To all and sindrie to quhais knawledge thir presentis sall cum, and namelie, to the faithfull pastouris of the kirkis within the elderschip of Lanerik, thair brether and fellow-laboraris in the Evangell of the kirkis within the boundis of the elderschip of Hadintoun, grace, mercie, and peace be multiplied, from God the Father, and from owr Lord Jesus Christ, with the incres of the giftis of His Haly Spirit: Forsamekle as owr belovit brother, Mr John Kellie, hes maid his residence within the boundis of our elderschip thir ten zeiris bygane with the mair alwayis exerceised in training up of the zowth in the feir of God and humane letters; and in

[1] From the Borough Records of Glasgow, we find, that in 1609, John Buchan was then Master of the Music School in that city. In the Psalm Book, printed at Edinburgh, in 1635, the name of Buchan is included by the Editor, as one of the "primest musicians that ever this kingdom had."

his privat study, occupyit in reiding off the Scripturis of God; aiming and directing his cowrs to enter in the holy functioun of the ministrie, in sik tyme and place as it pleased God to call him: And to that effect, hes approched nearer the place of the saitt of our Presbyterie, to have better commoditie of heiring and conference, for his farder preparatioun thairunto; and efter the transacting of sum zeiris, hes associat him selff unto owr number, desyreing to communicat the first fructis of his laboris to be tryed amangst us, and has gevin proofe in our privat exerceis thre severall tymes, with commendatioun, and gritter expectatioun of his habilitie to proffeit in the Kirk of God. Quhilkis premisses, we testifie the said Mr Jhone to have done, and to have remaned honest in lyf and conversatioun, without sclander and offence, sa far as ever hes cumed to our knawlege. Be this owr testimoniall, subscryvit be owr moderator and clerk of owr elderschip, at owr command. At Hadintoun, the thrid day of May 1592.

A SHORT FORM OF EVENING AND MORNING PRAYER, AND OF GRACES BEFORE MEAT, AND AFTER MEAT, BY MR JOHN DAVIDSON.

10 March 1595.—Item, It wes ordanit be the Presbyterie [of Haddington], that thair brother, Mr Jhone Davidsone, should pen short Morning and Evening Prayeris, with Graces befoir and eftir meit, for the unlearnit sort in everie parochin, to be insert in this booke, that thei mycht be communicat be everie minister in particular, to be usit be the unlernit of his flock.

17 March 1595.—Anent the commissioun given be the Presby-

terie the last day to Mr Jhone Davidson, to pen short Evening and Morning Prayeris, with Graces befoir and efter meit, to be usit in every family of the unlearnit sort. The Presbyterie having sene, considderit, and allowit the same, ordanit thame to be insert in this booke. The formie quhairof is this :—

Evening Prayer.

We hairtlie thank thé, Hevinlie Father, for all thi goodnes this day past, beseiking thé to forgive us our sinnes for Christ Jesus thi Sonnes saik, and to bles us, and give us good rest this nycht. Continew the trew preaching of thi Word among us, and give us grace to esteme moir of it than hitherto we have done, and save us from merciles strangeris. And tak not thy peace from this land. Send us sessionabill wether, and stay this greit derth. Lord blis the Kirk, our King, Quene, and Prince, for Jesus Christ thi Sonnis saik. To quhome, with thé, O Father, and Haly Gaist, be all praise, gloire, and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

Morning Prayer.

We hairtlie thank thé, Hevinly Father, for all thi goodnes this nycht past, beseiking thé to forgive us our sinnis for Christ Jesus thi Sonnis saik, and blis our labouris, and guid us this day in thi trew feire. Continew the trew preaching of thi Word among us, and give us grace to esteme moir of it than hitherto we have done, and save us from merciles strangeris. And tak not thy peace from this land. Send us sessionabill wether, and stay this greit dearth. Lord blis the Kirk, our King, Quene, and Prince, for Jesus Christ thi Sonnis saik. To quhome, with thé, O Father, and Haly Gaist, be all praise, gloire, and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Forme of the Graces.

and first,

Befoir Meit.

Blis us, guid Lord, and ther thi creatures, quhilk thé prepairest for our norishment, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Grace efter Meit.

Blissit be yow, O Lord, for this nurishment of our bodies at this tyme, and mekle mair for the continuall nurishment of our saullis, by Christ crucifyit. To quhome, with the Father, and the Haly Spreit, be praise and glory for ever. God save the kirk and cuntrey, King, Queine, and Prince. Amen.

LETTERS

OF

MR JOHN WELSCH

TO

ROBERT BOYD OF TROCHRIG.

M.DC.VII.—M.DC.XIX.

"THE History of the Life of John Welsch, Minister of the Gospell at Aire," appeared at "Edinburgh, printed by George Mosman, 1703," 4to, pp. 34. Wodrow says, "I have been told it was printed from some papers left by the pious, lairned, and curious Mr James Kirktoune, minister at Edinburgh;" and there is no reason to suppose he had been misinformed. This tract contains a pretty accurate account of Welsch's history; and as it is proposed to reprint it for the Members of the Wodrow Society in the forthcoming volume of Biographical Memoirs, it is not necessary to enter upon any minute details of his life in connexion with the following Letters, which are now published for the first time.

JOHN WELSCH was born in the parish of Irongray, in Galloway, about the year 1569, and was educated in the University of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of Master of Arts in the year 1588.[1] He was soon afterwards ordained minister of Selkirk, from whence he was translated to Kirkcudbright, and afterwards to Ayr. He married a daughter of John Knox. In 1602 he published at "Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave," 4to, a controversial work, entitled, "A Reply against M. Gilbert Browne, Priest;" which was dedicated to King James. This work was republished by Matthew Crawford, minister of Eastwood, under the title of "Popery Anatomized," at "Glasgow, by Robert Sanders, 1672," small 8vo.

The following Letters were written by Welsch, during the time of his exile in France. They exhibit a curious mixture of French and English; but Boyd, to whom they were addressed, was also residing in France. These letters are perhaps of no great interest, ex-

[1] He is usually said to have pursued his studies at Glasgow; but the name of "Joannes Welsche," marked in a later hand as "Minister Verbi," occurs in the Laureation book of Edinburgh, at the above date.

cepting as literary reliques of a celebrated person, and as throwing some light on that portion of his history; while they bear testimony to his earnest desire to be employed in his Master's service, and shew what steps were taken to have him translated to different churches in that country. It is well known that, along with Forbes, Dury, and three other ministers, he was tried and convicted of treason, for declining the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and holding a General Assembly at Aberdeen contrary to the King's proclamation. Their trial took place at Linlithgow on the 10th of January 1606, and they were committed to Blackness Castle; but the warrant for their banishment was not written till the 26th of September 1606, and they were allowed an interval of a month to prepare for their departure.

After remaining some time at Bordeaux, Welsch, having acquired, it is said, in the course of fourteen weeks, a competent knowledge of the language, was able to preach in French, and was chosen minister to a Protestant congregation at Nerac, from whence he was successively removed to Jonsac, in the province of Angoumois, and to St Jean d'Angely, a fortified town in Lower Charante. When this place was reduced in 1621, Welsch and his family were conveyed at the King's expense to Rochelle. In 1612, he had published a work entitled, "L'Armegeddon de la Babylon Apocalyptique." Jonzac, 1612, 8vo. Having in vain solicited from King James permission to return to his native country for the benefit of his health, or even to emigrate to Nova Scotia, Welsch died at London in May 1622, of a lingering disease, and his wife died at Ayr in January 1625.[1]

The originals of the following Letters are preserved in the Advocates Library.[2] They are all addressed to the very eminent divine, Robert Boyd of Trochrig. The Letters are written in a very small indistinct hand, with faint ink; and not being in good preservation, it was no easy matter to decypher them.

[1] In Boyd of Trochrig's Obituary are very affectionate notices of the death of both Welsch and his wife, who was Boyd's cousin. (Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 291, 295.)

[2] Wodrow Folio MSS., vol. L.

LETTERS OF MR JOHN WELSCH

TO

ROBERT BOYD OF TROCHRIG.

No. I.

Monsieur,

My reverend and deerlie belovit Brother, I ressavit zour letter the 25 of June, the quhilk hes brocht na small confort to me, God using zour testimonie, quhilk I know is in the trewth of zour hart and zour love, as the meanis of my greitt incurage-ment. For the quhilk, as I am able, I desyre to render praise, and honour, and glorie, unto my God, quho servis hymself of his awin gratious instrumentis, for the confort of the pore and abject. Brother, I am sa far oversett with the weicht and number of the Lord's mervellous merces, that nether hart can conceve nor towng can expresse that, quhilk the meanest of many, dois bind and oblisse me unto my gratious and mercifull God; only I rest in the hoip of that future estait quhairin I sall be strenthened and inablet to the performance of al that quhilk now I ow, bot hes nether the will nor the power to do. My consolatioun and my tranquillite of my mynd is in the hoip of that eternite, quhen God salbe all in all, we in hym, and he in us; syn and miserie sall cease, and the praises of our God, with that perfyte and sweitt harmonie, sallbe sung day and nicht. I will not, Brother, wearie zow, (knowing zour contineuall occupations, how ze ar even beyond the strenth of nature,) with long wrytting, only zow ar unto me that quhilk nane hes bene sen ever I left the Land quhair I was. Brother, zour remembrance to

me is sweitt and confortable, and I trust in the Lordis mercie, gyf it wald pleise his Majesty, to oppen ane dore for the communioun with zow, that it suld be ane of my greattest conforts in the tyme of this my pilgrimage. The cause makis it sweitt to me, suppoise utherwayis bayth in respect of the waunt of these things, both inward and owtward, quhilk sumtymes I have injoyit, together with my unprofitablenes now, standing as it war idle, and the Maister of the vynezaird as yit, not having hyrit me to work in the same heir in this cuntrey. These, I say, can nocht bot mak it sumquhat sowr unto flesch and blood, zit, the trewth is, in the sicht of my Lord, the consolations and rest in the affectionis is far beyond all the bitternes accompaneit therewith, desyring and thristing for na uther thing under heaven bot that I may be fruitfullie, with confort, imployit in his work efter the maner, and in the place and part wher the only wyse God hes appointed and decreitt that I may serve maist for his honour in the advancement of his kingdome, being willing to undergo quhatsumever estait and conditioun as it mycht serve thereunto. Brother, I can nocht expresse unto zow that quhilk I wold; only it is my confort that my Lord, quho is the sercher of the hart, both hes gevin the will, and knowis that quhilk he hes gevin. Brother, the hoip of the future comunioun in that glorie is my rest and confort. I can wrytt na mair unto zow concernyng my awin estait, awaitting heir simple and with contentatioun of mynd quhen the Maister hymself sall come, and hyir me, as he hes done utheris, to labour in his vynezaird, trusting that he will not suffer me still to be idle; and zit it confortis me, that as he approvit my labouris befoir, sa now also I am perswadit my silence is approvit of hym. Blessed be God, even my God, and the Father of Chryst, my Lord, for ever and ever! I desyre nocht to ryn till he send me. I desyre nocht to be the choser my self ether of the work, maner, tyme, or place, of my service in his house. It was ever my confort Goddis calling, and I desyre now to have that left unto me unto the quhilk I may run unto in my necessiteis; for I know the gyft is with the calling, the promeisse with the calling, and the blessing only with the call-

ing. Sa I will leve this unto my Lord to do be zow or uthers as he thinkis meitt for his awin glorie. Seing zow come not be the Rochell, I think I sall nocht see zow, for I can nocht remove without sum certantie of a calling, especiallie now being burdenit with a familie; the quhilk gyf I haid nocht, I was resolvit to have accumpaneit zow as far in your jorney as I mycht and durst, I mean bayth in this kingdome, Germanie, and the Low Cuntreyis, quhither soever ze haid gone, till ze haid taken zour jorney to Scotland. I think now I can nocht nor may nocht leve my Wyfe in a strange cuntrey. Let me be adverteisit from zow with the nixt beirar of zour jorney, and such uther thingis as ze sall have the occasioun thereof or ze go. My Wyfe saluts zow efter the maist hartlie maner, and longs greittlie to see zow, and is greittlie sorie that that occasioun offeris not. I thank my God scho beires hir croce with confort and contentatioun, the quhilk unto me is na small confort. I have bene at the watters of Encausse, and hes druken of theme nine dayis, and hes applyit of the bow and clay unto my leg, and hes found the effectis thereof mervellouss. I esteme theme to be the best medicine this day in the erth, and that almaist for al sort of diseassis. Ther purgations thei gave me is wonderfull, fourteen seiges in a day. Thei gave me such appetit that the lyke I haid nocht this twyse 7. zeir. Thei purget me greittlie of my rheums and defluxions. I can nocht now expresse all. Bot gyf I haid the meanis and occasioun, I mynd to returne to theme againe in September, unles uther impediments be castin in. I fand the Lord's sweit providence al the way, being in companie with the Mr of Dirltoun and Mr Drummount, quho hes bene greittlie confirmed in religioun.

Quhat newis I ressavit from Scotland ze will understand be thir uther letters quhilk I have send to zow, the quhilk ze may communicat with M. Plessei and M. Beroald, and such uthers as ze think meitt. Further sence, I heir that some of the brether is send hame, to wit, Mr William Watsoun, Mr Robert Wallace, Mr Adam Colt, but discharget to preich, and that Mr James Balfour is wardit in Cobrounspath, and Mr Andro Melvill send to

Jernesey, and Mr James to Newcastell. Further, ye will reid and inclose this letter that our Presbiterie hes sent to Mr Duplessis, and delyver it to hym. I wold have taken the boldnes to have wryttin to hymself, bot now I can nocht. Al the thre synods of Tevidaill, Galloway, and Air, hes send there testimoniallis to me; the quhilk at meitting, gyf sa it pleise God, ze sall sie. Al your freynds is weill. Zoung Carltoun salutis zow hartlie, quhose letter I have send to zow. I must end now, and commend zow to the alsufficient God. Ze ar alwayis in my remembrance. I desyre zow to present my hartlie commendations of service unto M. Plessie and Mr Beroald, and al my acquentance there, and in speciall to M. De Liques. My Wyfe hartlie saluts zow. Mr Primroise and Mr Melvill heir saluts zow. I desyre to know in zour nixt letter how ye war satisfeit in that matter I wrytt to zow concernyng the Synod with us, and our answer to it. I schew zow the trewth, and I wald desyre zow to inquyre of Mr Beroald of the answer gevin to the Synod in our name, by comparing the quhilk zow may know the trewth of thingis. Now, agane, the Lord be with zow, and multiple his blissingis mair and mair. From Bordeaux, the 26 of June 1606[1] [1607.]

My reverend and derlie beloved Brother,

Your maist loving brother and
affectioned serviteur in the Lord Jesus,
MR JHONE WELSHE.

Brother, close your letters in a packet more surele, for I fand this letter oppenit; and send my letters back agane with sum sure beirar to Mr Hart, in the Rochell.

A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Trocherige, F. M. D. E.
à Saumure.

[1] The date, June 1606, which is very legible, must be a mistake, as Welsch did not leave Scotland earlier than November 1606. The reference to Balfour, Watson, and other ministers, also serves to fix the date, as the sentence of their confinement was the 6th of May 1607, and Welsch was not likely to learn the particulars in less than a month or six weeks.

No. II.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

Je m'esmerveille fort que je n'aye receu nouvelles de vous, les attendant de jour en autre pour le reussissement de cette affaire de Chattelrehault. Thei have done strangelie with me, in this Synode, ffor having represented to theme that fra the begynning I culd never nether as zit hes the consentement of my hart to remane there, desyring that my libertie graunted the last Synode mycht be ratifeit, thei have alluterlie refusit, hes revokit there libertie, hes gevin me purement et absoluement to the kirk of Jonsack, and wald nocht geve aucht dayis to essay gif I culd get my contentment to remane there. Brother, my inquietude est grande, et je ne scai que est qu'il faut faire, car quelque fois il me semble bon plustot de sortir de ce pays, que d'estre ainsi contraint contre mon gré; cela m'est presque insupportable. I can nocht writt that quhilk I wald, bot I am in exceiding greitt angoisses. Gyf the General Assemble, at the suit of Chattelrehault, mak me for theme, I wold tak it as a greit providence. To appell fra the Synode, I think, it will profit me nathing, bot rather incense theme the more againe me. Brother, I desyre, je vous prie de m'assister par vos prieres, car certainement ma necessité est grande, et mes angoisses se redoublent grandement sur moi. Je crain quelles me retrencheront ma vie, a la parfin. Car je ne jamais en de pareills. Je vous remerci pour les livres que vous avés envoyés a ma femme et ma fille. Elles vous baisent les mains. S'il y a moyen legittime de gemedier par ordre legittime au Synode general, je desire fort; mais je remets toutes chose es mains de mon Dieu. Je ai trouve ce que je n'eusse creu. Mon Frere, prie pour moi! La consolation laquelle je receu par vostre lettre m'a esté par dessus tout ce que je puisse ou penser ou parler; mais asteure je suis enfoncé, et les flots des eaux debordantes passent sur mon ame, mon esprit n'a point du repos que je soye advise de par vous le plustost qu'il est possible. Envoyés

les lettres de M. d'Vchiltre a M. Hart, qui lui les fera tenir asseurement. Son serviteur a protesté avec grande edification de tous. Je salue Mr Craig et Mr Lokhairt. Je baise les mains treshumillement a Mr de Plessei. Je ai grand desir de vous visiter. Je prie mon Dieu de me conduire vers vous. En haste, je vous recommande a sa grace demeurant,

Vostre treshumille serviteur,

J. WELSH.

De la Rochelle, 30 Mars 1609.

MONSIEUR,

Gyf these of Chattellerhaut demand mee at the General Assemble, and obtene my liberte for theme, assure theme, gyf the Lord wil, that I sal nocht fail on my syde. Efter the wrytting of this letter, ze sall knaw that I have appeillit from the sentence of the Synod unto the General, in imposing me upon this kirk of Jonsack aganis my wil, contrair bayth their awn libertie, granted the last Synode, as also ane act of their discipline. It may be this force me to cum to the Synode, and by this mean to visite zow. I wald, Brother, ze informit your deputes throchlie in my cause; for I think the procedure being surprisit in the begynning, hes nocht bene as it oucht.

A Monsieur Monsieur à Trocherige,
Professeur en Theologie,
et F. M. D. E. C.[1] à Salmure.

I have nocht ressavit letters from zow sen these, with the quhilk I ressavit the buiks ze send me. I pray zow, Brother, wryit to me, with as gryt expedition as ze can, zour counseill in every thing: I oppenit the letters my self, and therefoir be nocht offendit thereat.

[1] These initials in the address on the back of the originals seem to indicate the words, "Fidele Ministre d'Evangile Chretienne."

No. III.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

La grande maladie de ma femme ces deux mois passés, non seulement m'a tellement travailles, que je n'aye eu gueres de repose; car on a desesperé de sa vie; et je la menois a Bordeaux pour estre traittée la, ains sans grand fruict; mais maintenant m'empesche que je ne puisse me trouver au Synode prochain, pour mon affaire particuliere, et aussi pour estre consolé et fortifié par la communion de vostre foy et charité, tellement que je suis contraint d'envoyer un homme tout expres a vous a fin de suppléer mon absence, et de meme cette meme affaire, qui est un de si grande consequence a savoir de la tranquillité et du contentment de mon ame en l'execution de mon ministere, qui m'est certanement plus cher que ma vie mesme; car fors vous seulement je ne scai a qui je m'addresserois, qui à et la prudence et l'affection qui prendroit la pene tellement que je suis usé, de grande hardiesse, envers vous; mais la necessité me force, et l'integrité de vostre affection, compatissante avec moi, en toutes mes affections, et me guerissante par compassion, me medicurant en supportant et condolant en estant en angoisse, en tristesse, en pleurs [avec] la naifveté de vostre amour, le travail des vos compassions m'ont encouragé de vous supplier, de me prestre la main en une affaire si urgente de si grande consequence qui me va de loin, m'asseurant que combien que vos affaires vous pressent vostre vocation vous en donnera de peine le longeur de la journée: car pour les despens vous les mettres, si vous plait, en mes comptes; mais ces sont les moindres empeschemens, ou au regard de vous, ou en mon regarde, ma liberte m'estant plus precieuse que tous les biens de ce monde. Neantmoins si Dieu n'y entrepose sa main, par quelque chose extraordinaire que nulle chose vous en detournera: c'est en vain d'user des paroles vers vous; l'importance de mon affaire, qu'elle parle, qu'elle vous advise, qu'elle vous supplie, qu'elle luitte avec vous, et qu'elle obtenue le

dessu. Mais sans en insister plus, vous scavés de le commencement la procedure de toutes choses, et qui les pourra deduire si clairement que vous, et certenement je pense que cette empeschement en la providence de Dieu m'est advenu de mon costé parce que je ne pourrois si prudement manier cette affaire comme vous, qu'ayant point encores obtenu ni la facilité de la langue, ni le comportement externe, qui leur est si agreable. Et pour vous en informer plus amplement, je vous ai envoyé ma supplication, mais ouverte, afin d'estre corrigée et reformée, ou en adjoustant, ou en retranchant, ou en changiçant, selon vostre prudence; l'obligation avec la joye fondant de la misericorde de Dieu laquelle j'ai receue en les eglises en ce pais, m'a fait ainsi prefari et pour tesmoigner que je ne desire d'estre mecognoissant, et pour confesser a la gloire de Dieu, la fidelité de ses promesses, et pour encourager les autres de recognoistre la grandeur de tout ce bien que Dieu leur a fait, maugre les dens, et en la veue, de tous leur ennemis; et finalement, que celui de qui et par qui et a qui sont toutes choses, par cette occasion, soit recognu; le veou de l'Eternel estant sur moi, de prendre la coupe de salut en toute sorte de sa main, et de lui rendre les sacrifices de mes levres en l'assemblée de ses serviteurs: mais que tout passe par vos mains, si vous plait. Pour l'histoire, elle est fidele, et les pieces que je vous envoyées en feront foy, comme aussi, si vous plait, de vous souvenir de ce propos tenu entre vous et Mr Choquet, en Jonsack ici, qui a esté le porteur de ma lettre et la source de toute mon trouble. Vous estes tesmoin que je ai esté surpris en cette lettre au synode de Rochfoucault. Le pieces que je vous envoyé sont, l'arrest du synode de Rochefoucault; 2 Le compromis entre l'eglise de Jonsack et moi, avant que de vouloir venir vers eux, ratifié puis apres et mis au papier de leur consistoire; 3 L'arrest du synode de S. Jean; 4 L'arrest du synode de la Rochelle: et parce que peut estre comme non sachans quelle a esté ma conversation premiere en Escoisse, de peur que leur prejudices de moi ne facent teste a ma demande. Je vous ai envoyé aussi les tesmoinages de 3 Synodes, et des autres le plus eminens en nostre pais. Lorsque ma Femme les requeroit

afin que vous donner a cognoistre par ce moyen combien eloigné je ai esté et de l'ambition et de l'avarice et d'inconstance, lesquels tesmoignages confirmerent ce que vous avés cognu vous mesme. Pour la demand, je crain qu'elle n'est point assés claire, a faute des parles : randés la plus claire si vous plait ce que demandé est que au regard du fondement et du commencement. J'ai esté surpris en ma liberté au regard de l'accord entretenu entre ceux de Jonsack et moi, et de l'arrest du synode tenu à S. Jean en ma faveur. Je me plain de l'arrest du Synode a la Rochelle, opposé si diametrellement a la discipline qui porte que nul pasteur, car elle dit point proposant, mais nul pasteur doit estre imposé contre son gré sur une eglise, comme nulle eglise doit estre contrainte de recevoir le pasteur contre son gré ; et contre leur arrest du S. Jean dont je demande d'estre mis en la premiere liberté en laquelle je ai esté avant la Synode de Rochfoucault, laquelle octroyée, je ne desire nulle privilege autre que celui qui est commun a tous. Pour les ang de ma demande vous y enverrés pour adjouster ou faire comme vous en semblera bien, et le mesme touchant la submission, pour en user selon vostre prudence. Vous en communiqueres particulierement, si vous plait, a tous les Deputés de vostre accointance, et avec les Deputés du Synode de Guyen, avec deux desquelles je ai parlé mesme, M. Marlent et M. Dumas. Vous aussi scaures que cette Eglise a recognue la violence et contrainte a cause dequoi ils ne s'opposerent nullement.

Pour la vocation de Dieu, je me rangera si plait a Dieu, a sa volonté ou il m'ouvrira la porte, estant las en escrivant, je suis constraint de en mettre fin, remettant toutes choses en sa providence gratiouse et vostre prudence. Et parce que peut estre il sera besoin de rescrire ma supplication au Synode, je vous envoyée un papier blanc soussigné a cette fin, et aussi un autre blanc, soussigné pour porter vostre commission, car je ne scai comment il [vous] faut nommer, mais dessus toutes choses recommande l'affaire a la providence et misericorde de Dieu, de donner telle addresse que bon lui semblera à sa gloire. Ma femme, vostre cousine, se recommande à vos prieres. Si elle recouvré sa santé, je desire fort de vous

voir cest esté. Les lettres sont baillees à M. d'Uchiltre:[1] Il est en Rochefoucault. Je salue tres humillement Mr de Plessi si vous plait, et lui baise les mains comme aussi M. Craig et Lokhart. Vous vous trouveres au Synode, si tost que vous puisses, et m'advertisés de toutes choses, par le present porteur mon serviteur. Aussi attendant vos nouvelles je me recommande a vos prieres. De Jonsack, le 20 de Mai 1609.

Vostre treshumble serviteur,

J. WELSHE.

S'il a besoin de ma presence, vous m'en adverties, car la maladie de ma femme me detient, et je pense que ma presence n'advancera de rien ma cause, vous instans la, pour estre ma bouche; et certes s'ils ne m'octroyent cette liberté peut estre que me retourner, car je n'ai nul contentment ici.

No. IV.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

Ayant cette occasion de vous advertir touchant le reussissement de cette affaire mienne, laquelle vous avès par vostre prudence aidée beaucoup, tant par vostre lettre adressé à Monsieur Bouscheran, qui s'est porte si sagement et affectionnement que je demeure redevable a lui tous les jours de ma vie; car je n'userai de parles touchant vous. Mon Frere, vous m'avès aidé et consilé en un temps fort necessaire. Dieu vous console abondamment, il faut faire parce que ni papier et ancre, ni parles puissent exprimer, je m'asseure qu'il vous sera rendu en mesme pressée et entaffée. Mais pour retourner, en effect ma liberté est octroyée. Car ils ont ordonnés, si je ne me puis en ceux disposer pour demeurer la, que le colloque en Synode,

[1] The Master of Ochiltree, who appears to have resided with Welsch, and for whom he had a singular affection, as detailed in his Life. He was the son of Andrew third Lord Ochiltree, (cousin of Mrs Welsch,) who having resigned his Scotish title, was created Baron Castle-Stewart, in Ireland.

pourvoyeront tellement que prennerent selon l'ordre de la discipline, ils ne me pouvent ni m'astreindre ou je suis, ni imposer contre mon gré en un autre, et s'il ne pourvoyent, il me sera libre pour pourvoyer ou en la province, ou hors de la province. Pour moi j'attendrai la vocation de mon Dieu, ou il m'appellera; et je pense que ni le colloque ni le Synode les mesconderont qui me rechercheront. Vous scavés mon intention et mon bût, qu'il est en simplicité de servir mon Dieu en son Evangile, en telle lieu ou sa vocation m'induira.

Pour nostre recontrè: For our meitting, because I can not at the time come to Saumur, for I have left my Wyfe diseasit, and may not stay heir till ze come; wherfoir, gyf ze think it meit, gyf the Lord wil, I sal meit zow at Niort, whilk I think is the midway, the 29 of this instant, to be there gyf it pleis God, about ten or twelf houris on the day forsaid, quhilk I tak to fal on a Tyisday, at quhilk tyme I wil luik for zour presence, or utherwayis to be adverteisit; ffor gyf that day be not keipit, it wil be hard to me to keip ane uther befoir Lambes, because of the communion quhilk I have. Si vous plait de saluer Mr de Plessei en mon nom, car je suis fort son serviteur, et suis tant et plus redevable, je prie mon Dieu de combler ses benedictions et consolations sur lui. Remercies si vous plait, en vostre lettre, Mr Buscheran, un vray Nathaneel, qui a tellement debattu mon affaire avec beaucoup d'affection et grande prudence. I wil resolve nothing til I meit with zow. The Lord gyf his blissing thereunto. Now because I will nocht wery zow with farther wrytting, I recommend zow to his grace. God [of] al consolation multiplie his Spirit and peace upon zow. Sr Messen, the 9 of Junę 1609.

Vostre treshumble serviteur et frere,

J. WELSCH.

A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Trocherege,
F.M.D.S.E., et Professeur
en Theologie à Saulmur,
à Saulmur.

No. V.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

I merveill greittlie that I have recevit na lettir from zow sen the letter quhilk I send to zow by the way of Chattelerhaut, nether any answer from theme. This is only to know of zow gyf ze have wryttin, for I have ressavit na words from zow. I long greittlie. I understand ze have ressavit word from zour Mother and freinds in Scotland. I desyre to know of zour resolutioun. There hes fallin out ane uther occasioun quhairin I man beg the help of zour prayeris, as also zour confort and advyse, without quhilk I wald nocht tak any ferme resolutioun. But I leif it till I ressave further advertisment, the quhilk I luik for daylie. I desyre to know also the resolutioun of Mr Lockhart, for if he tarry nocht there, let him advertise me or he tak any other resolutioun. I salute Mr Craig, and his wife, and al freindis there. This in greit haist.

Je demeure

Vostre treshumble serviteur,

J. WELSHE.

De Jonsack, le 13 de Mais 1610.

A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Trocherege,
F. M. D. E. C.
à Saulmur.

No. VI.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

Le porteur me presse de ne faire sinon ces deux mots pour m'excuiser et pour vous testifier que la langeur de vous voir est tres grande, afin d'estre consolé par le moyen de vostre comunion, et d'espandre tous mes griefs au sein de vostre charité.

Il y a une chose qui est advenue, depuis peu des jours, assavoir ceux de Bergerac, m'ont recherché d'une affection tresgrande, tant de la part de Consuls de la ville, que du Consistoire, et sont resolus de me demander au Synode prochain qui se tiendra le 25 de ce mois. Au fonds, je desire vostre advis et l'aide de vos prieres pour m'adresser a son honneur et a sa gloire seulement. Mon ame n'a point du contentement ici. Pries Dieu que mes peches ne ferment point la porte. Il y aura grande opposition de la part de cette Eglise, et de toute la noblesse de ce pays, que m'affectioné fort. Mais je desire de preferer sa gloire en l'avancement de son evangile a toutes choses. Je vous prie par les entrailles de la misericorde de Dieu, de ne me mettre en oubliance. Certes mon cœur est enlargi grandement en vostre endroit. Aussi Mr de Bouillon a le mesme dessein pour Sedan. Je desire de me remettre entierement entre ses mains, pour en disposer de moi selon ce que bon lui semblera, ne desire sinon d'achever la course avec joye. Ainsi contraint de finir, je vous recommande a sa grace, vous priant de me faire scavoir de les bonnes nouvelles, en tous vos affaires, par toutes les occasions. Je vous prie de dire a Monsieur vostre governeur, que lui baise les mains bien humblement. Je salue tous nos compatriots. La grace de Jesus Christ soit multiplié envers vous, et vous addresse et benisse abondamment. Je demeure tousjours,

Monsieur,

Vostre treshumble serviteur et frere,

J. WELSCH.

De Jonsach, le 4 d'Avril 1611.

Vostre cousine vous baise les mains, et toute ma famille.

A Monsieur, Monsieur de Trocherege,
F.M.D.E. et Professeur
en Theologie à Saulmur,
à Saulmur.

No. VII.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

Luiking and longing every day for to heir of zour newes, it being so long tyme sen I hard thereof, I culd nocht forbear ony longer, having the occasion of the berar, quho I trust will bring me newis of zour weilfare. My famille hes bene and zit is exerceisit with continual affliction. I am almost swallowit up with sorrow. On greif tumbles on upon ane uther. My douleurs ar impossible to expresse, and sa mekle the mair intollerable to beir, that I have nane unto quhome I may communicate theme, and fra quhom I may receve ony consolation. I know it is the hand of the Almytie. The coup is bitter, bot I trust the fruit sal be sweitter. I dwyne and deis in langueur. My sowl is consumed and withered, bot the Lord will send deliverance quhen it sal pleise hym. It is the Lord's indignation, and I wil beir it in the mesure he will communicat unto me. Brother, I trust ze will help me by zour prayers. I dow not wrytt. My strenth is failed me. Ze wil pité my sorrowis, and recommend theme unto hym quho is the God of consolation, and knowis how to comfort the abject and humble. I do recommend zow unto his al sufficient grace and consolation, longing greitle to heir from zow and of zour weilfare, and the weilfare of zour famille. My wyfe and my famille saluts zow maist hartlie, and madameselle zour wyfe.

Monsieur,

Vostre treshumble serviteur et frere,

J. WELSCH.

De Jonsach, ce 3 de Mai 1612.

Ze sal ressave ane pacquet of letters, quhilk was send to me from the Rochel about a moneth syne or thereby.

Monsieur Craig, quhom I salute maist hartlie, and Madomeselle his wyfe, wil find his commendation heir.

A Monsieur, Monsieur de Trocherege,
Professeur en Theologie, F.M.D.E. à Saulmur.

No. VIII.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

La presente est seulement de scavoir de vos bonnes nouvelles, le quelles j'atten avec tresgrand desir. Je vous ai envoyé, par le moyen de ces Messieurs nos compatriots, les papiers et blancs que vous m'avès donc baillés a la Rochelle, touchant le fait de Mr de la Rochechallen et autres. Vous me faites scavoir de vos nouvelles, s'il vous plait, par la voye de la Rochelle. Mr Stewart est maintenant a la Rochelle et y a esté de un mois presque. Je desire fort de scavoir vos arguments touchant les controversies que se traitté aujourdhui en nos eglises de la Justification; et specialement touchant l'addition de l'obeissance a la Loy Ceremoniale, qui me semble estrange, et laquelle je ne scauroy encore gouster, car celle la ne nous a jamais obligé ; et aussi touchant le livre de Tilenus ;[1] duquel je ne doute que vous n'ayes receu un avec une lettre. Vous priant de prendre la pene de m'en escrire tout au long, car pour vous dire franchement, ou Tilenus a changé l'estat de la question, ou il me semble que ses arguments ont de pois. Neantmoins je tien mon jugement suspens jusques a ce que je voye la response de Monsieur du Moulin, et vostre jugement la dessus, lequel j'espere m'apportera du contentement : ce l'argument qui me presse fort, touchant le premier point de la Justification, est cettuici que seulement les actions sacerdotales de Christ et celle du sacrifice sont seulement celles qui nous sont imputées a justice estant celles la seules qui ont appaisé l'ire et effacé le peche ; et non pas les actions de Christ communes a tous, ni ses actions prophetiques et royales dont mon pas toute l'obeissance nous est imputé, assavoir, ni celles a loy et devoirs auquelles toute creature rationelle est obligée, ni celle de sa glorification, ni celles de son office prophetique et royale, ni celles de son intercession, mais celles la seulement qui

[1] The work of Daniel Tilenus, here mentioned, was evidently his Consideratio Sententiæ Arminii de Predestinatione, Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. Francof. 1612, 8vo.

appartient a l'oblation et sacrifice volontaire, et propitiatour de soy mesme. Mais le temps ne me permet de m'expliquer plus clairement ou longuement en ce point, parce qu'elle est l'obeissance d'une personne infinie combien qu'en nostre nature. Neantmoins je ne scauroy consentir a ceux qui exclurent non seulement toute l'obeissance de Christ aux commandements de la loy, mais aussi toutes les souffrances, fors celles de la croix de la justice justificante; ni a ceux qui confondent la remission avec l'imputation, veu que l'imputation est la cause de la remission, et la cause est tousjours distincte d'avec son effet. Voici de l'un et de l'autre costé. S'il vous plaist de m'en escrire longuement, car a cause de se doutes je n'ai point voulu signer l'article du Synode nationel, comme aussi plusieurs autres. Mais le temps me constraint de finir la presente, priant Dieu de vous combler de toutes ses benedictions. Madomeselle vostre femme trouvera ses recommendations ici. Ma femme vous salue et Madomeselle. Demeurant

Vostre treshumble serviteur et frere,

J. WELSCH.

Mr de Plessé et nos compatriots trouveront leur salutations ici s'il vous plaist.

De Jonsack, le 8 d'Avril [1613.]

A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Trocherege, F. P. D. E.
et Professeur en Theologie à Saulmur,
à Saulmur.

No. IX.

MONSIEUR ET TRESHONORÉ FRERE,

Ayant receu la vostre, je me suis fort resjoui que vous m'ayes prevenu en assignant le jour et lieu de nostre entreveue, au quel si Dieu me continue la vie et la santé, je ne faudray point, Dieu

aidant, de me trouver; car je ne proposois plustost d'aller au Saumur, avant que d'estre privé de ce contentement la presente, dont ne tendant a autre bût; et remettant toutes choses a cette occasion la, vous remerciant de tout mon cœur pour ce dernier tesmoinage de vostre charite, laquelle s'est testifie tresamplement envers moi a toutes les occasions, et a celleci aussi, vous m'aves certes obligés grandement. Mais je laisse de vous rendre de parles. Mon desir est envers Dieu pour vous, afin qu'il vous accompagné de sa benediction tresample, et qu'il rende vos dernieres oeuvres plus grandes que les premieres, et que vous achevies vostre course avec joye, sans reproche, en attendant le jour de son apparition. Je vous recommande à Dieu, et à sa grace pour vous, baisant les mains et celles de Madamselle vostre femme et vostre petit fils. Ma femme et mes enfans en font le mesme, et demeurent a tousjours.

MONSIEUR,

Vostre treshumble et tresaffectionné
serviteur et Frere,
J. WELSCH.

De Jarnach, ce 24 d'Aoust 1614.

MONSIEUR,

Post scriptum.—S'il y a en ces quartiers, quelque habile jeune homme de vostre pais, pour demeurer avec moi pour l'instruction de mon enfant, qui est bien avancé, et d'autres qui sont chez moi, s'il vous plait de l'adresser ici; car Mr Inglis, le frere de Monsieur Jacques Inglis, qui a demeure avec moi quelque temps sen va, l'ayant pourveu d'une condition honorable et fort avantageuse, preferant son avancement a mon particulier, ce que je ferai aussi, Dieu aidant a celui qui lui succedera.

A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Trocherege,
F.M.D.E. et Professeur
en Theologie à Saumur,
à Saumur.

No. X.

RYCHT REVEREND AND DEIRLIE BELOVIT BROTHER,

Your letter greitlie expected and maist hartlie receved, hes not brocht unto me smal confort to heir of zour estait, and of that of zour famillie, the quhilk I have greitlie longit for, having nocht only [not] recevit that letter wherof ze mak mention in zours, bot nane at all thir thre zeiris at the leist, quherof I was not a litle astonischit. And zit it comforted me to heir the honorable testimonie of that constant grace and zeal quhilk in al places ze have ever schewn, and by the Lord's frie grace continewis in the same affection; quhilk is a gyft nocht smallie to be estemed, and quherof he that hes receved it, hes mair nor occasioun to rejoice and to glorifie the fre grace of God, for he deilis nocht sa with everie ane, and he only quho perseveiris in love to the end, even than quhan iniquitie is multipleit, salbe saved. Our deir and loving Brother, together with al these quho comes fra zour partis, ar faythful and trew witnessis of the grace of God, bestowit and faythfullie and fruitlie employed by zow. As for my estait, and that of my familie, our brother wil informe zow, particularlie ane merveillous providence in oppening to me a dore, by ane extraordinarie maner, in this kirk heir, with the consent of al, and approbatioun of al, as thocht it haid nocht bene bot ane only man with ane only hart; zit in the progresse of the Lord's work Satan sleiped not, and now of lait kythis hymself more oppenlie. The combat is greit and dangerous. The Lord geve wisdome and force to glorifie his name, and nocht to faint under the burden. Weaknes of body growis now greitlie, and syndrie sumonis to flit owt of this lyfe. The Lord prepare for his Sone's saik. Greit is the neid, greit is the weaknes, greit is the work, and the grace man be greit to fulfil it. The Lord mak manifest his power in weaknes. The trowbles and confusions of this sinful nation, the beirar wil informe zow particularlie, all tending to ane utter desolation, gyf the Lord, in his mercy, prevent it nocht, for the only love of his glorie; leist the ennemie

say nocht, that it is there hand, there force, there religioun, that hes done it. But necessitie forcis me to end, being late, and my cours to preich the morne, gyf it pleis the Lord.

I recommend me with maist hartlie affection to zowr maist ernest prayers, that grace may be gevin to fulfil my ministrie avec joye unto the end. I am alwayis mindful of zowr unfeinzeit love and ernest zeal of the glorie of his blissed name. The Lord fil zow mair and mair with the alsufficient grace of our Lord and Saviour. My wyfe salutes zow maist hartlie. We bayth salute zow and Madamselle, zowr godlie bedfellow, with our maist hartlie affections. Remaning for ever,

Monsieur et treshonoré Frere,
Zour treshumble serviteur, and brother
in the Lord,

J. WELSCH.[1]

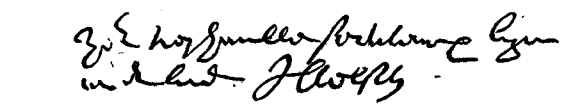
A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Trocherege, Professeur
en Theologie en l'Academie
de Glaskow,[2]
a Glascow.

The young man our cousin is heir, of quhom I sall have ane singular cair gyf it pleis the Lord.

De St Jean d'Angeli, ce 18 de Mai 1619.

[1] Towards the close of the year 1614, Boyd having received an invitation from King James, left Saumur, and, in February 1615, was appointed Principal of the College of Glasgow.

[2] The following is an accurate facsimile of Welsch's signature to the above letter. It will be observed that he sometimes varied the orthography of his own name.



ANE AFOLD ADMONITIOUN

TO THE MINISTERIE OF SCOTLAND.

BY MR ALEXANDER HUME,

MINISTER OF LOGIE.

M.DC.IX.

In the Coronis to the History of the Kirk of Scotland, by John Row, Minister of Carnock, among the number of "godlie and faithfull servants," whom he had personally known, and who had "witnessed against the Hierarchy of prelates in this kirk," he thus mentions the author of the following Admonition, "Mr Alexander Hoome, Minister at Logie, besyde Stirlin: he has left an Admonition behind him in writ to the Kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the Bishops, who then were fast ryseing up, had left the sincere ministers who would gladlie have keeped still the good old government of the Kirk, if these corrupt ministers had not left them and it: earnestlie entreating the Bishops to leave and forsake that course whereupon they were, els their defection from their honest brethren (with whom they had taken the Covenant) and from the cause of God would be registrat afterward to their eternall shame."

The Admonition referred to was probably intended for publication; but only one copy in MS., and without the author's name, has been discovered. It is preserved among Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocates Library; and was printed as an Appendix to the edition of Hume's "Hymnes and Sacred Songs," which, in 1832, was presented as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, by John G. Kinnear, Esq. The present copy is reprinted from that volume, which, from its limited impression, can be accessible only to very few members of the Wodrow Society.

Alexander Hume, the second son of Patrick Hume of Polwarth, whose lineal descendant became Baron Polwarth, and Earl of Marchmont, was born about the year 1560. As three persons of the same name, and at the same period, pursued their studies in the University of St Andrews, some uncertainty prevails as to the respective individuals. One of them took the degree

of Master of Arts in St Mary's College, in 1571, another in 1572, and a third was made Bachelor of Arts in 1574.[1] Of this name there was likewise another person, who entered St Leonard's College in 1578. With respect to the Poet's subsequent career, it may here be sufficient to state, that with the view of practising at the Bar, he remained four years in France, studying the Civil Law; that other three years were spent in attendance on the Courts of Justice; and that, disgusted with the corrupt and venal practices which were then so prevalent, he turned courtier: but, to quote his own words,

> But from the rocks of Cyclades, from hand,
> I struck into Charybdis sinking sand.

After a long internal struggle between his desire to obtain secular advancement, and an awakened sense of the importance of religion, Hume finally devoted himself to the Church; and, in August 1597, he was admitted Minister of Logie, near Stirling.

In 1599 he published "Hymnes and Sacred Songs," dedicated to Elizabeth Melville, wife of John Colville of Culross, and authoress of "The Godlie Dream," a poem, once very popular among the Scotish Presbyterians. Hume's poetry had fallen into unmerited neglect, but was brought into notice by Dr Leyden; and was afterwards commended by Campbell, as exhibiting, in some of his verses, "a train of imagery that seem peculiarly pleasing and unborrowed,—the pictures of a poetical mind, humble but genuine in its cast."[2] The original volume is of such rarity, that probably not more than three or four copies exist; but it was very accurately reprinted in 1832, as already mentioned.

The following Admonition was written either in 1608 or the following year. The author, who died, without male issue, on the 4th of December 1609, was married to Marion, daughter of John Duncanson, Minister of the King's Household.

[1] Dr M'Crie, in his Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 504, has thrown much light on the history of these Humes.

[2] Specimens of the British Poets, vol. ii. p. 238.

ANE AFOLD ADMONITIOUN

TO THE MINISTERIE OF SCOTLAND.

BY A DEING BROTHER.

GRACE, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Chryst. It is certainlie knawin, Brethren, to the greiff of monie godlie heartes and slander of the gospell, that thair ar dissentionis among you: not concerning the covenant of God, or the seales of the covenant, bot cheiflie concerning twa poyntis of Discipline or kirk governement, wheranent you ar devydet in twa factionis or opinionis. Some of yow hold, that among pastoris thair be paritie, as concerning dignitie or superioritie, (althoght as tuitching the measour of thair spiritual graces thair be gryte imparitie,) according to the wordis of our Lorde Jesus Chryst to his disciples, saying, "Ye knaw that the Lordis of the Gentillis have domination over them; and thei that ar gryt exercise authoritie over them: Bot it sall not be so among you; but whosoever will be gryt among you, let him be your servant," &c. (Mat. xx. 25.) As also ye hold that of all sortis of kirk governement, it is best to haif the Kirk governed by particular Elderschipis, by Presbitreis, by Synodole and Generall Assembleis, and, by degrees, being countable to another. And this forme of Discipline is affirmed to be agreeable with the Word of God, to be subscryvit be many notable preacheris and professoris of the Reformed Religioun, and to be ratefeit in Parliament by the Prince and whole Estatis

of the kingdome: promesing by a solemn othe to remane constant thairat, and to defend it to thair lyves end. On the other part, otheris of you, within theis few yeiris, sustene, that, among pastoris, thair sould be imparitie; not onlie in giftis of the mynd, bot also in dignitie and juresdiction. Yow hold also, that the Kirk sould not onlie be governed by Presbitreis, and Assembleis, and pluralitie of vottis, bot also by Byschopes in Presbitreis and Assembleis, quha sould sitt in Counsall and Parliament, be called Lordis, reasone and vote, in name of the whole Kirk, and be moyanners and mediatoris betwene the Kirk and the Prince: Quhairin ye appeir to conforme yourselfes to the Disciplin of our nychtbour countrey of England. And this sum of you not onlie sustene by opinion, bot also have prosecuted in effect; quhairupon hath enscheued, bothe a distractioun of myndes, and a ranckling of affectiones. Surelie, brethren, it may be said to you, as Demaratus, the Corinthian, said to Philipe of Macedone: Demaratus being come towardis Philip, Philip demanded him, How the Grecians accorded amongst tham selfis? To whome he ansuered, ironicallie, Indeede, Sir, it becometh you weill to be cairfull and inquisitive of the concord of the Grecians, seeing ye haif filled your awen hous with so gryt quarrellis and dissentions: (for Philip haid taken to wyfe Cleopatra, besydes his other wyfe, Olympias, who boore it impatientlie, and stirred up her sone, Alexander, against his father.) So, when ye exhort the people to concord, it may be justlie objected unto yow, Why then ar ye pastoris at discord?

But who is the caus of it? Will you saye, Trye them, and let them bare the blame and incurre the censures. For manifestatioun heirof, the ground and occasioun of this dissentioun wald be ryped up; whiche, in sinceritie, is this. Since the Reformatioun of religioun within this natioun, the Kirk hath ever bene traveling to haif vote in Parliament, by commissioners elected and directit from the Generall Assemblie, (as brughis and baronis have:) To reasone of the equitie and expediencie of this petitioun I will not now.

Bot I juge charitablie, and do reverence the judgement of so

wyse and godlie fatheris as socht it, who wer happie instrumentis of reformatioun and restauratioun of religioun within this land; whois intentioun (I doubt not) hath bene to provyde by that meane, that the Kirk of God suld receave no detriment, and to give the lycht and resolutione of Goddis word to that highest cowrt, in macking of lawis and constitutionis, and in everie difficultie that mycht occurre. At last the Prince (not onlie respecting the godlie purpois of the Kirk, bot also the advancement of his royall estate) yeelded to this long urged petitioun, not simplie, bot upone certane conditiones; *videlicet*, First, That the electioun of the ministeris that suld sit and haif votte in Parliament sould pertene to the King, and not to the Kirk. Nixt, that thei suld not be changed for their lyftymes; to the end they might be more expert boythe in matteris civill and ecclesiasticall. Thridlie, for releif of the povertie of the Kirk, that thei sould haif competent livingis (even Byschoprickes) for mantenance of suche honorable estate, as is requisite. This being offered be the Prince in the Generall Assemblie at Montross,[1] efter sum reasoning, the haill Assemblie agreit weill to the augmentation of suche ministeris mantenance: bot as tuitching thair name, and continuance in thair office, it was controverted, and goeth to voting. The first questioun is sett downe, Quhither they suld be called Lord Bischopes or Commissioneris from the Generall Assemblie? The uther, Quhither they sould demitt and lay down thair office and revenew yeirlie at the Assemblie's feete, and be newlie elected *annuatim*, or that they sould contenew in thair office *ad vitam*, they being unreprovable in thair lyfe, office, and calling? The suffrages being gatherit in the Kingis presence, it wes concludit, by pluralitie of vottes, that the saidis preacheris sould be stylit Commissioneris of the Kirk or of the Generall Assemblie: and that thei sould demitt thair office *annuatim*, and be elected of new. Quhat I speake or wreit now, I do it *in foro conscientiæ*, and in sight of the alseeing

[1] The General Assembly at Montrose was held on the 28th March 1600. A detailed account of the proceedings, to which Hume here alludes as an eyewitness, is given by Calderwood and other historians of the period.

eye of God; becaus I wes bothe a seeing and a hearing witnes to that quhilk wes done. The Prince wes displeasit with the conclusioun, and wald not admitt preacheris upon his Parliament upon suche conditiones: Quhairfoir the Assemblie wes forced eyther to condiscend that thair brethrene foirsaid sould contenow in that office, and injoye thair livings *ad vitam, sive ad culpam*, or ellis to have no vote in Parliament at all. For eschewinge of the whiche extremitie, as also for preventing of all abuse and tyrannie that might creepe in into the Kirk, it wes thocht speedfull that suche brethren sould be astricted till a number of Cawtions or Caveatis speciallie expressed, to be as bandis to restrane thame and retain them in goode ordour.

> Ille dies primus læti primusque malorum
> Causa fuit.

For upone this occasione, sume of you, my Brethren, without delay tooke Byschoprickes of the Prince,[1] with all emolumentis, priviledges, jurisdictionis, estate, and dignity, quhilk pertenit or micht pertene thairto of awld, (that is to say, in time of Poperie,) as may be sene in your provisiones. Ye maid no scruple to tak upon you the name of Bischopes, of Archbischopes, and of Lordes of suche and suche places; ye were not aschamed to ryde to Parliament magnifickly mounted and apparrelled, in ranck befoir monie of the nobilitie; and being more mad, ye have maid no conscience to becum constant Moderatoris in presbytreis and synodole assembleis; to call your brethren Puritanes, whiche ganestand your courses; to put a note to the names of suche and suche of your brethren in the Buikis of Assignatioun, that they suld not be ansuerd of thair stipendis; and, in a word, ye haif haid na respect to the observatioun of the Cautions quhairunto ye wer subject, but haif transgressit them at your awin plesour. Moreover, for opposing of them to this your course and proceedingis, your brethren of grytest

[1] George Gladstanes was preferred to the see of Caithness, in the year 1600; and other similar appointments were made soon after the Assembly at Montrose, in violation of the Caveats which had then been agreed upon.

giftis (within the land) for learning, utterance, zeale, sanctificatioun, ar sum exylit, sum confyned, sum incarcerat, and sum silenced.[1] Behold how gryt a thing a lytill fyre hath kendlit! Behold at how narow a rift that awld lubrik serpent hathe slydin in; *apertum est nunc, quod opertum erat antea:* It is now evident that ye have departed from your brethren, and not thei from you: yow then ar to be blamed for your desertioun, and not they for thair standing.[2] Alace, my Brethren, why have ye slandered the Gospel? Why haif yee disquyeted the lytill flock of Jesus Christ? Why haif yee added more greif unto the bandis of deare brethren within our nychtbour countrie? Why haif ye built agane the thingis whiche before ye destroyed, and so have maid yourselves trespassouris? (Galat. ii. 18.) For ye will not denye bot sumtyme ye have preached against that sort of Hierarchie and kirk governement, and that bothe your selfis have approved, and also have exhorted the people and nobles of the land, to subscrywe that schort Confessioun of Fayth, subscrivit be the Prince, his domestickis, and many uthers, at Edinburgh the 18th of Januarij, 1580–1 yeiris, quhairin this claus following is contened, *ad verbum.* "To the which (*videlicet* Reformed Kirk at that tyme in Scotland) we joyne our selfis willinglie in Doctrine, Fayth, Religioun, Discipline, and use of the Halie Sacramentis, as lyvelie memberis of the same in Christe our heade: promesing and sueiring by the gryt name of the Lord our God, that we sall contenew in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, and sall defend the same according to our vocatioun and powar all the dayes of our lyves, under the paines contened in the lawe, and danger baythe of bodie and saule, in the Day of the Lordis fearfull Judgment."

May not this, think you, prick any conscience in the warld that is not past all feeling? I omitt that which ye have done since,

[1] Hume here alludes to the banishment of Forbes, Welsch, Dury, and other ministers, who were tried for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen, in July 1605, in defiance to the King's authority; and also to the silencing of Robert Bruce, and to the imprisonment of Andrew Melville in 1607.

[2] This is evidently the passage to which Row refers, when mentioning this Admonitioun as the work of Hume. See above, p. 567.

Brethren, in thois assembleis, appoynted for the renewing of the Covenant. In sume of the whiche, sum of you wer Moderatoris your selves.

But you will saye that sumtyme ye wer of that opinioun, bot now ye haif receaved gryter lyght, and see that whiche befoir ye saw not, and thairfoir may alter your purpois and opinioun. Indeede, I grant ye see now thrie thingis, whiche befoir ye saw not: to wit, the object of warldlie commoditie, the object of warldlie promotioun, and the blandischementis of ane eloquent Prince. But as to farther licht of Goddis worde then ye haid befoir, yee can haif nane, for otheris of your brethren who may be your teacheris can see none suche light. Ye obtende also the releif of the Kirk from povertie and contempt by your goode offices in Court and Counsall. A fair pretext, indeede, to cover your covetousnes and ambitioun. But althogh ye haid suche respect, yit ye knawe *non facienda sunt mala ut eveniant bona*, your meaning doubtles is pervers: and as tuitching the dignitie of the Kirk of God, whiche ye count lost, did it ever consist in warldlie welthe, warldlie pompe, or in outward splendour? No, surelie no: bot in pietie and puritie of lyfe, discipline and doctrine; the Lord is the everlasting light of his Kirk, and our God our glorie, (Isaye lx. 19.) Whereas the former ar the markis of the gryte whore that sitteth upone many wateres, which ar people, and nationes, and tonges, and multitudis, (Revel. xvii. 1, 15.) But to cum to the manie point: ye pretend, perhappes, Scripture and antiquitie, for your warrand and defence; and, first, it is alleged that the Apostle giveth the name of Bischope till a pastore! Thairfore, the naime must be admitted as goode. Let it be so, but before we go farther, the name of Archbischope is never mentioned by the Apostle, nor by the Spreit of God; and, thairfore, it must needis be exploded, as evile and Antichristian: But to reteir me to the name of Byschope, yee knaw that *Episcopus* signifieth ane oversear, and is a relative word, and hath relatione to sum thing whiche he sould oversee. I demand, then, that a Bischope of whom the Apostle speaketh, quherof sould he be a bischope or owersear? Not of a

benefice or earthlie rent, but of the soules of men, and not of the soules of pastoris lyk unto him self, but of the flock committed to his charge, whome we call professouris. The Apostle sayeth to Timotheus, quhom he styleth a byschope, "I charge ye, thairfore, before God, and before the Lord Jesus Chryst, &c., preache the word; be instant in seasone and out of seasone, improve, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine." And againe, "But watche thow in al thingis; suffer adversitie; do the wark of ane Evangelist, mak thy ministrie full knawin," (2 Tim. iv. 15.) Siklik the Apostle Peter sayethe, "The elderis quhilk ar among you I beseik, quha am also ane eldar, &c. Feede the flocke of God whiche dependeth upon you, caring for it, not by constraint bot willinglie; not for filthie lucre, bot of a ready mynd; not as thocht ye were lordis ower Goddis heretage, but that ye may be ane ensample to the flock. And when the chief Schipherd sall appeir, ye may receave ane incorruptible crowne of glorie," (1 Peter v. 1.) Suche sould our byschoprickis be, no doubt, as wes the byschoprick of Jesus Christ; not carnall, bot spiretuall; not of earthlie lordschipis, bot of men and wemens sowles; for he is onlie one cheif Schiphird and Byschope of all our soules, and ye are brethren, (1 Peter ii. 25.)

Nixt, gif ye wald alledge Timothie to haif bene Byschope of Ephesus, and Titus of the Kirk of Cretians, let it be so; yit it proveth not that thei haid anie warldlie dignitie, (such as ye cleame,) or anie superioritie over thair brethren; onlie it proveth tham to haif bene overseearis of the soules of theis kirkis, and to haif bene preaching eldaris, quhilk we admitt: for it is manifest that the apostle useth the name of *Presbiter* and *Episcopus*, of Elder and Byschope indifferentlie, (Tit. i. 5, 6, 7;) him quhom he called Elder in the 5 verse, he calleth Byschop in the 7. In suche sort, that, quhen the Apostle commandeth Timotheus and Titus to ordene elderis or presbyteris in everie citie quhair they wer not, he giffeth consequentlie the lyke command and powar to other presbyteris or elderis of cities to do the lyke quhen neede requyred, seing the elder and byschope ar bothe ane. The Apostle Peter

callethe him self ane elder, (1 Peter v. 1.) Ergo, ane elder must be als gryt as a byschope, or els ye must mak a byschope gryter then ane apostle, which is absurde. Jerom sayeth, *Iidem episcopi et presbyteri fuerunt, quia, illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc etatis;* and agane, *Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam veritate dispositionis Dominicæ Presbyteris esse majores;* and in effect as Timotheus ordaned elderis, by laying on of the handis of elderis. Despyse not the gift that is in ye, (sayeth St Paull,) whiche wes giffin ye by prophesie, with the laying on of the handis of the company of the eldarschip, (1 Tim. iv. 14.) Behold a ground for presbytreis, and for paritie betuene elderis and bischopes.

Now, gif ye wald inferre imparitie to haif bene amang the Apostles, becaus sum ar called leist, sum grytest, sum cheif, sum pillaris, it importeth nothing, by reasone that is not spokin in respect of thair estate or jurisdictione, bot in respect of thair gracis and giftis of the Holie Gost that wer in them. As is manifest of the text. If, then, (sayeth Paul,) ye haif judgement of thingis pertening to this lyfe, set up them quhilk ar estemed leist in the Kirk, (1 Cor. vi. 4;) least esteamed as concerning judgement, that thei might judge of warldlie thingis betuene brethren, for so it followeth. Agane, he called him self the least of the apostles, and of all sanctes; why? becaus he persecuted the Kirk of God, (1 Cor. xv. 9; Eph. iii. 8.) Tharefter he sayeth, I aucht to haif bene commended of you; for in no thing wes I inferiour to the verie cheif apostles. How so? he subjoyneth, the signes of ane apostle wer wrocht among you, with all patience, with signes, and wonderis, and gryt workis, (2 Cor. xii. 11, 12.) And agane, he sayeth, that he went up to Jerusalem to the Apostles, and communicated with them of the Gospell, but, particularlie, with them that were the chief, &c.; that of them which schemed to be gryt he wes not taucht, and thei that wer the cheif did communicat nothing with him, &c. And that James, and Cephas, and Johne, whiche wer counted to be pillaris, gave to him and to Barnabas the richt handis of fellowschip, when thei knew of the grace that wes given them, &c.; quhair it is evident that he called theis Apostles gryte, cheif, and

pillaris, for thair wisdome and knawledge; for he is speaking of the communicating of the Gospell, of teaching and graces of the Holy Ghost, (Gal. ii. 2, 6, 9.) Surelie when there arose a stryfe amang the disciples of Chryst, which of them sould scheme to be the grytest, (as concerning earthlie dignitie and dominion,) give he wald haif haid ony to have reule ower the rest, he wald sone have resolved them, and said, Peter sall be grytest, Johne sall be grytest, or James sall be grytest; I set them over you: obey them, or ony of them. Bot he sayeth no suche thing; bot, by the contrarie, he maketh ane equalitie among them, as is said befoir, Luke xxii. 24. By Scripture, then, ye will never prove your purpois of Byschopis worldlie pompe, nor of thair superioritie over their brethren. One of your awin ordour, even he of Rochester, confesseth in his late sermoun upon that subject,[1] that the dignitie and superioritie of Byschopis appeareth not so weill by precept in the Scriptures as by practise; where he compareth thair jurisdiction to the sanctifeing of the Lordis day, anent the which thair is no precept bot practise of the apostles.

Gif Scripture faill you, my Brethren, antiquitie can availl you the less; becaus it obligethe not the conscience. Bot gif ye wold alledge Ignatius to have bene Byschope of Antioch, Athanasius of Alexandria, Optatus of Miletus, Ambrosius of Milan, Chrisostome of Constantinople, Cyprian of Carthage, Augustine of Hippo, and manie utheris, in dyvers aidges, and in dyvers citeis and nationis, who wer worthie men of God, who have written notable workis, satt in councillis, refuted hereseis, confuted heretickes, sufferit persecutioun, and sum of them martyred for the testimonie of Jesus: It is answered, that no man can justlie deny bot that theis wer notable preacheris and faythful byschopes, that is, oversearis and pastores of the sowles of theis citeis, so ought all pastoris of congregationis to be, even faythfull byschopes and overseeris of their flockis. But quhat

[1] This reference is to the sermon by Dr William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, being one of four Sermons preached at the Hampton Court Conference, in September 1606. It was printed at London in 1607, 4to; and the passage to which Hume alludes is contained on sign. E 4.

importeth this? The historie proporteth (will ye saye) that sum of theis byschopes seates wer above ane other, and wer not all equal. I ansuer, why not? for decencie and goode ordour one must needes go befoir another, sit above another, and vote before another. In geving honour, (sayeth the apostle,) let one go before another, (Rom. xii. 10.) Yea, and in assembleis also, it is requisit that one be speche man and mowthe to the rest. But all this proveth no supremacie or jurisdictioun over thair brethrein, althogh sum for thair aige, sum for thair giftes, sum for the grytnes and antiquitie of the citeis quhair they taught, wer so reverenced and honored by thair brethren. But it appeareth manifestlie that theis worthie men did not frequent princes' courtes, nor entangle them selfis withe secular effeares: but waited upon their callingis and their studeis, or ellis thei could never have composed so notable workes. But I know ye will at last afferme, that even some of theis personages haid a supremacie, and exercised a jurisdiction over their brethren within their boundis and dioceises, having powar to convocat, to try, to plant, to deprive pastoris, &c. from tyme to tyme in the Kirk: for the metrapolitane wes above the bischope, and the patriark above the metrapolitan, &c. To this I answer, as Chryst answered to his disciples concerning the bill of divorcement givin by Moses: Because of the hardnes of your heart, (sayeth he,) Moses suffered yow to put away your wyfes: bot from the beginning it wes not so, (Mat. xix. 7.) So say I, empreouris micht so have ordaned for thair policie, and pastoris for thair tranquillitie or thair commoditie, but from the beginning it wes not so. The Empreour Justinian, who began to reigne the 527 yeir of our redemptioun, and regned to the 565, ordaned, that gif ane elder or deacon wer accused, his byschope sould haif the hearing of the mater; if a byschope wer accused, his metrapolitane sould heare the mater; if a metrapolitane, his archbyschope or patriarche of the dyocese (which is all one) sould heare it, (Cap. v. *Non solum, Novell.* 137.) Siclyke, that clergiemen's cawses ecclesiasticall sould first be brocht to the bischope of the citie, (*Leg. Sancimus Cod. Episcop. audien.*) We find of awld, that the byschope of the cheif citie of everie province wes called metrapoli-

tane, to quhome sum cownsales not onlie committed the presidentschip; bot also that non suld be maid bischope of anie other citie of the province without his consent, nor any mater of weght to be done without him, (*Concil. Nicen. can.* 4 *et* 6; *Concil. Antioch. can.* 9.). Now, the Empreour of Rome devyded sindrie grytest pairtes of his dominioun to presidentis or lieutenantis, whiche were called dyoceses, and contened manie provinces within them, where throgh the bischopes of theis citeis quhair the empreouris lieutenantis maid residence grew in power; nether wer they onlie named archebyschopes and patriarches of the dioceses, but also thei obtened that the metrapolitans of the provinces within thair dioceses sould be subject to them, as byschopes wer to thair metrapolitans. In sic sort, that nothing could be done in the Eist without the consent of the Patriarche, or Archebyschope of Antiochia, which contened seven provinces: nothing in the diocese of Egipt, without the Patriarche of Alexandria, wherin wer ten metrapolitanes or provinces; and cheiflie to the Patriarche or Archebyschope of Constantinople wes granted that the metrapolitanes of thrie dyoceses, viz., Asia, Pontus, and Thracia, within the whiche wer twentie-eight provinces, suld be ordaned by him, (*Concil. Constantinop.* i. *can.* 2; *Concil. Antioch. in exord.*; *Concil. Calced. action.* 4 *et* 1, 16.)

What have we now to do with theis lawis and ordinances of Empreouris and Canons of Concilis, which the warld may sie to contene gryte abuse and iniquitie? Surelie the Word of God, and not the examples nor ordinances of men, sould be a rewle to the governement of the misticall bodie of Jesus Chryst, which is his Churche. Ye ar not ignorant of the errouris of the ancient Fathers, in verie maters of religioun: Ireneus and Lactantius wer a Chiliast; Tertullian a Montanist; Cyprian ane Anabaptist; Theophilus ane Arrian; Faustus ane Pelagian; Hilarius spak doubtfullie of the Holie Spreitt; Augustine damned unbaptized infantis, &c.: wherof sum wer corrected by the word, and sum of them remaned in thair errour. Tharefore we sould fallow the Fatheris in doctrine, discipline, and lyfe, so far onlie as they fallow Chryst and

his word. This hierarchie, then, this pompe and dignitie and jurisdictione of Byschopes, is the undowted discipline and ensignie of the Romane Antichryst, and smelleth nothing of the doctrine nor humilitie of Jesus Chryst, or his disciples, whome he commandeth to wasche one anotheris feete, and one to serve another, (Johne i. 13, 14; Matth. xx. 27, 28.) Moreover, to prove that ye have done evill in usurping the styll, office, and dignitie of Lord Byschops, I use theis argumentis following: First, your calling is not lawfull, because ye haif it not of the Kirke, bot of the King. *Episcopatus enim et Sacerdotia non sunt Principum munera* (i. e.) *dona, sed Ecclesiæ munera* (i. e.) *officia.* 2°. *Qui pecunia aut favore Principum ad Episcopatum perveniunt, Episcopi non sunt: sed vos favore Principis ad Episcopatus pervenistis: Ergo Episcopi non estis.* 3°. Ye ever proceaded covertlie in this matter; as in taking of your provisiones, in taking upone you the office of constant Moderatoris; in assenting to cawtiones quhilk ye never keepe; in becoming visitouris of kirkes within your provinces, &c., all the whiche abhorre from the simplicitie of Chrystis ministeris, and are indices of ane evill cause. 4. Ye wer eschamed in the beginning to be called Lordis, (though nowe through custome ye glorie in it,) whiche wes a takin ye had no guid warrand in your conscience for it: and, in effect, the name stinketh in a preacher: for albeit Κυρίος and *Dominus* may signifie the same, whiche ar bot styles of reverence, yit mark quhat the use and importance of the word is; in our language it ever importeth a dignitie and superioritie. 5. Sindrie of your Brethren of more excellent giftis nor ye micht have haid the same rowmes and styles, upon the same conditiones, and yet repudiated them. Quhat audacitie, then, or impudencie, is it in you to accept them? 6. It is ane enemie to your principall calling and spirituall graces: for I pose you in conscience sen ye become bischopes, ar your teares and grones more frequent? Ar your prayeris more fervent? Ar your meditationis more heavenlie? Ar your sermonis more spirituall and powerfull; and, finallie, ar your lyves more pure? I trow not, my Brethren, but rather I feare a decadence. Alace! then, gif so be, your tra-

vellis ar evill spent, and deare are your byschopryckes bocht. And to speake as the thing is, what ar all your glorious styles, your gryte traine, your daintie tables, your costlie apparell, your sitting in council, your ryding in parliament, your trafficking and credite in court, but a sawing to the flesche, and abhorreth sa far fra the professioun of a mortefeit minister, *ut nihil supra?* Remember, therefoir, "That he quha saweth to his flesche, sall of the flesche reip corruptioun: (Gal. vi. 8,) but he quha saweth to the Spreit, sall of the Spreit reip lyfe everlasting." Quhat sall I more saye? In uther weill Reformed Kirkis, namelie, in France and Scotland, ye ever sie, that whair Papistrie is banysched, so is that ordour of imperious byschopis, as ane of the intollerable abusses thairof. If ye wald except Ingland, and commend the discipline thairof, I say no more: bot gif theis men governe weill, they have quhairin to rejose; but not with God. They may governe weill for thair awin warldlie commoditie: But as for the poore kirk of God within that land, (as I heare,) it is wasted. Papistes abound in all quarteris of the realme; doltis and flattereris ar planted at the most pairt of the kirkis; all kynd of vyce and dissollutioun overfloweth without schame or punishment. Before or efter the repast few gif God thankes, or saye the grace: so graceles ar they. And men of grytest zeale and sanctificatione among them that ar trewlie reformed indeede, are checked and borne downe, and in contempt, and ar called vyle and monstrous Puritanes, by men of gryte impuritie. Nevertheles, without questioun, these Inglische Byschopes ar more excusable then ye our Scottis Byschopes, and in the day of the Lordis judgement it sall be easier for them then for you. The reason is this, in respect the Kirkis of France and of Scotland, with sum of Germanie, have maid gryter progres in reformatioun of religioun then the Kirk of Ingland. Trew it is, that in Ingland thair is ane begun reformatioun, considering the yoke and tyranny of the Roman Antichryst is cassin of. But as yet thair remane sum vestiges of idolatrie and superstitioun, whiche in the uther forsaid Kirkis ar utterlie abolisched. In Jehuda the idoles wer dyvers tymes broken doun by sindrie guid kingis, as by Asa, Jehosaphat,

Uzziah, &c.; but the groves and hie places remaned ever still, and wer not put awaye till the dayes of Hezekiah and Josias, who maid a perfyte reformatioun. In lyk manner, althoght idoles be demolysched, and the Pope's authoritie be rejected in the realme of England; yit the hie places ar not put away, that is, the preheminence of byschopes, their surplus, their organes, their lightis, their observing of feistis, their fasting in the tyme of Lent, &c., whiche resemble the cicatrices of an evill-cured wound. Notwithstanding, we sould not dispair of our nychtbour countrie; but rather houp that the Lord, quhilk in mercie had begun the reformatione by good Queen Elizabeth, (whois verie dust I reverence,) will also in his appoynted tym absolve the reformation, and raise up ane Hezekiah or a Joziah, evin move the heart of a King James, or efter him raise a King Harie,[1] for performing thairof. Now, as concerning theis Byschopes of England, I say, that suche reformatioun as they fand, suche they keepe. But gif yee, my Brethren, wald returne to their forme, after ye have proceeded forther in trew reformatioun then they, than ye mak a retrogradatione, and ar without all excuse. But I leave them, Brethren, and reteare me to our selfis.

Since the Reformatione of religioun within Scotland, that ordour of imperious byschopes hath had no place in the kirk of God. And when on or twa attempted thairunto laitlie, they wer cassin out of the kirk, and receaved the foillie,[2] althoght they wer fortifeit for a tyme by the grytest of the land. One of the quhilk byschopes (whois bookes ye know, and sum of you wer meane eneugh to beare for eloquence and eruditione) repented with teares at his departing this lyffe,[3] that he suld haif run suche an evill course, and socht preheminence above his brethrene. If suche a man, then, indewed with so gryte giftis, did so; who ar ye litle ones to

[1] Prince Henry, eldest son to James the VI., and at this time, of course, heir-apparent to the throne. He died on the 6th of November 1612.

[2] "Receaved the foillie," probably means, "were foiled."

[3] This evidently alludes to Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, who died 19th of February 1592. His Recantation, made in April 1591, in which he condemned Episcopacy, and regretted his own conduct, is undoubtedly genuine, whatever may have been his motives in making it.

succede wittinglie in his vice. Our foirsaid Forme of Discipline hath bene establisched be wyse, learned, and godlie fatheris, with gryte panes, and hathe bene reverentlie embraced by all estatis, as above written. And the Lord hath accompanyed it with a wonderfull blessing. And will yee presume to demolysche that quhilk they haiff built? and reedifie that quhilk thei haif demolisched? Remember the curs that fell upone Hiel the Bethelite, for building Jericho, whiche Josua haid distroyit; he layit the fundation thairof in Abiram his eldest sone, and sett up the gattes thairof in his yongest sone Segub, according to the prophecie of Josua, (1 Kings xvi. 34; Josua vi. 26.) It is a fearfull thing to build up that which the Lord hathe distroyed.

Now, I presuppone that theis grave personages wer alyve to behold your proceedingis, whoes names I blusche not to expres, seing thei ar with the Lord: as Mr Knox, Mr Johne Craig, Mr Johne Rowe, Mr Alexander Arbuthnet, Mr Thomas Smeton, Mr Andro and George Hayes, and George [John] Spoatswode, &c., wold they not say that thay sawe spottis in the Kirk? and micht ye not hyde your faces, in the presence of suche pillaris and paternes? Quhat moveth you then, Brethrene, to contenew in so wilfull ane errour? Is it becaus the Prince counteth it good service? Know ye not quhat conceate the Prince hath of you? It appeareth by his answer giffin concerning you, that when it was motioned to his Majestie, that seing he wald needes haif bischopes set up in Scotland, why did he not mak electioun of the best men? his answer wes, That the best he could not gett, and, thairfoir, must tak such as he culd haive. Behold a fair commendatione to you, in deede: that the thing quhilk better men makis conscience to do, yee mak none at all. And it is observed, that one of twa sortis of men tak upone them to be bischopes, viz., Eyther thay ar men of mean pastorall giftes, or ellis they are men addicted to the warld, and of meane sanctificatione; whiche, lothing on their calling, leave thair statione, and neglecting the inward confortis, delyght in the outward. Farther, I put the cace that the Prince haid never persuaded you to this, neyther uttered his affectioun

towardis such a cours, wald ever suche a motioun have entered in your myndis as to allow of it? Or incaice the Prince yit change his mynd, and wald disallow such a forme of Discipline, (*posito enim quod fieri potest nihil sequitur absurdi,*) quhat wald ye doe? Wald ye not eyther cast down your countenance, and count your selfis meere fooles? Or ellis wald ye not recant, and saye withe *Calcate nos salem insipidum?* Quhairfore it wer good to be wyse in tyme: for gif ye go about to please men, ye can not be the servantis of Chryst, (Gal. i. 10.) Ye think your brethren ar not suche servantis to the King as ye ar, but therin ye deceave your selfis; for they ar Goddis men, and the Kingis in all thingis that God commandeth: bot ye appeare to be Goddis men, and the Kingis in so far as the King commandeth. Returne, my Brethren, to your first husband, and to your mother the holie Kirk; returne home to your fatheris house, for why will ye wast all your portioun with ryotous leving, lyk that prodigall chyld, (Luc. xv. 13,) and be sent to feede swyne? I meane your spirituall graces, whiche ye wast, and feede your senses and foull affections, lyk swine, withe the abjectis of this warld! Remember from whence ye are fallin; and let not that proverb be found trew in you, *Raro vidi clericum penitentem.* It wer more decent a greate deale for you to have Christ and the kirk ofter in your mouthe and your myndis, then to haif the King and the Court so oft in your mynde and in your mouth. Lykwyse to you all, Brethrene, that ar of this Episcopall opinioun, and intend to succeede to them, *sede vacante,* I say, *Linquite externos istos mores,* whiche I beseik the Lord ye may doe speedilie.

Bot now I cum to your pairtt, Brethren, which keepethe your first professioun: And albeit I haif mentioned the allurementis that haif bewitched your brethrene, nevertheles, I wald wische you to think that their is no small caus and fault in your selfis, whiche have provokit the Lord justlie to exercise and humble you by theis unexpected meanes. For, although it be of veritie that the Lord sum tyme chastiseth his childrene, for uther causes then for sinne; yit, doubtles, it is a goode Christian rule, that sa oft as we fall in

our calamitie, so oft we have recours to our awin hairtis, and examine our consciences quhat iniquitie is in us. I tak, then, gryte oversichtis to have bene in sum of you in particular, and gryte oversightis to have bene in all in generall; for the which outwyles that ar among [us] ar this daye sett ower you, and do vex you. As to particular personis, I wald be loth to ruffle the sore of my brethrene, and detect their infirmities, wer not that the fact is manifest to many; and, next, that I see the errouris of the verie sanctis registrat in the registeris of God. The particular personis, then, ar the pastoris of the Kirk of Edinburgh for the tyme, who raschelie behaved them selfis in that tumult at Edinburgh, the 17 day of December 1596, to the gryte greif and disgrace of the prince. Their zeill mycht weill haif bene fervent, but the forme wes informall and undecent; I speake it with regrett, for, being a present unlooker, I knaw quhat I saw and hard. The devill (no doubt) haid his pairt in his instrumentis in that tourne whiche cam on so suddenlie, and proceeded so confusedlie, muche lyke that seditioun in Ephesus, (Acts xix. 23, 29,) that guid men knew not what resolutioun to tak. Alwayes, it so incensed the Prince, that he entred in a mervelous jealousie with the Kirk, and to this daye *manet vlta mente repostum*, and is often castin in our teethe withall, as you all verie weel knaw. Withe my hairt I lament, that their suld be so juste a caus; and, as I suppose, that sum of theis brethrene ar sorie for it in thair inwaird hairt, so I wische to God, that eyther by their sinceir confessioun of ane offence, or by their temporall relegation, or by any other gracious castigatioun, the Prince's wrathe mycht be appeazed, and his jealousie towardis the Kirk utterlie removed, and his unfainzed favour reconcealed; for why sould the whole Kirk, through the inconsiderate raschnes of thrie or four men, receave detriment?

Another erroure in the same men did no small harme also, for whylest that unhappie Earle Bothwell maid ane insurrection against the Prince, they suffered themselfis to be abused withe flattering speaches, persuading them that it wes the libertie and defence of treu religioun (then surmysed, by the Earles of Huntlie, Errol, and

Angous) that he intended; whiche in a pairt (suche wes their facilitie) they credited: and for a tyme bure ane affection, and spake to the advantage of that Absolome or Cataline, aye and quhill his hypocrisie and treasone was cleirlie discovered. This increased the fyre, and broght a slander withe a disgrace and trubbill upone the Kirk of God, albeit this errour preceeded the first mentioned.

As concerning faultis in generall, they are of two sortis, to wit, in your personis and in your callingis; in your personis their ar not onlie pardonable imperfectiones, but also, with your peace, brethren, grosse and intollerable vyces. And these be they: In sum their be a pensive pryde and fastidious disdainfulness, proceading by appearance from a self conceate of them selfis; in utheris, excessive cair and covetousnes of worldlie thingis joyned withe filthie lucre: In sum, anger and impatiencie; in otheris, evident impatiencie, espyed and deryded by the people: In sum, craftines and partialitie; in otheris, facilitie in giving credite to fals reportis and evill reportis: In sum, a rasche borrowing and untaking of uther mennis geir, and then a postponing and defrauding of the creditouris; in otheris, a lycht behaviour, joyned withe gesting, and ane indecent libertie of speache. Now, I say not, that all these vyces ar in everie ane; but in everie ane ar sum of them, except a few secreit ones, whome I doubt not but the Lord hathe sanctifeit and separated to him self.

Againe, the errouris in your callinges ar double: *videlicet*, in your particular offices, and in your publict Assembleis: in executing your particular charges then, thair is a gryt negligence, a lothing, a perfunctorius doing; muche refuis in sermonis delyvered without feeling, and prayer maid without fervencie, whiche argueth plainlie that thair laicketh reading, meditation, and dew preparation; and that whiche is most abhominable, thair is no turne of suche turpitude that requyreth the office of a minister, but thair salbe a corrupt minister, or a vyle reader fund to performe it, as to gif furthe a fals testimoniall; to baptise children procreat in fornicatioun, incest, or adulterie; to mak unlawfull mariages, I can not say, solemnize them, because they ar clandestine, and maid in a

corner, or in the night, without solemnitie; and yit suche ar sufferit to beir offices in the kirk of God: who can deny bot the impunitie and toleratioun of suche abuses in the memberis do procure the Lordis indignatioun aganes the Lordis whole bodie? Surelie thair is gryt neid of Christis whip to dryve a den of theves out of his Fatheris hows, (Matth. xxi. 30; John ii. 15.)

Fynallie, in your publict meittingis, (as Presbitreis, Synodoll and Generall Assembleis,) their ar thrie abuses that may be espyed. First, confusioun and immodest behaviour. Secondlie, superficial handling of materis. Thridly, a partiall and presumptuous forme of dealing of a few men who ar counted to be pillaris. The confusione of your Assembleis is suche, that their is neyther reverence, sylence, nor attendance: for when grave materis ar in hand, sum ar whispering, and at thair quyet confabulatioun. Many speake before they be requyred. And it can not suffice that one speake attonce, bot a number all at once, and often tymes they that can worst speak have most speache. And many speak to smal purpois, in such sort, that it wald appeare, that men rather contend to have thair word about, then to gif licht for the decisioun of anie wechtie caus. And, thairfoir, civill men haif your Assembleis ower justlie in derisioun and contempt, comparing them to Birlay Courtis, where is much jangling. Sumtyme it wes not so, Brethren, bot now the gravitie and guid ordour of civill judicatories may mak you Theologues to be aschamed. Moreover, when one day is past at your Synodoles, their is no moir bot a calling to the Moderator, Mak hast, we must go home: and thei who have best moyen to remane, perhappis werie first; as thoght they cam not to do the wark of God, nor to regaird the weil of the Kirk, but onlie to mak a schew, to conferre, to drink with thair familiaris, and then go hame agane. Heirupon it cometh to pas, that post heist must be maid, and materis superficiallie handled: Sum materis ar glansed at, and contenued to the next Assemblie; a number of uther matteris ar referred to thair Presbitreis, or to commissioneris; and gif anie mater go to voting, smal or no reasoning goeth befoir, bot haiffing collected the suffrages of a four or

fyve personis; then becaus no man sayeth against it, silence is taken for consent, and the mater concluded as a deade done by the whole Assemblie. The Lord be mercifull to you concerning theis thingis! Thridly, boithe in Presbitreis and Assembleis, a few men haif the sway; for luke what thei tak upone hand to reasone and sustaine, it must have place, and go through. And never saw I yit a persoun so vyle, nor a fact so odious and of suche atrocitie, bot it suld have gottin sum patrone to speak for it, eyther to denye it, to disguyse it, to excuse it, to extenuat it, or at least to intreat for pardone to it: a vyle and lamentable thing to be hard in the men of God. Farther, solisting, and requesting by parteis, is admitted no les then among civill judges; whiche is preoccupeing of the mynd, and a thing prejudiciall to equitable judgment. Now, theis foirsaid leirned and wyse men must not be controlled nor impugned by meane landwart teacheris, how zealous and uprycht soever they be, but must be respected for thair giftis; and gif perhappis anie wald insist and mak oppositioun, he sal be but mockit and borne downe by theis Rabbins. The grytest number, then, of brethren in Presbitreis and Assembleis, may be compared to the litill godis, *Minores Dij*, among the Gentill, quhilk thei called *Dij consentes*. So the ringleideris among you say the word, and the rest say, We think so too. Or as the letteres of the Alphabeth are devyded into vowellis and consonants, so ar you. *Quot sunt literæ?* (says the Rudiment.) It is answered, *Viginti duæ, &c. Quot sunt ex his vocales? Quinque. Quæ?* a, e, i, o, u. *Quot sunt consonantes? Reliquæ omnes.* So may it be of you, my Brethrene, *Quot sunt Presbiteri? Quamplures. Quot sunt ex his vocales? Quinque vel sex. Quot sunt consonantes? Reliquæ omnes.* Alace, Brethrene, this maketh gude men to muse, quhidder it wer better to haif a goode manifest stedfast Byschope in a Presbitrie, or to haif dyvers in effect, refusing the name, pretending paritie, bot observing non: No questioun the grace and glorie of our ministrie, of our Presbitreis and Assembleis, is notablie decayed; and farr is all declined from that measour of perfectioun quhilk it haid, sone after the beginning of Reformatioun.

Now I haif writtin foolyschlie, Brethrene, in deciphering and devulgating your imperfectionis, and in making my self odious to both pairteis; yea, to the Prince also, give perhappes my naked narratives, and bitter objurgationis agans Byschopes cum to his long eares. Bot gif I be foolysche, it is for your sakes; and althogh ye wald compt me your enemie, becaus I tell you treuth, as the Galatians compted Paul, (Gal. iv. 16,) yit that saying of the Lord upholdeth me: "Thow sall not heate thy brother in thy heart, but thow sall plainlie rebuke thy neighbour, and suffer him not to sin," (Levit. xix. 17.) I heate you indeed as I heate my awin flesche, even your imperfections, your sins, and not your selfis. Yit whether is it better, I pray you, that we confes theis thingis against our selfis, in sinceritie, and endeavour to repair them seriouslie; or that our enemeis exclame against us, and we to contenew slanderous to the evangell? I wald not have any of you to think of your selfis, or one to think of ane uther, as Seneca thoght of Cato, quha said in his defence, when ebrietie was objected to him, *Facilius quempiam effecturum crimen honestum, quam turpem Catonem:* No, let us rather say in humilitie with the Apostle, In many thingis we sin all, (James iii. 2.) Their is no flesch void of imperfectioun; but he in whome the Christian vertews wey downe the imperfectionis, that man may be called a rychteous man indeed. But gif the imperfections and passiones prevaill, (yea, a man may have ane touth that disgraceth all his vertewis,) that man may be compted in the rank of evill and unrenewed men.

Therefore, my Brethren, let the Lord be restored agane to his honour on all handis, althoght it wer to our schame, by our confessioun, humiliatioun, and resipiscence, that we may have to do with a pacified God, through the mediation of his Sone. Then the Lord, that hath the hairtis of all Princes in his handis, sall inclyne the heart of our Prince to regaird the estait of our distressed Kirk: "Our God sall build up the ruines of Jerusalem, and sall mak hir ane eternall glorie, and a joye from generatioun to generatioun," (Isay lx. 15;) for the Lord exerciseth his Kirk with vicissitudes of distresse and of comfort, and ever hath done

in all aiges, so that this is no new thing. As for me, poor wretche, "O that I eyther had wingis lyke a dowe that I mycht flie away and rest," (Psal. lv. 6,) or that the peace and holynes of the Kirk might be procured by my death! "Yit sall my saul rest in howpe: I schould have fanted except I haid beleved to see the goodnes of the Lord in the land of the leving," (Psal. xxvii. 13.) Mak heist, thairfoir, O Lord, and tarie not. The grace of our Lorde Jesus Chryst be with you all. AMEN.

THE FORME AND MANER

OF ORDAINING MINISTERS, AND OF CONSECRATING ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS, USED IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

In the preface to the following tract, reference is made to some regulations which were passed by the Assembly held on the 5th of March 1570–1, for the examination and admission of candidates to the Ministry; and, in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. p. 207, and in Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 170, are contained "The Articles and Formes of Letters, concerning provision of persons to Benefices, and Spiritual promotions, agreed upon be the Commissioners of the King's Majestie and the Reformed Kirk of Scotland, in their Conference holden at Leith, in the moneth of January 1571," or, according to our present computation, 1572.

At this Convention, various changes in Church Government, partaking of the character of Episcopacy, had been recognized, more especially in the appointment of titular Bishops, as a mode of securing to some of the nobility and other laymen, a considerable share of the ancient revenues of the Church. Among other matters which these forms and regulations set forth, is the following statement:—

"It is thocht good, in consideratioun of the present state, That the names and titles of Archbishops and Bishops are not to be altered or innovated, nor yitt the bounds of the Dioceis confounded; but to stand and continue in time coming, as they did before the Reformatioun of Religioun; and at the least, to the King's Majestie's majoritie, or consent of Parliament."—But several restrictions were at the same time imposed, it being resolved, that "All Archbishops and Bishops to be admitted heerafter, sall exerce no farther jurisdictioun in spirituall functioun nor the Superintendents have, and presentlie exerces, whill the same be agreed

upon. And that all Archbishops and Bishops be subject to the Kirk and Generall Assemblie therof *in spiritualibus*, as they are to the King *in temporalibus;* and haif the advice of the best learned of the Chapter, of the number of six at the least, in the admissioun of suche as sall have spirituall functioun of the Kirk. As alswa, that it be lawfull to als manie others of the Chapter as pleases, to be present at the said admissioun, and to vote theranent."[1]

This period, as a learned Episcopalian writer of the present day remarks, "exhibited a very anomalous aspect; having, at one time, Bishops without consecration; Pastors who had never been ordained to any spiritual office; and the semblance of government by Presbyters without the formation of any Court in which their authority could be properly recognized."[2] But it may be added, that the subsequent erection of Presbyteries supplied one of these defects, while Consecration and Ordination by the hands of a Bishop, were not then, or at any subsequent time in our Church, regarded as essential.

The above regulations were indeed formally abrogated by subsequent Assemblies; but they were revived by an Act of Privy Council in October 1581; and for a period of nearly thirty years, a protracted struggle was carried on between the two parties in the Church and State. The more zealous and intrepid Presbyterian ministers continued to resist the encroachments of the Court, until the Assembly, which was held at Glasgow in June 1610; when, the old Forms of Presbyterian Discipline and Church Government having been in a great measure overthrown, Episcopacy in a somewhat less anomalous form, was introduced, and two years later was confirmed by an Act of Parliament. But even in this period, extending from the year 1610 to 1637, Episcopacy may be said to have existed more in name than reality, in Scotland.

Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, having gone to Court, to report to the King the proceed-

[1] Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 207. Calderwood's History, vol. iii. p. 170.

[2] Russell's History of the Church in Scotland, vol. i. p. 300.

ings of the Glasgow Assembly, it was considered a fitting opportunity for drawing the two Churches into closer union. For this purpose these prelates, having been joined by Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, remained in London till Parliament had assembled; after which, on the 21st of October, they were solemnly consecrated, according to the forms of the Church of England. As none of the Bishops elect had received Episcopal ordination, a question was moved as to the necessity of their being re-admitted Presbyters. But this objection was overruled, upon the ground that such a procedure would imply a doubt if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches, and would thus be a means of withholding all recognition of any other Christian Church.[1]

The consecration of the Scotish prelates took place without any warrant, and without the previous knowledge of the General Assembly. "There was (says Calderwood) no mention made in the Assemblie[2] of their Consecration, farre lesse anie warrant for them to take upon them the office of a Bishop, distinct from the office of a Presbyter. They did onlie tye ordination, jurisdiction, plantation to them, as conjunct necessarilie with the presbyteries, (I meane, to such as were styled Bishops, by reasone of their benefices and titles therto): But they tooke upon them consecration to anie office; and when they returned home, they consecrated the rest of their fellowes. All of them deserted their flockes, and usurped therefter jurisdiction over the ministers and people of their diocies, by virtue of their consecration to ane office, and not by anie delegate power from the Assemblie, which might have been taken away againe from anie of them by another Assemblie, or they did fall from it, in case they had been anie ways deprived of the title to the benefice, and vote in Parliament. These thrie, to witt, Mr John Spottiswode, Bishope of Glasgo; Mr Andrew Lamb, Bishope of Brechin; and Mr Gavine Hammiltoun, Bishope

[1] See Spottiswood's own account of the proceedings, Hist. p. 514.

[2] Calderwood, p. 644 of the old printed copy, speaks of that Assembly, as "the unhappie pack."

of Galloway, were the thrie that brake off first, and boldlie accepted this consecration, in the moneth of November, without warrant, yea, without the knowledge or consent of the Kirk of Scotland."[1]

After their return to Scotland, these newly consecrated Bishops lost no time, by a repetition of the same ceremonies, in conveying such spiritual gifts as they themselves had received, to the rest of their brethren nominated to similar dignities in the Church. But according to the doctrine which has been maintained in later times, by those who arrogate claims of superiority for a Prelatic Church, from a supposed conformity to Apostolic institution or authority; such persons, not having been canonically admitted to holy orders, rendered these ceremonies of no intrinsic importance for the due transmission of divine gifts to their successors.

It may be added, that on the 12th of October 1612, Parliament passed "A Ratification of the Acts and Conclusions set downe and agreed upon, in the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, keepit in Glasgow in the moneth of June 1610; togéther with ane explanation made by the Estates of some of the same."

The resolution of the prelatic party in Scotland to adhere to a stated formulary in all future ordinations of Ministers and consecrations of Bishops, may have led to the publication of the following tract.[2] Although printed by authority, it is singular that no notice of it should have been taken by any writer; but it is very probable that the few copies which came into circulation might not be thought worth preserving, after the complete overthrow of all prelatic forms which took place in the reign of Charles the First, at the time that further innovations in doctrine, as well as in Church government, were attempted to be forced upon the people of Scotland under the auspices of Archbishop Laud.

[1] MS. History, November 1610.

[2] The original tract is in 4to, containing 15 leaves: the first leaf is blank, having only a small wood-cut of the Royal Arms of Scotland, facing the title-page.

THE FORME AND MANER OF ORDAINING MINISTERS: AND CONSECRATING OF ARCH-BISHOPS AND BISHOPS USED IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EDINBURGH:
¶ Printed by Thomas Finlason, his Majesties Printer,
1620. With Licence.

THE PRAEFACE.

In the Church of Christ it hath alwayes been holden unlawfull for any man, by his owne privat authoritie, to preach the Word of God, to administer the holy Sacraments, or execute any part of the Spirituall office of a Pastor, except he were first called, tryed, examined, and being found qualified for the function, by publick prayer, with imposition of hands, orderlie admitted unto the same: Accordinglie hath our Church in diverse Assemblies, and speciallie in the Assemblie which was keept at Edinburgh, the fyft of March 1570, appointed diligent examination to be made of the learning, qualities, and good conversation of pastours, before their entrie. And their admittance to bee by a publick and solemne forme of ordination. Wherefore, to the intent this good and commendable order may be keept hereafter in the Church, it hath beene thoght meet to præscryve a speciall forme of ordaining ministers and consecrating of archbishops and bishops to their places, which in all tymes hereafter shall be observed by these that have power to ordaine or consecrate. And it is this which followeth:—

THE FORME AND MANER OF ORDAINING MINISTERS.

AFTER that sufficient tryall hath beene taken of the giftes and qualities of him that is to bee admitted Minister, and a certificat sent to the Bishope of his qualification for the office, by these to whome his tryall was committed; the Bishope is by his edict to appoint a certaine day for the Ordination, and make the said edict to bee published in the parish church where the Minister is called to serve; which day being come, there shall be ane Sermon made, declaring the duetie and office of Ministers, with their necessitie in the Church, and how reverentlie the people ought to esteeme of them and their vocation.

When the Sermon is ended, the Archdeacon or his deputie shall præsent the person who is to bee admitted to the Bishope, saying these wordes:—

REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,—I præsent unto you this Brother here present, to bee admitted unto the holy ministrie.

Then shall the BISHOPE *say,*

Is this persone whome yee præsent unto us, apt and meit for his learning, prudence, and godlie conversatione, to exerce the office of a Minister? Hath hee beene duelie tryed, and intimatione made to the People, amongst whome hee should serve, of his admissione to be done this day?

THE ARCHDEACONE *shall answere,*

They to whome his tryall was committed have certified so much, and the edict is returned duelie served unto this same verie day and houre.

The BISHOPE *thereupone shall desire the Archdeacon to read first the Testimoniall, then the execution of the Edict, both which hee shall reade with a lowde voice, in the hearing of the people who are assembled.*

After these the BISHOPE *shall say unto the People,*

Goode People, this is the Brother whome wee (God willing) purpose to admit this day unto the holy function of the Ministrie: The tryall and examination required in such cases hath beene used, and yee have heard what testimonie is returned unto us. Now, if there be any of you, who knoweth any impediment or notable cryme in him, for which hee ought not to bee received into this sacred office, let him appeare, and in the name of God declare the same.

If no cryme nor impediment be objected, the BISHOPE *shall proceide, and speake in this maner to him who is to bee ordained:—*

Brother, Forasmuch as no man speaketh against your admissione; and that wee have received testimonies sufficient of your fitnesse and qualification to this holy office, wee are now to proceide unto the ordinatioun; and first, according as the lawes of the Church and kingdome doe appoint, I must minister unto you the Oath of Supremacie, asweel that you may bee the more myndfull of your duetie in this point of his Majestie's obedience, as that yee may set your selfe carefullie against all the enemies thereof, whether they be forraine or domestick usurpers.

THE OATH OF THE KING'S SOVERAIGNITIE.

I, A. B., doe utterlie testifie and declare in my conscience, that the King's Highnes is the onlie supreme governour of this realme, and of all other his Highnes' dominions and cuntries, asweel in all spirituall or ecclesiasticall things or causes, as temporall, and that no forraine prince, persone, prelate, state, or potentat, hath or

ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superioritie, preheminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within this realme. And, therefore, I doe utterlie renunce and forsaike all forraine jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities: And doe promise that from hencefoorth, I shall beare faith and true alledgeance to the King's Highnes, his heires, and lawful successours, and to my power, shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, preheminences, and authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Highnes, his heires and successours, or united and annexed to the imperiall crowne of this realme. So help mee God.

The persone to be admitted shall take this oathe upon his knees, the Bishop ministring the same unto him.

That done, the BISHOPE *shall read this Exhortation which followeth.*

You have heard, Brother, asweel by the sermon at this tyme delivered, as in your privat examinations, what is the duetie and office of him that is called to this holy function: Now I exhort you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, rightlie to consider what is this dignitie whereunto ye are called; namelie, to bee the messinger, the watchman, the pastor, and the steuard of the Lord, to teach, to admonish, to feede, to provyde for the Lordes familie, and seeke for Christes sheepe that bee dispersed abroade; and for his children which be in the midst of this naughtie world, that they may be saved through him for ever. Have alwayes printed in your mynde, what a treasure this is that is committed to your charge: They are the sheepe of Christ which hee boght with his death, and for whome hee shedde his blood: The Church and congregation whom you must serve is his spouse and his bodie.

And if it shall chance the same Church, or any member thereof, to take any hurt or hinderance, by reason of your negligence, the fault is great, and the punishment fearfull which shall ensue: Therefor, consider with your selfe the end of your ministrie, and see that yee never cease your labour and caire, untill you have done all that lyeth in you, to bring such as are, or shall be com-

mitted to your charge, unto that agreiment in faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripenes and perfeitnes of age in Christ, as there be no place left amongst them, either for errour in religion, or for vitiousnes in life.

And seing this charge is of such difficultie, as of your selfe yee cannot have, either the will or the power to performe the same, see that yee be carefull in prayer, and seeke continuallie after the heavenlie assistance of the Holie Ghost, from God the Father, by the mediation of our onlie Mediator and Saviour Jesus Christ, that yee may everie day waxe riper and stronger in your ministrie: Be diligent in reading and learning the Holy Scriptures, that the doctrine yee deliver to God's people may be the more powerfull, and strive above all thinges to frame your maners according to the reule of the same: forsake and set asyde (as much as you may) all worldlie cares and studies: And, finallie, applye your selfe onlie to this vocation, that your labours may bee found profitable, and you never found unfaithfull unto that Lord who hath trusted you with his high function and charge. Wee have good hope, brother, that ye have weighed and pondered these thinges with your selfe long before this tyme, and that yee have resolved with all diligence, by the grace of God, to performe the same: Yet, that the congregatioun here assembled may understand your mynd and will in these thinges, and that your promise may bind you to the greater care in your calling, yee shall answere to these things plainlie, which I, in their names, shall demand of you touching the same.

Doe you think in your heart, that yee are truelie called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Church of Scotland, to the holie function of the Ministrie?

Answere.

I think it.

THE BISHOPE.

Are you perswaded that the holy Scriptures conteine sufficientlie all doctrine required of necessitie for eternall salvation,

through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined with the saids Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge; and to teach nothing (as required of necessitie to eternall salvation) but that you shall bee perswaded may bee concluded and proved by the Scripture?

Answere.

I am so perswaded, and have resolved by God's grace so to doe.

THE BISHOPE.

Will you, then, give your faithfull diligence so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same, according to the commandements of God; so that you may teach the People committed to your cure with all diligence to keepe and observe the same?

Answere.

I will so doe, by the grace of God.

THE BISHOPE.

Will you be readie with all faithfull diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrarie to God's Word, and to use both publick and privat admonitions and exhortations, as weel to the sicke as to the whole, within your cure, as need shall require and occasion shal be given?

Answere.

I will, by the helpe of God.

THE BISHOPE.

Will you be diligent in prayers and in reading of the holy Scriptures, and in such studies as helpe to the knowledge of the same, laying asyde the studie of the world and the flesh?

Answere.

I will endevour my selfe so to doe, God being my helpe.

THE BISHOPE.

Will you bee diligent to fashione your selfe and your familie according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both your selfe and them, as much as in you lyeth, wholsome examples and spectacles to the flock of Christ?

Answere.

I will so apply my selfe, by God's grace.

THE BISHOPE.

Will you mainteine and set fordward (as much as lyeth in you) quyetnes, peace, and love, amongst all Christian people, and speciallie amongst them that are, or shal be committed to your charge?

Answere.

I will so doe, God being my helpe.

THE BISHOPE.

Will you reverendlie obey your Ordinarie and other cheef ministers, unto whom the government and charge is committed over you; following with a glaide mind and will their godlie admonitions, and submitting your selfe to their godlie judgements?

Answere.

I promise so to doe, by the grace of God.

Then shall the BISHOPE *say,*

Almightie God, who hath given you a will to doe all these thinges, grant also unto you strength and power to performe the same; that hee may accomplish his worke which hee hath begun in you, untill the tyme hee shall come at the latter day to judge the quicke and the dead.

Then shall the BISHOPE *stand up, and speake to the Congregation these wordes:—*

Brethren, you see all the willingnes of this our Brother to undergoe this charge, and have heard the promises which hee hath made

to performe the dueties of the same; yet because no man is able to doe any good thing without the speciall grace of God in Jesus Christ, and that hee hath promised to give the same to all that aske, as lyke wayes to bee found of them that seek him; let us all joyne in prayer to Almightie God, and earnestlie crave his blessing and benediction to this worke, that this which wee now doe may tend to the glorie of his holy name, the profeit of his Church, and all our comforts in Jesus Christ our Lord.

This said, the BISHOPE *shall pray in this maner:—*

O Lord, to whome all power is given in heaven and in earth, Thou that art the eternall Sone of the eternall Father, who hes not onlie so loved thy Church, that, for the redemptione and purgation of the same thou hes humbled thy selfe to the death of the crosse; and thereupon shedde thy most innocent blood, to prepare to thy selfe a spouse without spote, but also to reteine this thy most excellent benefite in recent memorie, hes appointed in thy Church teachers, pastors, and apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonish the same: Looke upon us mercifullie, O Lord, thou that onlie art King, Teacher, and High Preist to thy owne flock, and send into this our brother, whome in thy name wee are now to admitte unto the ministrie of thy Church, such a portion of thy Holy Spirite as thereby hee may rightlie devyde thy Worde, to the instruction of thy flock, and confutation of all pernitious errours, replenish him with trueth of doctrine and innocencie of lyfe; that as by thy Word, so by good example hee may ever faithfullie serve thee in this office, give him that mouth and wisedome whereby the enemies of thy trueth may bee confounded, the woolfes expelled and driven from thy folde, thy sheepe fed in the most wholsome pastures of thy holy Word, the blind and the ignorant may bee illuminated with thy true knowledge. Finalie, that the dregges of superstition and idolatrie, which yet restes within this realme, being purged and removed, wee may all not onlie have occasion to glorifie thee, our onlie Lord and Saviour, but also daylie grow in godlines and obedience of thy most holy

will, to the destruction of the bodie of sinne, and to the restitution of that image, to the which wee were once created, unto the which after our fall and defection wee are renewed by participation of thy Holy Spirite; which by true faith in thee, wee doe professe as the blessed of thy Father, of whome the perpetuall increase of thy graces wee crave, as by thee, our Lord, King, and onlie Bishope, wee are taught to pray, *Our Father*, &c.

The Prayer ended, the BISHOPE, *with the* MINISTERS *that are present, shall lay their hands upon the head of him that is to bee admitted, hee in the meane while kneeling humblie upon his knees, and the* BISHOPE *shall say,—*

In the name of God, and by the authoritie committed unto us by the Lord Jesus Christ, wee give unto thee power and authoritie to preach the Word of God, to minister his holie Sacraments, and exercise Discipline in such sort as is committed unto ministers by the order of our Church; and God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hes called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiplie his graces with thee, illuminat thee with his Holie Spirit, comfort and strengthen thee in all vertue, governe and guide thy ministrie, to the praise of his holie name, to the propagation of Christe's kingdome, to the comfort of his Church, and to the discharge of thy owne conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus, to whome, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glorie, now and ever. Amen.

The BISHOPE *shall then deliver the Bible in the hands of the admitted, saying,*

This is the Booke of Scripture, which thou must studie continuallie, and mak the ground and reule of thy doctrine and living.

After that hee shall take the admitted by the hand, and so shall the Ministers that are present, with the Commissionars of the Church whereunto hee is admitted.

This done, the admitted person standing in the same place where hands were layed upon him, this last Exhortation shall be read by the BISHOPE.

Take heade to thy selfe, and unto the flock committed to thy charge; feede the same carefullie, not as it were be compulsion, but of verie love which thou beares to the Lord Jesus; walk in simplicitie and purenes of life, as it becommeth the true servant and embassadour of the Lord Jesus, usurpe not dominion nor tyrannicall authoritie over thy brethren, be not discouraged in adversitie, but lay before thy selfe the example of the prophets, apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, who in their ministrie susteined contradiction, contempt, persequution, and death; feare not to rebuke the world of sinne, justice, and judgment: If any thing succeid prosperouslie in thy vocation, be not puft up with pryde, neither yet flatter thy selfe as that the good successe proceeded from thy vertue, industrie, or care; but let ever that sentence of the apostle remaine in thy heart, "What hast thou which thou hes not received? If thou hes received, why glories thou?" Comfort the afflicted, support the poore, and exhort others to support them; be not solicite for thinges of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for the increase of his Holy Spirit: And, finallie, behave thy selfe in this holie vocation with such sobrietie as God may be glorified in thy ministrie: So shall thou shortlie obtaine the victorie, and receive the crowne promised, when the Lord Jesus shal appeare in his glorie, whose omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us to the end.

Then shall they sing the 23d Psalme, which being ended, the BISHOPE *shall conclude with this prayer:—*

Most mercifull Father, wee rander unto thee all heartlie thankes for the care thou vouchafes to tak of thy Church, in provyding unto her pastors and teachers throughout the world; particularlie, for that thou hast beene pleased to call this thy servand (whome we have now admitted) unto the same office and ministrie, once againe wee entreat thee, O God, to send upon him thy heavenlie

blessing, that hee may be clothed with true holines, and that thy word spoken by his mouth may have such successe, as it may never be spoken in vaine. Grant also that they unto whome hee is, or shalbe appointed minister, may have grace to heare and receive the same as thy most holy word, and the meane of their salvation; and, finallie, give unto us all thankfulnes for thy benefites, graee to proceide in the knowledge and faith of thy Sone, that in all our words and deeds wee may seek thy glorie and the increas of thy kingdome, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, with the fellowshipe of the Holy Ghost, bee with us all for evermore. Amen.

☞ *It is to be remembred in the admission of everie minister, that befor the Bishope give him ordination, hee shall exact the Oaths following of him that is to be admitted, in the presence at the least of two or three witnesses.*

The Oath of Canonicall Obedience.

I, A. B., doe sweare, that I will yeeld due and canonicall obedience to your Lordschip and your successours, in all lawfull causes, according to the lawes ecclesiasticall in that behalfe provyded. So God mee helpe.

The Oath against Symonie.

I, A. B., doe also sweare, that I have made no Symonicall payment, contract, or promise, directlie nor indirectlie, by my selfe, or by any other, to my knowledge or with my consent, to any persone or persones whatsoever, for or concerning the procuring and obteining of this ecclesiasticall dignitie, place, preferment, office, or living of P. W., nor will at any tyme hereafter performe or satisfie any

such kynd of payment, contract, or promise, made by any other without my knowledge or consent. So helpe mee God, through Jesus Christ.

The Oath de Perpetuo Residendo.

I, A. B., doe likewayes sweare, that I will be personallie and continuallie resident in or upon the Church of W., according to the lawes and constitution of this Church and kingdome, in that behalfe provyded; unlesse I shall have licence from my ordinarie, and be otherwayes lawfullie dispensed withall. So helpe mee God.

The Oath de non Locando.

Finallie, I doe sweare, that I will not sett or lett to ferme the gleibes, manse, tithes, fruites, and proffeites belonging to the Church of W., without the assent and consent of your Lordschip, or your successors, under your hands, in writting first had and obtained. So helpe mee God.

THE FORME AND MANER OF CONSECRATING ANE ARCHBISHOPE, OR BISHOPE.

WHEN the day is come of consecrating ane Archbishope or Bishope, the Bishopes Consecrators, who must be three at the least, according to the law in the consecration of a Bishope, and foure at the consecration of ane Archbishope, doe meet in some solemne place, and there have prayers publicklie first, and then a sermon touching the office and duetie of a Bishope; which ended, some officiar of the Church shall gravelie, and with a lowd voice, three severall tymes, call on this maner: If there be any persone who can object in forme of law any thing against the lyfe or doctrine of the Archbishope or Bishope now to be confirmed, let him now come foorth, or from hencefoorth hee shalbe precluded. No objection being made, the Bishope elected shall be presented by two Bishopes unto the Archbishope of the province, or to some other Bishope appointed by his commission: The Bishopes that present him saying,

Most reverend Father in God, wee præsent unto you this godlie and learned man to bee consecrated Bishope.

Then the ARCHBISHOPE *shall require the* KINGES *mandat for the consecration, and deliver it to his Chancellar, or some speciall officiar of the Archbishoprick; and cause him to reade the same aloude.*

This being read, the Oath of Supremacie shall be ministred unto the persone elected, as it is set doune before in the order of admitting Ministers.

If hee be a Bishope that is to be consecrated, then must hee take the Oath of obedience to the Archbishope, as followeth:—

In the name of God, I, N., chosen Bishop of the Church and

sea of N., doe professe and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Archbishope and Metropolitall Church of S., and to their successours. So helpe me God, through Jesus Christ.

Then the ARCHBISHOPE, *sitting in a chayre, shall thus speake unto him who is to be consecrated:—*

Brother, forasmuch as Holy Scripture, and the old Canones of the Church, requires that wee should not be hastie in laying on hands, and admitting of any persone to the governement of the Church of Christ, which hee hath purchassed with no lesse pryce then the shedding of his owne most pretious blood: Before I admitte you to this administration whereunto yee are called, I will examine you in certane Articles, to the end the Congregation present may have a tryall, and beare witnesse, how ye are mynded to behave your selfe in the Church of God.

Are you perswaded that yee are truelie called to this ministration, according to the will of oure Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Realme?

Answere.

I am so perswaded.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Are you perswaded that the Holy Scriptures conteine sufficientlie all doctrine requyred of necessitie for eternall salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined with the same Holy Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach or mainteine no thing as requyred of necessitie to eternall salvation, but that which you shalbe perswaded may bee concluded by the same?

Answere.

I am so perswaded, and resolved by God's grace.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Will you then faithfullie exercise your selfe in the saids Holy Scriptures, and call upon God by prayer, for the true understanding

of the same, so as yee may be able by them to teach, and exhort, with wholesome doctrine, and withstand and convince the gainesayers?

Answere.

I will so doe, by the helpe of God.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Will you bee readie, with all faithfull diligence, to banish and dryve away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrarie to God's word, and both privatlie and openlie call and incourage others to the same?

Answere.

I shall so doe, the Lord being my helpe.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Will you deny all ungodlines and worldlie lusts, and live soberlie, righteouslie, and godlie in this world, that you may shaw your selfe in all thinges ane example of good works, that the adversarie may be ashamed, having no thing to lay against you?

Answere.

I purpose to doe so, by God's helpe.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Will you mainteine and set fordward (as much as shall lye in you) quyetnes, peace, and love, amongst all men, and correct such as are unquyet, disobedient, and criminous within your diocese, by the authoritie yee have of God, and as shallbe committed to you by the ordinance of this Realme?

Answere.

I will doe so, by the helpe of God.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Will you show your selfe gentle, and be mercifull for Christes sake to poore and needie people, and to all strangers destitute of helpe?

Answere.

I will show my selfe such, by God's helpe.

THE ARCHBISHOPE.

Almightie God, our Heavenlie Father, who hath given you a goodwill to doe all these things, grant also unto you strength and power to performe the same, that hee accomplishing in you the good worke which hee hath begunne, yee may be found perfect and irreprehensible at the latter day, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall be sung this Songe,

Come, Holy Ghost, eternall God, &c., *to the end.*

After which, THE ARCHBISHOPE *shall say to the Congregation present,*

Brethren, wee reade in the Gospell of St Luke, that our Saviour continued a whole night in prayer, before hee did send foorth his twelfe Apostles; and in the Book of the Acts, that the Disciples at Antioch did fast and pray, before they layed handes upon Paule and Barnabas. In lyke maner will wee first fall to prayer, before wee send foorth this persone præsented unto us to the worke, whereunto wee trust the Holy Ghost hath called him: and therefore wee will beseich you that are heer assembled, to assist us with your fervent devotione to Almightie God, saying: Almightie God, and most mercifull Father, who of thy infinite goodnes hes gevin thy onlie beloved Sone Jesus Christ, to bee our Redeemer, and author of everlasting lyfe, who also by thy Holie Spirit hes appointed diverse orders of Ministers in thy Church, pouring doune thy giftes aboundantlie upon men, and sending some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, for the perfyting of the saints, and for the edifying of the bodie of Christ: Grant, wee beseech thee, to this thy Servand, whome wee are now to receive unto the office of a Bishope within thy house, such grace as hee may evermore be readie to preach the glaide tydings of reconciliation, and use the authoritie given unto him,

not to destroy but to save, not to hurt but to helpe; send doune upon him, O God, thy heavenlie blessing, and so endue him with thy Holy Spirit, that hee preaching thy Word, may not onlie be earnest to reprove, exhort, and rebuke, with all patience and doctrine, but also may be, to such as beleeve, ane wholsom example in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastitie, and puritie, that faithfullie fulfilling his course at the latter day, hee may receive the crowne of righteousnes layed up by the Lord, the righteous Judge, who liveth and raigneth one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

Then the ARCHBISHOPE *and* BISHOPS *present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elected* BISHOPE, *the* ARCHBISHOPE *saying,*

Wee, by the authoritie given us of God, and of his Sone the Lord Jesus Christ, give unto thee the power of Ordination, imposition of hands, and correction of maners, within the Dioceses whereunto thou art, or hereafter shall be called. And God Almightie bee with thee in all thy wayes, encresse his graces into thee, and guyde thy ministrie to the praise of his holie name, and the comfort of his Church. Amen.

Then the ARCHBISHOPE *shall delyver unto him the Booke of Holy Scriptures, saying,*

Give head unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine: meditat upon the things conteined in this Booke, bee diligent in them, that thy proffiting thereby may be made manifest unto all men: take head unto thy selfe, and unto teaching: so doing thou shall save thy selfe, and them that heare thee: bee to the flock of Christ a sheap-herd, not a woolfe: feede them, devoure them not: hold up the weake, heale the sicke: bind together the brocken, bring againe the outcasts, and seek the lost: bee so mercifull that thow bee not too remisse: so minister discipline that thou forget not mercie; that when the cheife Sheep-herd shall come, yee

may receive the immarcessible crown of glorie, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the ARCHBISHOPE *and the* BISHOPS, *with the new consecrated* BISHOPE, *and others of the Assemblie, communicat, and after communion, the blessing shalbe given, and so the action end.*

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TOUCHING ARCHBISHOPS OR BISHOPS TRANSLATED.

When ane ARCHBISHOPE or BISHOP shall bee translated to ane other Sea, there is no new Consecratione made; but the Archbishope, and other Bishops unto whome his Majestie's mandat is directed, (who, at the translation of ane Archbishope, must be foure in number,) being meet, shall, after prayers and sermone made, cause some church officiar with a lowde voice, call three several tymes on this maner:—

If there bee any persone who can object in forme of law, any thing against the lyfe or doctrine of A. B., now to be confirmed, let him appeare, or from hencefoorth hee shall be præcluded.

No opposition being made, the principall Confirmer shall requyre the KING'S mandat, and delyver it to his Chancellar, or some principall officiar of the Archbishoprick, causing the same to bee read.

Then is the Oath of Supremacie ministred unto him that is to be confirmed, with the Oath of Obedience to the Archbishope.

After the Oaths are given, the Archbishope shall, in some few wordes, exhort him unto diligence and fidelitie in his charge, and conceive prayer for the blessing of God upon that action.

Which ended,[1] a sentence is reade by the Archbishope, or by the most ancient confirming Bishope, in the name also of all

[1] On the margin,—"This sentence is to be pronunced at the consecration of everie Bishope, before they goe to the communion."

the rest that are assisting, wherein is rehearsed the vacancie of that Sea, by the death or translation of the predicessor, the election of the new Archbishope, or Bishope, the KING'S royal assent thereunto, the mandat received, their meeting and performing all thinges in course of law: and then is hee pronunced to bee Archbishope or Bishope of such a Sea, and a command given to the Archdeacone of the metropolitan Church to induct him, by him selfe or bee his sufficient procuratour, into the same, which is afterwards done.

Last, the 23d Psalme is sounge, and so they breake up.

FINIS.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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